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BOOK REVIEWS

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Hill, Gord. 2010. ***The 500 Years of Resistance Comic Book***. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press. ISBN 9781551523606. Paperback: 12.95 CAD. Pages: 87.

Reviewed by Peter Kulchyski
University of Manitoba

One time, in a workshop where we were discussing the social problems created in small remote communities by the anger of young Aboriginal men, I came up with the formula: "we need to turn the anger to politics." Hardly a new idea, this is something of a restatement of an old social movement principle: where conditions are enough to batter people, anger is a healthier response than despair, especially if it can be given a political direction. With the publication of Gord Hill's *The 500 Years of Resistance Comic Book*, activists who work on indigenous social justice issues have been given a critical tool to help with this process.

The 500 Years of Resistance Comic Book tells the story of the conquest of the indigenous Americas in a brief ten page section called "Invasion," and then spends the remaining fifty pages dealing with "Resistance." In the latter part, Hill draws on a variety of episodes that range in time and space from sixteenth century Inca insurgency to the late twentieth century land occupation at Stoney Point. This "rebalancing" of the historical record is important: instead of a litany of horror stories that can deaden the most hopeful spirit, Hill's images focus on the spirit of resistance; success stories or at least testimonials to human defiance and ingenuity when faced with the depredations of colonial capitalism. Furthermore, Pontiac's rebellion, the Mapuche resistance and the Apache struggle are all inspirational to later generations just as the story of the American Indian Movement reclamation of Wounded Knee and the Zapatista or Kanehsatake uprisings may likewise serve to inspire young indigenous activists today.

While there is something of a "Canadian" bias in Hill's narrative – he comes from Kwakkwaka'wakw territory in what is now British Columbia – he fittingly takes the American hemisphere as the setting of his story. This is an important decision: a refusal to accept the colonial national boundaries leaves open the space for indigenous international co-operation which itself may be an important move as the struggle continues in our epoch. The decision also means that indigenous youth in Canada can rightly claim inspiration from events that took place in Central and South

America, and can start to think of the conquest/resistance in much broader terms.

Graphically the book is strong, but not creatively path breaking. I think "comic book" is a better descriptor here than "graphic novel," both because comic book denotes a more accessible or popular form, but also because graphic novels tend to use their expressive possibilities to experiment with the image-text relation. Hill, by contrast, uses a straight-up four to six panel per page, sequentially ordered, fairly standard format. There are many raised fists and colonizer-colonized confrontation images repeated in different contexts. There are few single images that are memorable, though it is worth noting that the book is in black and white: the colour cover image is much stronger and perhaps better represents Hill's graphic talents.

Still, the material Hill has to work with is compelling. Obviously, in order to make the work accessible, as it must be in order to do the work it is meant to do, decisions have to be made: a lavish, full colour, coffee table sized graphic novel would not reach the audience Hill (and I) want this book to reach: young, often aimless, often angry indigenous people who did not learn about colonial history or the resistance to it in their formal (de)schooling. For this reason, the book is episodic rather than in any way comprehensive: many stories are left out or are given fairly short shrift, but these are unfair complaints, or complaints that belong to an academic rather than popular text.

The book is relatively free of factual errors. The most egregious is on page 36 when Hill writes that "in 1885, Cree + Metis warriors, lead by Big Bear + Louis Riel, rebelled against government control in south Manitoba". The 1885 resistance took place in Saskatchewan; the 1869 resistance in Manitoba lead by Riel did not involve Big Bear. I would also have preferred a more nuanced position on the Canadian treaties, reserves and band councils; but again the form does not lend itself to nuanced positions and those who read this may be inspired to read some of the recommended readings provided, where they will gain a more complex understanding of these issues.

On the other hand, Hill has an impressive resume as an activist having involved himself in many actions over the past twenty years. His material on British Columbia is more detailed and stronger than other areas. And his reports on what is widely known as the Gustafsen Lake occupation include details that come from first hand reportage.

The introduction by Ward Churchill is an elegant statement from one of the senior statesmen of indigenous activism, and is worth reading

by a more seasoned generation of activists as well as those who will come to this as a comic book.

For those who have very little knowledge of the conquest and resistance, this book is as good a place to start as any. But my particular hope is that this book finds itself in friendship centres and scattered in youth drop-in centres in northern communities all across the country, where it can find its best audience and play the role of a spark in tinder.

Monture, Patricia A. and McGuire, Patricia D., eds. 2009. ***First Voices: An Aboriginal Women's Reader***. Toronto: Inanna. ISBN 978-0-9808822-9-2. Paperback: 39.95 CAD. Pages: 538.

Reviewed by Donna Schatz
York University

This edited collection is an expansive, thirty-year compilation of creative work and peer-reviewed articles previously published in the journal *Canadian Woman Studies/les cahiers de la femme.* Aboriginal scholars Patricia Monture and Patricia McGuire edited the anthology, with Monture contributing a number of pieces. The book is divided into seven main sections central to Aboriginal knowledge, worldviews and epistemologies: Profiles of Aboriginal Women; Identity; Territory; Activism; Confronting Colonialism; Confronting the Canadian Legal System and Indigenous Knowledges. The title, *First Voices* itself, emphasizes the clear goal of the volume: to share stories and to ensure that Aboriginal women's voices are heard through academic literature and research. The text also highlights the specific gender challenges which First Nations women in Canada face as a result of the effects of colonialism and discriminatory legislation and policies. Reflecting the first literatures of this land, the stories and interviews contained within are diverse personal stories recounted by grandmothers, mothers and daughters from all backgrounds, locations and ages. Many contributions focus on women's ties to and separation from their Aboriginal communities while living with white people. Non-Aboriginal authors, however, are also included as a means of promoting "'cross-cultural' understanding and solidarity" (1). The nation, community and family ties of each author are noted in the biographies which follow the publications. Sadly, a number of the contributors are no longer with us.

Among others lost, two of the excerpts are from Monture's daughter Kate who passed away in August 2009 at the age of sixteen.

Themes of colonial and neocolonial dispossession run throughout the text with the lasting legacy of the Indian Act and residential schools identified as two primary causes of social and cultural disruption. The disenfranchisement of Aboriginal women and their descendants through the Indian Act is well-documented with Bill C-31 amendments clearly dismissed as limited instruments to repair historical injustices (298). In a parallel discussion of the impact of residential schools as the cause of intergenerational trauma, past president of the Native Women's Association of Canada, Beverley Jacobs, aptly notes that:

> Every Aboriginal person has been affected whether a family member attended residential school or not. When a systemic process is created to destroy a people by erasing a language, a culture and a spirit, every single person is affected. When this system attacked children, the heart of our Nations, the heart of our Mothers and Grandmothers, it attacked every single person (13).

In addition to highlighting these two main examples of state-led violence against Aboriginal peoples, the Kanehsatà:ke/Oka land dispute of 1990 and the deaths resulting from the contamination of Walkerton's water supply in 2000 are also relayed through Aboriginal women's perspectives and direct experiences. The volume's greatest contribution, however, is that it goes beyond these major events by drawing attention to continued acts of colonialism, racism, sexism and violence which First Nations women face on a *daily* basis. To this end, it documents structural inequalities through everyday stories of language loss, sickness, addiction, disability, homophobia, employment inequity, loss of legal rights, correctional practices and housing and reserve conditions.

Taken as a whole, the volume comprises an exhaustive 538-page read. Each of the seven sections begins with a piece of creative writing and is comprised of approximately seven to ten short articles with considerable repetition in terms of content and themes. The tension between feminism and Aboriginal liberation struggles is raised at various points in the book, but with few exceptions, the excerpts provide limited engagement of these academic debates, the reason being that this is not the objective of the editors. Instead, the collection constitutes an accessible collection of women's writing for the purpose of which it was intended: it is a compilation of events and experiences told from the voices of Aboriginal women themselves through a different lens of understanding. Its

compelling personal accounts of social injustice are sure to impact audiences of all levels, high school students to university professors alike.

The text will no doubt challenge some readers with its stark examples of discrimination, dispossession and disenfranchisement. Its overall aim, however, is not to argue that First Nations women share a uniform culture of loss (343). Instead, the stories are framed through the perspectives of women as complex and empowered subject agents, artists, mothers, family supporters, community leaders and chiefs. The largest section in the book, Activism, outlines the many struggles First Nations women have taken on including those related to healthcare, education, employment, politics and the legal system (3). Issues such as self-determination, self-government and Indigenous sovereignty are addressed head-on by the authors.

Although plodding through some of the sections can be time-consuming and difficult, the book as a whole will help to inform most readers of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal ways of life while simultaneously outlining the tensions and contradictions of falling into traps or essentialist categories. Late artist Joane Cardinal-Schubert writes, "What I have a problem with is the categorization of Native Artist in a museum that does not separate other Canadian artists in exhibitions according to their race. It seems Native people cannot do anything without that adjective in front of their name" (81). Nonetheless, there are lessons to be learned from tradition. Environmentalists might take note of Aboriginal women's historical relationships and responsibilities to the land and waters as outlined by Kaaren Olsen Dannenmann, Deborah McGregor and others. Similarly, Lesley Malloch's comparison of traditional Indian and Western medicine provides insight into alternative healing. Because it is such an extensive collection with over sixty contributors, it cannot help but enlighten the reader to a variety of perspectives and often-omitted histories. As just one example of the book's inclusion of lesser-known state interference in Aboriginal peoples' lives, author Valerie Alia documents "Project Surname," a government-led surnaming program which took place in Inuit communities during the 1970s. Taken as a whole, the references at the end of each contribution provide a comprehensive resource for research and offer a "counterbalance to the [commonly accepted Western] historical record" (76).

For too long the voices of Aboriginal women have been excluded from literature and academic publishing. A quote by Marie Battiste, included in one of the final excerpts, expresses the overall objectives which are met through this collection, "What Aboriginal people need is a new

story, one which empowers 'Indigenous worldviews, languages, knowledges, cultures, and most important, Indigenous peoples and communities'" (503). *First Voices* provides such a story. It is a conversation and celebration of Aboriginal women, their communities, lives and experiences over the last thirty years. As the authors note, the text provides a record of First Nations women's writings long before such publications were valued in many academic and literary circles. As such, it provides a worthy contribution to Aboriginal literature and scholarship.

Albo, Greg, Sam Gindin, and Leo Panitch. 2010. ***In and Out of Crisis: The Global Financial Meltdown and Left Alternatives***. Oakland: PM Press. ISBN 978-1-60486-212-6. Paperback: 14.95 CAD. Pages: 144.

Reviewed by Kanchan Sarker
The University of British Columbia, Okanagan

Among the many books on the contemporary economic crisis, *In and Out of Crisis* is in a class of its own. Three prominent scholar-activists have teamed up to provide an insightful and provocative analysis of the crisis and its implications for the future of neoliberalism, the American empire and the North American Left. In doing so, this new book picks up themes common to Panitch and Gindin's on-going work on the American empire and Albo's research on neoliberalism.

This is a concise, relatively accessible book, which presents a robust political intervention into current political economy and strategic debates on the Left. It begins with a concise history of the history of financial crises, state management of crises, the rise of neoliberalism and financialization. It then moves on to provide a detailed history and analysis of the current financial crisis and the American state's role in managing and containing the crisis. Along the way, the authors also provide a chapter focused on the sweeping restructuring in the North American auto industry. Overall, Albo et al. argue that some key points which the Left has historically tended to poorly theorize (such as the relation between state and market, deregulation and neoliberalism, and American imperialism) have weakened the Left's analysis and response to the current crisis.

To appreciate the specificity of their approach to theorizing the crisis, it is useful to carefully identify what is distinct, if not necessarily

unique, and notable in their analysis. First, the authors argue that the crisis was primarily a crisis within the American financial system. The dramatic growth of securitized sub-prime mortgages, which comprised 60% of the American market for asset backed securities, meant that the whole financial system became extremely vulnerable to the volatility in this segment of the market. This financial crisis, unlike some stock market crashes, became a general economic crisis because of its specific locus in the housing sector and the centrality of that to consumer spending. The global reach of the crisis was due to both the global circulation of complex financial assets based on consumer mortgages but also due the global importance of the American consumer market. The authors insist that this was not a crisis rooted in a profitability decline in the sphere of production. However, as they outline in chapter five, the North American auto sector (the big three, if not the foreign transplants) was the one sector of the economy that was in crisis before the recession.

Second, in a related point and contrary to some other Left theorists, Albo et al. argue that neoliberalism had succeeded, at least on its own terms (generating modest economic growth while maintaining low inflation thus reviving corporate profitability) after the crisis of the 70s. They refer to the dynamic nature of capitalism under neoliberalism (unlike those, such as Robert Brenner, who refer to a long downturn or depict the period since the 70s as one largely of stagnation and financial speculation). In part, this dynamism was due to the very success of financial capitalism, unstable as it is. Again contrary to many on the left, these authors argue that financial innovation was a key part of capitalist dynamism over the past 30 years or so, rather than being mere speculation, or working at cross purposes to the "real" economy. This new age of finance played a central role in disciplining and integrating labour into markets as workers, consumers, investors (particularly of pension funds), borrowers, and home-owners.

Third, they argue that the massive budget stimuli, state bailouts of financial and manufacturing, and talk of re-regulation do not represent a shift away from neoliberalism. Albo et al. forcefully insist that many on the left have misunderstood neoliberalism as the withdrawal of the state. This is a misunderstanding of the relationship between states and markets. Instead, they explain that "capitalist markets and capitalist states are deeply intertwined in the class and power structures of global capitalism" (10). The fundamental relationship between capitalist states and financial markets cannot be understood in terms of how much or little regulation the former puts upon the latter. It needs to be understood in terms of the

guarantee the state provides to property. "Neoliberalism should be understood as a particular form of class rule and state power that intensifies competitive imperatives for both firms and workers, increases dependence on market in daily life and reinforces the dominant hierarchies of the world market, with the U.S. at its apex" (28). The authors point out that "Neoliberalism brought a change in the mode of regulation, but there wasn't less regulation. Moreover, freer markets often require more rules" (35).

Fourth, just as reports of the death of neoliberalism have been greatly exaggerated, the crisis does not represent the end, or significant weakening, of the American empire. Albo et al. go so far as to suggest that the crisis "*confirms* U.S. imperial leadership" (86). The imperial relationships that built today's global capitalism have persisted through the crisis.

Finally, Albo et al. paint a particularly bleak picture of the contemporary North American left as weak, defensive, defeated, marginalized, and lacking organizational coherence. As they note, "Competition…fragmented the working class. It eroded their one ultimate strength – solidarity" (79). The various challenges currently facing the Left are analyzed critically and comprehensively. The decline in trade union membership due to the neoliberal offensive as well as sectoral change of economy has put the trade union movement on the defensive. They place the labour movement at the centre of left politics analysis but in doing so they stress the need for the renewal of the labour movement. Unions need to reinvent themselves by adopting various tactics like "living wage" struggles in alliance with community organizations (96). Arguing that the labour movement can not lead the struggle for social transformation, the authors remain supporters of the need for a socialist political party. On the policy front, among other bold declarations, they call for the nationalization of the banking sector and its transformation into a public utility.

Perhaps not all readers will be convinced by their arguments about the continuing strength of neoliberalism and American economic leadership but their evidence is compelling and provides a useful reminder not to, once again, prematurely pronounce the end of American hegemony. The authors' arguments and analysis are nicely summarized in the "Ten Theses on the Crisis" in the concluding chapter. With all its propositions the book could be considered a manual for the contemporary Left. An economic crisis combined with wishful thinking is insufficient to defeat

neoliberalism. The missing variable is an organized, visionary and militant working-class movement.

Smith, Murray E. G. 2010. ***Global Capitalism in Crisis: Karl Marx and the Decay of the Profit System***. Halifax: Fernwood. ISBN: 9781552663530. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 172.

Reviewed by John Simoulidis
York University

We may be in the middle of the "worst economic crisis since the 1930s" and, as Smith claims, the global capitalist order "may also be on the verge of its deepest political and ideological crisis ever" (3). Given the state of the Canadian left today, many may welcome this book as a timely intervention in debates around Marxist theory and political practice. The weaknesses inherent to both neo-liberal and reform-liberal accounts of the causes of the recent global economic crisis have left many people thirsting for a deeper, more critical analysis of the real economic processes underlying it. Smith offers up an alternative analysis that is based on a particular kind of orthodox interpretation of Marx's "scientific analysis of capitalism," one that sees the current crisis as both the result of "conjunctural" causes as well as a component of the "systemic" crisis of the global capitalist system. He presents a defence of Marx's "value-form analysis" both on the grounds of theoretical consistency and empirical corroboration, and attempts to extend this analysis to explaining the "long downturn" of the global capitalist economy in the post-1970s. Thus, financialization and the current "great depression" are situated within this long downturn and examined in light of the same underlying economic mechanisms. Smith presents a case for why the "falling rate of profit" theory of crisis is best suited to explaining the current conjunctural and systemic crisis of capitalism and why capitalism must be superseded by "a rationally planned, collectivized global economy under the democratic administration of those who labour" (3).

Much of the content of the book has been, as Smith acknowledges, published elsewhere—both appendices and chapter 3 were based on previously published articles and some parts of other chapters draw on his previously published book *Invisible Leviathan* (University of Toronto Press, 1994). Yet there are good reasons to collect these arguments together for

presentation in a single book. Numerous publications have appeared in recent years asserting the value of Marx in helping us understand both the contemporary crisis of capitalism and imagining an alternative future. Smith offers a particular position on both fronts: he defends the necessity of building a general theory and combines this with an appeal to the radical left to develop vanguardist political parties. While his assessment of the current political conjuncture from the perspective of its revolutionary possibilities is written primarily for a Canadian audience (and from a Trotskyist perspective), his account of Marx's value theory may have a distinct and wider appeal to both those with a basic understanding of the concepts and theories presented in Marx's *Capital* as well as those with a deeper interest in the intricacies of the debates on these.

The book can be divided into three major interwoven themes. An overwhelming portion of the book—the first two chapters and key parts of the others, as well as both appendices—is devoted to a particular theoretical elaboration and defence of Marx's value theory and crisis theory, covering a wide range of topics such as: the value-form of the commodity, labour power and exploitation; concrete vs. abstract labour and the labour theory of value; the law of value, the law of average profit, and the "transformation problem;" and finally, the "law of the tendency of the rate of profit to fall," which bears repeated discussion throughout the text given its centrality to Smith's overall argument. An equally important, though analytically distinguishable, strain of his argument is directed towards providing empirical evidence in support of several (six, to be exact) of Marx's "predictions," the one most central to the book being that there exists a "long-term tendency for the rate of profit to fall as a result of a rise in the organic composition of capital" (61-68). Finally, Smith claims that there are certain "programmatic" implications of value theory for revolutionary socialist political strategy, in Canada and elsewhere, though here he moves beyond Marx's "scientific analysis of capitalism" and draws generously on the history and practice of Trotskyite bolshevism (chapters 4 and 5).

Readers who have taken their first stab at reading Marx's mature works on political economy can benefit from the introduction Smith provides to some of the debates and controversies surrounding value theory and crisis theory, and may be interested in the effort he directs at showing how abstract theory can inform one (but not necessarily only) kind of revolutionary political practice. More sophisticated readers will appreciate some of the finer points of Smith's engagement with Marxist economic theory, controversial as they might be. The key to understanding

his falling rate of profit view of crisis lies in his conceptualization of "socially necessary unproductive labour" (SNUL). SNUL refers to the labour of those whose work may be "necessary" to the functioning of capitalist accumulation in some sense, but which is not directly involved in the production of commodities, hence, of value (or surplus value). This, in itself, is uncontroversial. However, following the position developed by Shane Mage, Smith advocates treating the wages and salaries paid to "socially necessary unproductive labourers" as constant capital, as opposed to variable capital or deductions from social surplus value. Smith uses this distinction between productive and unproductive labour to "re-operationalize" value categories. On this conceptual basis, Smith (in an earlier work co-authored with K. W. Taylor) reconstructs Marxian value-ratios for Canada from 1947-1991 which purportedly show "a secular increase in the organic composition of capital and a rising ratio of unproductive to productive labour in the wage-earning workforce" (86; see chapter 3 and Appendix 2 for extended discussions).

It seems that the wider and ultimate aim of Smith's argument is political, addressing himself to the reformist and gradualist political strategy "championed by many social-justice activists, independent socialists and Marxist intellectuals" (126-7) in Canada and elsewhere. While eschewing both moralistic and so-called "distributionist" critiques of capitalism that "blame the working class for the crisis" (of the wage-push/profit-squeeze variety, for example), Smith should be commended for advancing a defence of the need for "general theory." However, a general theory of this type isn't easily translated into an "inclusive" (which Smith, dismissively, can only see as leading to reformist) socialist politics. Smith's critical analysis of Marx's political economy finds its political expression in a call for a return to revolutionary vanguardism: a plea to the radical socialist left in Canada to build a programmatically based vanguard organization that embraces Trotskyist "rules." However, Smith's call for "imagining" another October Revolution threatens to alienate those not baptized in the history of revolutionary movements. Whatever you might think of the political positions developed by Smith, an argument can be advanced that the connection between the effort to develop a "scientific" interpretation of Marx's political economy and Smith's advocacy of revolutionary Trotskyism can be suspended long enough to appreciate his contributions to his theoretical work on Marxist value and crisis theory.

Bashevkin, Sylvia. 2009. ***Women, Power, Politics: The Hidden Story of Canada's Unfinished Democracy***. Don Mills: Oxford University Press. ISBN 978-0-19-543170-4. Paperback: 19.95 CAD. Pages: 186.

Reviewed by Kimberly Earles
University of Guelph

Sylvia Bashevkin is a leading scholar on the topic of women and politics in Canada, particularly on women's political engagement. *Women, Power, Politics* is her most recent exploration of women in formal politics, particularly in positions of power, such as party leaders. The book is written for both a popular and an academic audience, promising to be particularly useful for undergraduate political science students interested in Canadian politics, democracy, and women and politics.

Bashevkin argues that there are so few women in Canadian politics due to a discomfort among Canadians with women in positions of power. She develops this argument as the *women plus power equals discomfort* equation, which neatly categorizes levels of discomfort on issues of leadership style, age, appearance, speech, and private lives, with the media playing a crucial role in reinforcing gender schemas and, as a result, the discomfort equation.

In terms of leadership style, many of the characteristics Canadians associate with an effective leader are characteristics traditionally attached to men, such as being assertive and decisive. Bashevkin argues that Canadians are comfortable with men taking on such traits, but uncomfortable when women do so. However, women who adopt a "softer," more consensual leadership style are also criticized for being ineffective. As such, there is no acceptable way for women leaders to behave. This is the line of reasoning that carries through the entire book – for women politicians there is no "right" way. Bashevkin draws on media portrayals and political memoirs to demonstrate that female politicians are deemed either too young and inexperienced (Sheila Copps in 1982) or too old (Pauline Marois in 2005); too plain (Alexa McDonough) or too glamorous (Rona Ambrose); too outspoken (Sheila Copps) or too soft-spoken (Audrey McLaughlin); too chaste and serious (Agnes McPhail) or too distracted by their love lives (Kim Campbell and Belinda Stronach). In the end, Bashevkin concludes, "political women in Canada can't seem to find ages, clothes, or speaking styles that correspond to what we as the assessors deem appropriate" (58).

My main critique of the book is Bashevkin's unwillingness to take this argument a step further to link these same critiques to all Canadian women, not just women in politics. Indeed, the more powerful the position, the more discomfort there is, but all women face judgments based on their age, appearance, speech and private lives. As with female politicians, women in general are often viewed as too young and inexperienced or too old, as there is a very short window of time when women's experience and age match up to societal expectations about what is desirable and acceptable for any position of power. Women are also judged for having children or not having children, for having a career or for staying at home to care for children, for spending too much time and effort on their appearance or for not spending enough, for being too "feminine" or too "masculine," for being single or divorced. Bashevkin's *women plus power equals discomfort* equation captures Canadian society's increased levels of discomfort when women seek top political positions, but similar arguments could be made about women seeking any position of authority or power, such as attorney or CEO, and could even be extrapolated to women in general, when there is no position of power at stake. The judgments women face regarding their age, appearance, speech, private lives, and the decisions they make are present regardless of if they are running for political office. Making these connections would strengthen the argument and make a more thorough contribution to the broader study of gender oppression.

Even without these connections, Bashevkin's discomfort argument is convincing, as she provides a thorough analysis of how female party leaders have become associated with electoral failure in Canada. She traces how women have often only been able to win leadership races in uncompetitive provincial or federal parties, and once that party fairs poorly in an election, it is the female leader who is blamed. Over time, the media has begun to paint all female leaders as ineffective and associated with failure, based on the experiences of a few women who led marginal parties to marginal election results. Due to the small number of women in politics, patterns and generalizations are drawn about women such as Kim Campbell and Rita Johnston that are not drawn about men, even though there are certainly many men who have led their parties to dismal election results at the provincial and federal levels.

The overall result of the discomfort equation, argues Bashevkin, is that it limits the number of women willing to put themselves forward as candidates for elected office in Canada, knowing the scrutiny that they will face, which raises serious questions about Canadian democracy, justice and

fairness. While acknowledging the presence of socially conservative female MPs as a challenge to arguments of substantive representation, Bashevkin's focus remains on the outcomes of the paucity of women in Canadian politics and in providing solutions. Thus, she argues that one of the outcomes of women's weak political representation is that governments often neglect issues that tend to be of more salience to women, such as childcare and violence against women. In addition, the small number of women who are willing to put themselves forward for political office allows the media to continue to treat women in politics in the same manner – narrowing in on their personal characteristics and finding fault with each, rather than focusing on policy issues.

Bashevkin concludes with a chapter entitled "What to Do," which offers eight prescriptions to change the current situation faced by women in the political sphere. The first four proposals involve significant formal rule changes – from requiring mandatory voting, to adopting legislative quotas, reforming the electoral system, and contesting media portrayals through court challenges and written complaints. These formal proposals are supported by four informal proposals, which call for a renewal of the women's movement and the movement for increased democracy in Canada, informal monitoring of the media, probing anti-feminism, and getting involved in politics. Bashevkin provides compelling evidence to support the necessity of each proposal and demonstrates how each will further Canadian democracy, particularly in the present context of neoliberalism and under the federal Conservative government's political agenda. Renewing the Canadian women's movement may prove to be the most difficult, yet crucial, factor in increasing women's political representation in Canada; if it does occur, the other changes proposed by Bashevkin will support the larger project. *Women, Power, Politics* provides a thorough investigation into the underlying reasons why there are not more women at every level of Canadian politics, and Bashevkin's proposals to change the current *women plus power equals discomfort* equation provide a clear road map forward for women in Canadian politics.

Iversen, Torben and Frances Rosenbluth. 2010. ***Women, Work, and Politics: The Political Economy of Gender Inequality***. New Haven: Yale University Press. ISBN 978-0-300-15310-1. Cloth: 36.95 CAD. Pages: 202.

Reviewed by Meg Luxton
York University

Iversen and Rosenbluth note that women have fewer life chances than men in most societies, historically and in the present. They take this male dominance, which they equate with patriarchy, "as a puzzle to be examined" (1). The authors claim that a political economy approach, which pays attention to the interaction of biology, culture, economic and political arrangements with the domestic dynamics between women and men, can explain why patriarchy is so common. They offer "the embedded bargaining framework," which embeds "a microlevel household bargaining model in a macrolevel mode of production framework" in which "the balance of power between the sexes inside the household is shaped by macrolevel conditions and microdecisions by household members have significant implications for macro-outcomes" (2-3).

Focusing on what they call the rich democracies, they start from the assumption of a historical gendered division of labour based on heterosexual marriage in which men work in the world while females stay at home (162). They note that the efficiency model preferred by most economists suggests that women do most of the unpaid household labour and participate less in the paid labour force because this division of labour is the efficient solution due to increasing returns on human capital. The authors point out that this efficiency model does not explain national variations in women's paid labour force participation nor can it explain a range of other gender based issues. Instead they argue, "The division of labor puzzle can only be understood by treating marriage as an incomplete contract that is potentially subject to termination" (55).

Their argument is that the more marriage is the only option for women, the more women will focus on family in order to maximize their position in the marriage market, limiting their investment in education and job skills, and the more parents will socialize their daughters to accept their subordination in marriage (24). However, in marriage, women and men bargain in the context of the alternatives available and the consequences for each of "family dissolution" (29). The more divorce is available, the more "woman will have strong insurance and bargaining

incentives to shun heavy investment in household-specific assets" (that is, concentrating on being good wives and mothers) (81), instead women will reduce the amount of household work they do, get their husbands to do more household work, and enter the labour market.

However, their ability to do so depends on the type of labour market. The authors distinguish between two general types of jobs: those which involve the accumulation of specific skills, often at employers' expense and which offer advantages such as job security, seniority pay, employer-financed benefits and those which involve generalisable skills which are more transportable. Because women are likely to interrupt their employment to have and care for children and others, employers with specific skills jobs avoid hiring them. They argue that this economic pattern shapes most aspects of life, including especially parental socialization practices of daughters, the division of labour between women and men in families, fertility rates, gender differences in formal political voting patterns, and women's participation in formal political parties. They conclude that public policies that provide supportive services for women such as child care, and public sector employment based on generalised skills are necessary to advance gender equality. They also argue that the same dynamics that operate in the labour market operate in the market for professional politicians; where individual candidates run on their record and what their constituents can expect from them, women are less likely to be selected as candidates or elected. Proportional representation systems are more likely to involve women candidates and produce political changes favourable to women's interests.

To support their argument, they offer a range of statistical analyses based on large-scale surveys and various country-based studies. They conclude that gender equality requires government provision of social services and related employment for women and men to do more caregiving: "It is time for men to share the same burdens and joys of family work" (169).

The authors offer convincing arguments that their political economy framework challenges prevailing economic and political science approaches. However, they fail to draw on, or engage with, feminist political economy, especially socialist analyses of domestic labour and social reproduction. This glaring and surprising absence seriously undermines their work, in part because their argument rests on a number of unquestioned and problematic assumptions.

The private sector remains unchallenged. They do not suggest that governments could regulate private enterprises, insisting on fair hiring

practices, equal pay and family leaves for both women and men. The heterosexual nuclear family remains unchallenged and naturalised. They do not consider alternative living and caregiving arrangements such as communal arrangements or collectives and despite their nod to history and cultural diversity, they do not acknowledge capitalist and liberal state initiatives to eliminate such domestic arrangements, especially during colonization. The only motivation women have for preparing themselves for the labour market appears to be a fear that their marriages may "fail." There is no recognition that some women prefer living apart from men, live with and love other women, or even like their careers. They assume that men's power derives from women's lesser attachment to the paid labour force because of their commitment to caregiving. They offer no analysis of the ways in which the societies in which they claim parents socialise daughters to subservience in marriage may also socialise their sons to violent masculinities considered necessary for militaristic and imperialist enterprises and what that might mean for men's assertion of power over women.

They claim that such a division of labour has its origins in the agricultural societies that emerged with the neolithic revolution and became "ubiquitous because it was efficient, creating gains from trade within families when technology was not an available substitute for brawn" (163). They argue that most societies with such a division of labour offer women few alternatives to marriage. Absent is any recognition of the actual work of women in agricultural societies in, for example, pre-colonial sub-Saharan Africa or Turtle Island (later North America) or of the role of European colonial powers in forcing women out of agricultural work and giving land tenure to men.

The most notable absence is their failure to understand social reproduction, the ways in which that work is socially necessary, and the extent to which private profit depends on the unpaid work of social reproduction. Women's equality is not just a logical outcome of limited access to the labour force and its impact on individual women and men in family households. Capitalist private enterprise depends on women's subordination for its labour force.

This is an interesting book and well-worth reading. When the authors try to make generalizations about human history, they fail. The book, however, can be read without taking their historical overview very seriously. When discussing the contemporary capitalist societies of Europe and North America, the authors present excellent data, a provocative argument and make a useful contribution to current debates.

Benhabib, Seyla and Judith Resnick, eds. 2009. ***Migrations and Mobilities: Citizenship, Borders, and Gender***. New York: New York University Press, 2009. ISBN 978-0-8147-7600-1. Paperback: 22.00 US. Pages: 505.

Reviewed by Cynthia Wright
York University

The aim of *Migrations and Mobilities* is to bring gender as a category of analysis to bear on questions of citizenship and migration. This is a difficult proposition: for one thing, the global literature in these two areas is massive; for another, the category of gender is again undergoing substantial re-theorizing. Moreover, there is already a rich literature on gender, migration and citizenship – much of which in the Canadian context has been pioneered by anti-racist feminist scholars and activists. So what does *Migrations and Mobilities* contribute to the debate?

First, while billed as an interdisciplinary collection, the collection is highly dominated by legal perspectives: of the sixteen contributors (including the two co-editors), nine of them are in law and many of the other scholars are in political science. What this means in practice – though in principle it might have been different – is that a substantial focus of the volume is on national, federal and transnational (largely the EU) legal regimes and how they shape women's migrations, equality and access to citizenship. In short, those readers with a well-developed scepticism for human rights frameworks, NGOs with their "rights-based approaches," exclusively law-based strategies for achieving radical social change (including gender justice), and celebrations of the public sphere and citizenship are going to get seriously twitchy at chunks (though by no means all) of this collection. Migrant justice organizers will immediately notice the lack of discussion of detention and deportation – not to mention violence (including state violence) directed against migrants.

A further initial observation is that the overwhelming majority of the scholars are based in the US with two in Canada and two in Western Europe. This, in turn, is linked to a disciplinary division of labour in which the legal scholars are largely focussed on the US and Europe, while the social scientists in the collection (Aihwa Ong and Valentine Moghadam, for example) take up the anthology's themes in relation to Asia and the Middle East respectively. In short, those looking for a transnational feminist anthology (e.g. Jacqui Alexander and Chandra Mohanty's classic *Feminist Genealogies, Colonial Legacies, Democratic Futures* [Routledge, 1997]) will

be disappointed. Although the articles by legal scholar Audrey Macklin and by Valentine Moghadam (on Women Living Under Muslim Laws and other transnational networks) do examine dilemmas of feminist organizing, this is not the book's focus.

To be fair about the law focus of *Migrations and Mobilities*, a number of these legal scholars (some more than others it must be said) do express real caution about what may be achieved though law-based strategies. Moreover, they clearly differ among themselves on some fundamental questions of legal strategy. There is also some interesting and important discussion here, for example in Sarah K. van Walsum's account of Dutch law, policy and transnational mothering, of the ways in which feminist campaigns in family law actually produce deeply problematic outcomes in the immigration law context and therefore for migrant mothers. Jacqueline Bhabha is equally illuminating on questions of children and citizenship (including the politics of birthright citizenship) in diverse jurisdictions. And Aihwa Ong, in an article on migrant domestic workers within Asia ("A Bio-Cartography: Maids, Neoslavery, and NGOs"), is highly critical of NGOs, noting that, "In action, NGOs have not so much converted the globally excluded into humanity with legal rights as they have redefined and reordered different categories of the human in connection with various moral systems, markets, and the state" (178). Nor is everyone in the collection celebratory of citizenship. Legal scholar Linda Bosniak (always worth reading) is the most critical of "citizenship talk." In her "Citizenship, Noncitizenship, and the Transnationalization of Domestic Work," she observes: "the profusion of citizenship talk in our normative political and legal theory is not only confusing but theoretically dangerous. In particular, the aspirational uses of the idea of citizenship – the ideals of equal citizenship, democratic citizenship, and economic citizenship – may work to undermine the claims and interests of aliens" (146). Also useful in this connection are Catherine Dauvergne's chapter on exclusions within citizenship as well as Linda Kerber's illuminating historical consideration of how the United States has historically produced not just "illegality" but statelessness.

But there are limits to this collection as a whole, some of them rather serious. To begin with, the collection is largely bereft of an analysis of nationalism and racism, seriously weakening many (though not all) of the contributions. Critical theoretical works by figures such as Benedict Anderson on nations; Anne McClintock on the seductions and dangers of nationalisms; or Étienne Balibar on nationalisms, neo-racisms and Europe do not figure in the analyses. Moreover, the anti-racist feminist scholarship

on citizenship, colonialism, multiculturalism, the immigration system, migrant labour regimes, and state violence, is not for most of these writers (Jacqueline Bhabha would be one of the exceptions) a point of reference. Too often, while differences among women may be acknowledged, an intersectional understanding of gender – including as it has developed in critical anti-racist legal studies – is missing in many of these pieces. This leads, in some cases, to neo-racist readings of "culture," or to a proliferation of what Mahmood Mamdani, in *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim* (Pantheon Books, 2004), calls "culture talk." David Jacobson's deeply contentious and rather incoherent article on "Multiculturalism, Gender, and Rights" is a good example.

There are other major gaps. Given the serious critique that scholars such as Bridget Anderson and Kamala Kempadoo (among others) have advanced of "trafficking in women" and "female sexual slavery" frameworks, it is too bad that these is not discussion in this volume of how such frameworks have powerfully served to buttress immigration controls transnationally and further criminalize women's migrations. Also missing is any discussion of the hetero-normativity of citizenship and immigration, a theme which has been developed in some excellent recent literature.

Migrations and Mobilities: Citizenship, Borders, and Gender is, in short, a huge mixed bag – and, at almost 500 pages, just plain huge. There are about six or so really worthwhile articles out of the fourteen. As a book, it will likely appeal most to legal scholars – or you could bypass the collection and go directly to the work of some of the best of these contributors.

Saul, John S. 2009. ***Revolutionary Traveller: Freeze-Frames from a Life***. Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring. ISBN 978-1894037-37-2. Paperback: 26.95 CAD. Pages: 320.

Reviewed by Toby Leon Moorsom
Queen's University

One of the tenets of historical materialism is that we make the world, but not in circumstances of our choosing. A legacy of imperialism is that we are constantly pushed into categories of insider-outsider, civilized-heathen. As capital advances, it reconstructs the past and redefines tradition while relying on uneven geographic development to expand markets and extract

resources from those in the newly defined peripheries. Those of us in the North who seek to make contact with, and contribute to "the cause of people struggling for more humane and equitable social outcomes" in the peripheries of the global capitalist economy are greatly challenged by the relative power with which we can move around the world in comparison to those who are most exploited (9). Our privilege is difficult to transcend.

Any conscientious person in the North writing on their efforts to build solidarity with the South must contend with powerful colonial narratives into which our thoughts can easily fall. Recently in these pages, Day (2010, 169) described a new book on Africa as beset by "'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. 'This grand scene had its logic,' writes Krotz, 'but I couldn't find it.'" Joseph Conrad lives on.

Aware of these challenges, Saul argues that solidarity is "easier to do when one becomes convinced that struggles around the world, in both southern Africa and Canada for example, are linked together by their focus upon a common enemy: capitalism, both local and global" (9). Moreover, he insists we should "avoid the temptation of merely getting off on other people's revolutions, thereby evading the more difficult task of bringing about necessary changes in one's own society" (118). In *Revolutionary Traveller*, Saul seeks to re-evaluate his efforts to do just this throughout his prolific career of more than 40 years as a "scholar-activist" writing on Africa in the global economy. Whether or not he has succeeded, those of us trying to forge a renewed commitment to internationalism on the left would be wise to examine his efforts.

In this, his 18th book, Saul is forced to consider the clichés of memoirs, in which the writer places themselves in heroic positions against a hostile, or at best stubborn world, while allowing us intimate insights into their lives. He navigates this by placing the historical context of the struggle at the centre, he then re-evaluates the ways he and others sought to support Southern African liberation and anti-apartheid movements, whether on the continent or in Canada. In some instances their positions were clearly "correct" insofar as they contributed to the liberation struggles and/or accurately assessed the strengths and limitations of their trajectory. He also self-critically reflects on the shortfalls of his analysis. For example, Saul recognizes that his enthusiasm for the struggle in Mozambique led him to overestimate the possibilities for participatory processes to fend off authoritarian tendencies while confronting enormous structural barriers. He also laments that his "hopes, dreams and analyses"

of the possibilities for "genuine liberation and development" in South Africa were overblown. Instead, it became another example of the "false decolonization" Fanon had predicted (245).

Still, *Revolutionary Traveller* is more than a retrospective, in part because it relies on the interwoven reprinting of excerpts from sources we would otherwise struggle to find today. These excerpts are clearly chosen for the way they bridge Saul's place in Canada and his commitment to Africa. One example is a submission (from 1976) to the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry in support of national self-determination for the Dene Nation. This piece gives insights into the arguments for nationalism from those who fought for it in Africa and elsewhere while also being aware of its limitations. They are arguments we would be wise to revisit – whether or not we believe the state needs to be a target of our own activism, for example, in relation to the occupation of Palestine. The book is thus also an examination of Imperialism as it is navigated by people committed to ending it. In this way, it is a gift from Saul to a new generation of academics, students and activists who wish to pick up where our parents and grandparents in struggle left off; to inform our own battles and prevent us from making the same mistakes.

As history is continually rewritten around us, ideological portrayals of the past slowly cloud our perceptions of it. We can then lose sight of just how bad things actually were - as well as what it actually took to change them. To be sure, the grotesque nature of present day imperialism continues to extend the boundaries of the imagination. Yet within Canada the history of just how complicit and vile our state policy and corporate actors have been disappears into the ethers. Saul's recollections break down some of these illusions, revealing the deep connections between Canadian corporate interests and the pitiful positions our country has taken in the 30 years war for liberation in Southern Africa. Saul reminds us that at so many moments Canada clearly placed itself on the wrong side of history, whether it was in its refusal to end business interests in Portuguese African colonies or with apartheid South Africa.

These essays sometimes prove to have been particularly prophetic, with the insights into the role of education in processes of decolonization being highly relevant to the present. The struggles against reactionary, careerist, university students in Dar es Salaam, contrast remarkably with the public educational processes taking place in Mozambique that were grounded in struggle and predominantly rural in nature. In many ways, the lived realities of the Mozambiquan villager-cum-guerrillas addressed the various crises of post-Althusserian Marxist theory in more nuanced ways

than prominent academics writing in Europe or North America at the time. Western academic Marxists were debating state theory in highly abstract terms following the failed May 1968 uprising in Paris. Yet, Samora Machel could suggest to Saul that "Africans must use Marxism, Marxism must not be allowed to use Africans." It was no doubt a challenge to strike a balance between leadership and mass action. Nonetheless, Saul found there was "substantial commitment, genuine institutional creativity and much political subtlety" in their efforts (141). Thus he could argue there was "even the possibility…that Mozambique will find itself making its own distinctive contribution to the historical experience of Marxism (142). Even if it was not successful in truly transforming society, their struggle toppled a dictatorship in the colonial centre. What an extraordinary contrast with the present state of education on the continent, which is floundering with an absence of both resources and a sense of purpose while the intelligentsia flows out of it for innumerable reasons.

Overall, the volume helps us recognize the ways these politics were lived out by sensuous beings and held real consequences. The chapters on Mozambique and South Africa could be nicely integrated in to an undergrad course on Canada and the Third World, while the debates in Dar should be utilized in colleges of education, alongside Paolo Friere.

Reference

Day, Richard J.F. 2010. Review of *The Uncertain Business of Doing Good: Outsiders in Africa*, Larry Krotz. *Socialist Studies/Études socialistes* 6, no.1: 169-171.

Williams, Michelle. 2008. ***The Roots of Participatory Democracy: Democratic Communists in South Africa and Kerala, India***. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. ISBN 978-0-230-60640-1. Cloth: 102.00 CAD. Pages: 240.

Reviewed by William K. Carroll
University of Victoria

Based on a dissertation completed under Michael Burawoy's supervision at Berkeley, this engaging book makes several timely contributions to political sociology, and to socialist studies. As her methodological appendix details, between 2000 and 2005 Williams spent two and a half years conducting field work in South Africa and in the Indian state of

Kerala, interviewing scores of activists in and around the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI(M)), attending meetings, rallies and the like, and pouring over documents. The result is a rich study that combines ethnographic and comparative-historical analysis with astute theoretical interpretation in a Gramscian mode.

Williams's book is a reply to the tendency, dominant since the 1970s and shared by right-wing and (many) left-wing scholars, to dismiss left (especially communist) parties as vehicles for social transformation. From the right, liberal society (a.k.a. global capitalism) appears as a fixture of modernity; parties merely serve to aggregate interests within an order from which there can be no exit. From the left, parties are seen as anachronisms unsuited to the plurality of identities and new social movements that animate the political landscape. Early on, Williams dispenses with these undialectical notions. In exploring the renaissance of democratic communist parties in two Southern sites, she asks, "how do we understand political parties that are organizing and mobilizing in similar ways as global social movements?" and asserts, as a central thesis, that "democratic, emancipatory politics requires transforming the state and to do this requires political parties with deep roots in civil society" (2).

Central to the work is a conception of socialism as "the dominance of civil society over the state and economy" (11), which displaces (but does not dispense with) the state and puts participatory democracy at the centre of social transformation. This conception informs a typology of politics that distinguishes on the one hand, between hegemonic (statist) initiatives from above and counter-hegemonic (civil society) initiatives from below, and on the other, between the "protest politics" of mass mobilization that makes claims upon the state and a "generative politics" that seeks to transform state and economy by developing new institutions, organizations and political actors. Williams allows that socialism as a transformative process involves a combination of all four forms, but sees counter-hegemonic generative politics as indispensable in rooting party and state within an empowered civil society.

Applying these ideas to the cases at hand – with a temporal focus on the period since the early 1990s – Williams shows that both the SACP and CPI(M) underwent remarkable, and remarkably convergent, processes of ideological renewal in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Both parties shifted from a state-centred conception of socialism to a vision of *socialist democracy* moored in the participation and empowerment of ordinary citizens. In the early 1990s, both envisaged a counter-hegemonic

generative politics that would deepen and extend democracy, transform the state into a strategic coordinator of agency from below, develop socialist logics (e.g. co-operative, community-based) alongside the predominant capitalist logic, and extend the sway of civil society by empowering ordinary people to organize various aspects of economic activity. Yet while the CPI(M) has with considerable success translated this vision into practice, the SACP has emphasized state-led development and allowed democratization to remain within representational forms, limiting the scope of grassroots participation. The SACP's practices led to a hegemonic generative politics in which radical socialist aspirations were muted as the African National Congress (ANC) embraced neoliberalism; the CPI(M)'s practices begat a counter-hegemonic generative politics of participation that has mobilized civil society, "unleashing a wave of new initiatives in the political, economic, and social realms" (33).

The middle chapters present a nuanced analysis, far too fine-grained to summarize here, that strives to account for these different trajectories. Williams sees the two parties' divergence as resulting from three primary sets of factors working in conjunction: organizational capacities of the parties, the relative strengths of statist, trade-union and grassroots political factions within the parties, and the economic and political contexts within which parties operate. Although both parties developed as Leninist cadre formations, the CPI(M) is far larger and is organically linked to Kerala's vibrant popular sector (every party member is required to be active in a popular organization), giving it much greater capacity for generative politics. Both parties have been "internally contested battlefields" comprised of competing factions (91). After returning from exile in the early 1990s, the SACP's participation in the "tripartite alliance" with the ANC and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) brought a statist faction into party leadership (and literally into the state), which was only eclipsed in the late 1990s by a trade union faction practising a protest politics set against the ANC's neoliberal turn. The dominance of these factions within the SACP was conditioned by the political-economic context – semi-peripheral industrialization and a strong capitalist class that became allied with the electorally dominant ANC (with which the SACP was a junior partner). In agrarian Kerala, the bourgeoisie was weak and incapable of hegemonic leadership, and in the 1990s a grassroots faction gained influence within the party, fueling innovative initiatives in participatory democracy and decentralized, self-reliant development. All this clarifies how it is that Kerala now enjoys one

of the highest levels of human development and quality of life in the majority world, despite a modest official GDP.

The Roots of Participatory Democracy is not only a fine ethnographic and comparative-historical investigation that enriches our understanding of contemporary socialist politics in the Global South. It makes a valuable theoretical contribution in clarifying the contingent connections between political economy, left parties and counter-hegemony. If the Kerala case confirms the possibility of counter-hegemonic generative politics, it also suggests that such politics requires "a new type of political party, one that is not afraid to empower civil society" (156). The relevance of these insights for socialist projects underway in Venezuela, Bolivia and elsewhere is self-evident.

Engler, Yves. 2010. ***Canada and Israel: Building Apartheid***. Vancouver and Black Point: RED Publishing and Fernwood. ISBN: 978-1-55266-355-4. Paperback: 14.95 CAD. Pages: 168.

Reviewed by Yasmeen Abu-Laban
University of Alberta

The minority Conservative government of Stephen Harper has drawn popular and media attention for its policies and statements relating to Israel/Palestine. As Yves Engler notes in his new book, the Conservatives have publicly claimed for Canada the role of being the most "pro-Israel" country in the world (94). But what happened before Prime Minister Harper? Engler's concise and informative history of Canada's foreign policy towards Israel answers this in ways that will be disquieting for Canadians who support the image of their country as a middle power, peacekeeper and helpful fixer on the international stage. Far from being an "honest broker," this accessibly written account shows that well before Harper there was "Canadian support for the dispossession of the Palestinians, for a state building a nation based on one religion, and for the last major European colonial project" (4).

In a tightly packed Introduction, Engler argues that Israel is an "apartheid state," (5) due to the absence of formal equality accorded the non-Jewish indigenous inhabitants and their descendants of historic Palestine – that is Palestinian Arabs who may be Muslim or Christian. The denial of the right of return to Palestinian refugees stands in dramatic

contrast to Israel's "Law of Return" which privileges those that are defined as Jews – wherever they may be – for settlement and Israeli citizenship. The deprivation, human rights abuses, and bantustan-like conditions experienced by Palestinians living under military occupation in the West Bank and Gaza, contrast with the mantra of Israel as the only democracy in the Middle East. In Israel proper, laws privilege Jewish land ownership such that Palestinians who hold Israeli citizenship are legally excluded from owning a whopping 93% of the land (7). The ten chapters that follow the Introduction concentrate on delineating the role played by the Canadian state, Canadian officials and Canadian citizens in, as the book's subtitle suggests, "building apartheid." The book concludes with consideration of how the course might be changed.

A specific strength of Engler's account is that he illustrates that going back to the nineteenth century there was strong support by Canadian state officials for modern Zionism, a political project that came to coalesce around the goal of forming a Jewish state in historic Palestine. This, he suggests, was because in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some of the most active and vocal Zionists in Canada were Christian and their views, based on a particular biblical interpretation, were linked to British-Canadian nationalism. Thus, illustrating the erasure of the presence and claims of the non-Jewish inhabitants in historic Palestine, Engler cites future Prime Minister Arthur Meighen, then Solicitor General, declaring in 1915 that "I think I can speak for those of the Christian faith when I express the wish that God speed the day when the land of your forefathers shall be yours again. This task I hope will be performed by that champion of liberty the world over – the British Empire" (14). Likewise, a slew of twentieth century Prime Ministers, including William Lyon Mackenzie King, R.B. Bennett and Lester Pearson expressed similar views. Indeed, so instrumental was Lester B. Pearson in forging support for the partition of Palestine within the fledgling United Nations that Engler notes he was dubbed by some the "'Lord Balfour' of Canada" (24), in reference to British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour whose 1917 declaration promised British support of a Jewish "national home" in Palestine. It is interesting that Pearson also credited his Sunday school lessons for learning that "the Jews belonged in Palestine" (25).

After the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, Engler traces how official Canadian support for the Zionist project continued to the present. This support is sustained not only by a Christian evangelical tradition that links with Israel, but by real ties between Canada and Israel in the spheres of intelligence, military and business, as well as by geopolitical

considerations stemming from American empire. As summarized by Engler, "Canadian policy towards the Middle East has largely been designed to enable U.S. imperial designs on a strategic part of the planet" (133). Thus, in his account, the post-World War Two Canadian Prime Ministers whose policies were relatively more independent of the United States (Trudeau and Chrétien) also presided over "the least 'Israel no matter what it does' governments in Canadian history" (134). An entire chapter devoted to the Harper Conservatives illustrates how the current government has provided justifications of Israel's bombing of Lebanon (2006) and Gaza (2008-2009) as well as having engaged in stronger patterns of voting in the United Nations in support of Israel. While not covered, events around the time of the release of the book suggest the trend continues. In particular, the Conservative government also defunded organizations advocating for, or aiding, Palestinian refugees (for example, Canada's Christian multi-denominational human rights group KAIROS, as well as UNRWA, the United Nations Relief and Works Agency which has traditionally garnered support from Canada).

Canada and Israel: Building Apartheid is an intervention designed to capture Canada's role in Israel/Palestine in a way that counters "a pro-Israel perspective" suggested in other books (4). It is not a standard scholarly book which painstakingly outlines supporting and/or competing theories, evidence and interpretation from a variety of sources. It also lacks an index. But it succeeds in providing a strong, clear and compelling narrative that scholars, especially those who address Canadian foreign policy, really need to contend with in scholarship. The work is highly readable and will certainly appeal to a wide audience, perhaps precisely because it is not a standard scholarly book. The author's knack for picking pithy quotes and examples to substantiate his claims make for memorable reading. I suspect that Engler is right that many Canadian readers on finishing the account provided may be "troubled, upset and even angry at what is being done in their name" (139).

The book's most formidable value lies in how it identifies ways forward for unions, for activists, and for Canadians of all backgrounds – including Arab and Jewish – to deal with issues relating to Palestinian rights along with the democratization of Canadian foreign policy. It is perhaps not surprising, given its increasing traction, that supporting the Boycott, Divestment and Sanction (BDS) campaign designed to compel the Israeli state's compliance with international law is featured. But so too are such issues as halting weapons sales to Israel, revoking the Jewish National Fund's charitable status in Canada in light of its support given to West

Bank settlers, and re-formulating Canadian foreign policy so social justice, rather than empire, comes first. For those committed to progressive social change, this is an important and timely book.

Satgar, Vishwas and Langa Zita, eds. 2009. ***New Frontiers for Socialism in the 21st Century: Conversations on a Global Journey***. Johannesburg: Co-operative and Policy Alternative Centre. ISBN 9780620412025. Paperback: 13.95 US. Pages: 316.

Reviewed by John S. Saul
York University

This is an interesting volume, albeit one that has, surprisingly, become rather stale-dated by the time of its appearance. After all, the chapter-length interviews upon which the book is based were carried out in 1998-1999, and the book's publication date is 2009! Fortunately, the reflections of the editors – both prominent younger South African militants – are more up-to-date (as we will have occasion to note below). In addition, the unfortunate fact remains that the world has not changed so very much in the past decade that any apparent stale-dating of the interviews is a fatal flaw: capitalism is still in crisis and, more generally, without any very convincing claim to genuinely human purpose; socialism continues to provide a real and meaningful alternative to capitalism, albeit still very much more in theory than in practice; while even such "socialist theory" needs, as the various interviewees attest, urgent retooling if it is to be taken ever more seriously and to guide ever more effective practice.

For beyond the realm of the "working-class" (itself so often much too rigidly and rhetorically invoked on the left), the imperatives of finding innovative democratic practices and of responding to novel constituencies (women, civil society organizations and the like) as potential components of a new counter-hegemonic thrust have been downplayed, historically, by socialists. The strong original cast of leftist thinkers and activists from around the world who were interviewed for purposes of inclusion of their voices in successive chapters of this volume argue otherwise - albeit to varying degrees but to impressive effect. Thus they ground the continuing importance of working class struggle in their various national sites of struggle while also seeking to push back the frontiers of left imagination as regards the constituency for and the content of possible transformation.

Nonetheless, it is sobering to note that ten years later the global health of socialism is not any more hale than it was at that time – but also that the world's condition under the continuing hegemony of global capitalism has scarcely improved. We have, in short, both a crisis of capitalism *and* a crisis of the left. Of course, both these crises are the focus of the enlightened reflections of the international array of socialists (including, among others, Prabhat Patnaik, Boris Kagarlitsky, Makatoh Itoh, Samir Amin and Hilary Wainwright), from both Global North and South, who have been interviewed by the two editors; such socialists were invited to contemplate the realities of their own revolutionary practice in their own countries and also of role played by them and their comrades as part of a global socialist response to capital's continued hegemony.

It would be impossible here to summarize the range and diversity of their responses but, the interviewees, linked in both their sobriety and their sustained commitment to struggle, are a source of considerable enlightenment. This is true, not least, of the views of Leo Panitch, our Canadian "representative" in the book, who echoes the call of others for the need to continue to "commit to a socialist alternative simply to be true to ourselves." But, quite substantively, he calls for both a more "creative Marxism" than ever before and also for the kind of effective practice through which, over the long haul, we can, "like worms in the soil [prepare] the fertile ground" for transformation (77).

A second level, of particular interest to the present author, are the conclusions (more up-to-date, as noted, and even covering the 2009 South African election) written separately by the two overall editors, Vishwas Satgar and Langa Zita (who have also, jointly, written the introduction). As it happens, these two now find themselves deeply disappointed by much that has happened within the ranks of ostensibly left movements (the South African Communist Party, for example) to which they have long been committed. And they are now asking themselves tough questions (with a little help from the global network of comrades they have interviewed in these pages) about their own previous practice and that of their colleagues at home. Here Zita concentrates on synthesizing, effectively, the range of views and points of creative imaginings of the diverse interviewees, but Satgar does something equally interesting: reflecting on the fate and dynamics of socialism in South Africa itself.

In fact, the subtitles of the various sections are sufficiently eloquent and evocative of the thrust of Satgar's argument to bear repeating here: "The Rise of Neo-Stalinist Populism in South Africa," "The 2009 Elections and the Political Suicide of the SACP," "Keeping History Open: The Struggle

for a Democratic Left Project in South Africa." And he notes both the continuing belief of too many "in a false hope that the ANC-led Alliance will eventually deliver on its promises," while also affirming that "as we journeyed inside the SACP we were betrayed by the ambitions of a morally, politically and ideologically bankrupt leadership faction." Now, he concludes as careful argument, we must "reject short-cuts and build in a bottom-up and painstaking way a serious socialist alternative: a democratic left project" (316).

As it happens, I clearly recall my own most intimate interaction with Satgar and Zita in Johannesburg - a decade ago! I had offered, at a seminar which they also attended in Johannesburg, a range of sceptical thoughts about the organized (and, I thought, failed) "left" (by then in or close to power) in South Africa and the nature of what had become its much less than revolutionary vocation. For these views I was vigorously attacked by the two authors (among others) – "panga-packed" (set upon by [figurative] machetes, as the phrase then was). But the prolonged preparation of this book, as well as the continued playing out of the situation in South Africa itself, has given Satgar and Zita the opportunity to reflect. For they now appear to share with me many of the same opinions themselves!

Let me be clear: I make this last point not in self-defense: I have been wrong – about persons, movements and possibilities – so many times in the course of my own career as a left commentator (and activist) on Africa that, literally, I have little right to so respond. What I can say, however, is that it is gratifying to find younger South African comrades who remain willing to question their own premises and to cast their net widely so as to ask themselves and others what we, those of us of firm but imaginatively flexible left persuasion, might think and do next. In fact, it feels easier to echo, in southern Africa, the old Frelimo slogan from the days of Mozambique's liberation moment, *A Luta Continua*/"The Struggle Continues," after reading such a volume.

Angus, Ian, ed. 2010. ***The Global Fight for Climate Justice: Anticapitalist Responses to Global Warming and Environmental Destruction***. Halifax: Fernwood. ISBN 978-1-5526-6344-8. Paperback: 24.95 CAD. Pages: 286.

Reviewed by Randolph Haluza-DeLay
King's University College

The climate change debates need the perspective brought by *The Global Fight for Climate Justice*. Amidst contention over the science and mechanisms to mitigate or adapt, few are willing to face the fact that eliminating the root causes of global environmental degradation cannot be accomplished within the growth imperatives of capitalism. This is the central argument in the nearly four dozen essays by over three dozen writers who present a compelling and explicit socialist analysis grounded in a presumption that capital's accumulation pressure is the root of injustice and environmental degradation.

The first major contribution of this book is this penetrating explication of capitalism as the foundation of global environmental change and its inadequacy to be any solution to the crucial problem of climate change. Capitalism is positioned as the root cause of global climate injustice, that is, the unfair distribution of the costs and future impacts of global climate change. As John Bellamy Foster writes "We must recognize that today's ecological problems are related to a system of global inequality that demands ecological destruction as a necessary condition of its existence" (89).

The second major contribution of the book is that it collects in one place many socialist writings on the topic. Ian Angus is the Canadian founder of *Climate and Capitalism* (http://climateandcapitalism.com); he contributes seven of the essays, most of which originated from that website. Many of the other essays have previously appeared in a variety of publications, including *Socialist Resistance* (http://socialistresistance.org), whose book arm (Resistance Books) is the British co-publisher. The collection includes speeches by Fidel Castro (as far back as 1992) and Evo Morales, excerpts from John Bellamy Foster and Joel Kovel, statements such as the Bali and Cochabamba Declarations, essays by Hugo Blanco, Patrick Bond, and many others that are well-known in socialist circles. Judy Rebick (Canada) and Derek Wall (UK) contribute forwards.

However, this breadth is also one of the drawbacks of the book as the forty-four essays tend toward repetitiveness. Essays vary in length from a couple pages to Daniel Tanuro's 45-page, 40 point pronouncement that "21st Century Socialists must be Eco-socialists." This essay is worth giving to anyone who needs proselytizing to a cause that combines ecological attention and socialist praxis. And since it appeared in French and is translated by Angus, this is the only English source. Other essays also stand out, including, among others, Terry Townsend's "Capitalism's Anti-ecology Treadmill," Angus' "World Hunger, Agribusiness, Food

Sovereignty" and the (Australian) Socialist Alliance's ten-step plan for climate action.

The book is divided into eight sections with roughly equal number of contributions. The first Section on "Climate Emergency" is only 17 pages, but that's probably enough as its accounts of the climate crisis are repeatedly covered in other essays. Following sections include "Starving the Poor," "False Explanations, False Solutions," "The Fantasy of Green Capitalism," "Privatizing the Atmosphere," and "Voices from the Global South." Together they present a compelling case that climate change is an injustice and that many proposed mitigation and adaptation mechanisms replicate existing social inequities and structures of privilege. Especially strong is the green capitalism section with its critique of specific market proposals prevalent in the contemporary climate negotiations.

The unrelenting socialist paradigm in the rest of the book makes the "Voices from the Global South" section a startling contrast. Many of these essays are from an indigenous perspective with an explicit spirituality that is in marked contrast to the historical materialist tenor of the rest of the essays. Unfortunately, Canadian Inuit leader Sheila Watt-Cloutier – one of the strongest voices for climate justice – is not included. "Climate Justice" is a camp broader than the socialist tent and perhaps including in the book more perspectives from other campers would have been beneficial for the overall movement.

Also missing is a gender analysis. Considerable research indicates that women face disparate impacts from men, even in the same locales and class positions. An example is Ariel Salleh's collection, *Eco-Sufficiency and Global Justice: Women Write Political Ecology* (Pluto Press, 2009).

Late in the book comes a section on social movement building that illuminates some of the difficulty of building broad-based social movements. The final section emphasizes, if readers had not gotten the message already, "Ecosocialist Responses to Capitalist Ecocide." Several contributors acknowledge that "actually existing socialism" has had as dismal an environmental record as capitalism, and socialist movements have just as often ignored environmental sustainability as environmentalists have ignored social justice. The point is, as Angus writes, "To make the greens redder and the reds greener." Every critique is strengthened by a roadmap to a better future and several essays in these sections offer concrete proposals.

The other main drawback of the collection is that Angus wields an overly light editorial hand. The repetitiveness is one example. The individual essays could have included introductions providing context or

explaining internal references that may not be immediately familiar to many readers. Citations for the original sources of the contributions would be useful. And there is unevenness in referencing - some essays cite sources while others don't, making the book much more difficult to use in an academic setting. Course instructors would likely want to choose a couple of readings from each section to avoid repetition.

Lastly, the implicit theory of justice is limited to distributional inequities, although the environmental justice literature highlights other dimensions of justice. Justice in this book is justice for humans, not for the earth or other parts of the evolutionary order.

Nevertheless, this is a collection that adds value to the campaign for climate justice. It demonstrates the ongoing relevance of socialist analysis and it articulates a clear "ecosocialist" position. For these reasons, *The Global Fight for Climate Justice* is to be recommended.

Harvey, David. 2009. ***Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom***. New York: Columbia University Press. ISBN 978-0-231-14846-7. Cloth: 31.50 CAD. Pages: 339.

Reviewed by Steven Tufts
York University

David Harvey's *Cosmopolitanism and the Geographies of Freedom* is based on his 2005 Wellek Library Lectures in Critical Theory delivered at the University of California at Irvine. The lectures make the case for geographic theory as the "propaedeutic" (i.e. the preliminary knowledge or underlying form of instruction) to any meaningful cosmopolitan project. The author's point of departure is to ask how present and past imperialist projects aimed at establishing cosmopolitan rule of law, freedom and liberation lead to contradictory oppressions ranging from imprisonment and torture to occupation and even genocide. For Harvey, contemporary bourgeois cosmopolitanism is neither egalitarian nor oppositional. Its shortcomings are traced to the lack of a rigorous anthropological and geographical understanding necessary to carry the cosmopolitan project beyond Kant's cosmopolitan law - the right of people to receive "hospitable" treatment by other groups as they travel. Instead, Harvey's cosmopolitanism is transformational, capable of realizing "another world" and is based on a relational understanding of the spaces and places in which we live.

The first part of the book is an intervention into recent debates on the knowledge necessary to foreground "a return to cosmopolitan morality," as led by US scholars such as Martha Nussbaum. Harvey engages thought on universal cosmopolitanism beginning with Kant's cosmopolitan law as the necessary facilitator of trade and commerce. While Harvey dismisses Kant's abhorrent racism and environmental determinism within his geographical understanding, he emphasizes Kant's early appreciation for local differences as the primary challenge to any grand political formation beyond cosmopolitan federalism – a theme Harvey has wrestled with for decades. The author moves to a post-colonial critique of liberal cosmopolitanism and explores how a limited understanding of geography and human attachment to territory was the undoing of the colonial project. Harvey criticizes, however, post-colonial theory which fetishizes the "rootedness" of people in place as absolute (e.g. the work of Uday Singh Mehta). Instead, Harvey prefers to see attachments to place as fluid and moral action (e.g. resistance) derived from multiple relations and universal appeals to justice and equality. The most damning critique (which Harvey could have written in his sleep) is saved for neoliberal utopianism as characterized by Thomas Friedman's popular "flat earth" thesis. Emphasized here is global capitalism's production of increasingly uneven and "unflat" economic landscapes which is not merely an outcome, but a requirement of accumulation.

Harvey is also unimpressed by much of the contemporary cosmopolitan theory as developed by Ulrich Beck, David Held and Nussbaum which fails to challenge the neoliberal order. The failure, Harvey argues, stems from conceptions of space and place which are absolute and fail to grasp, in a dialectical manner, the relationality of space-time. The author is much more sympathetic to the "subaltern cosmopolitanism" of Boaventura de Sousa Santos and the work of Iris Marion Young which seeks to eradicate injustice. For Harvey any new cosmopolitan sensibility must reflect upon basic human needs and build upon current, locally particular struggles across the planet.

In the second part of the book Harvey the geographer arrives in full force. In three chapters, Harvey addresses the traditional geographical concepts of space, place and nature. In his discussion of space-time, Harvey provides a synthesis of Marxist frameworks through a matrix which juxtaposes absolute, relative and relational space with Henri Lefebvre's trinity of experienced, conceived and lived spatio-temporalities (145). In a lucid analysis, Harvey clearly demonstrates how everyday experiences, global flows of capital, legal structures and immaterial spaces of

imagination and memory are interwoven in shifting dialectical relationships. The second concept Harvey addresses is place, a term that is as trendy in social theory as it is chaotic. While space, in the absolute and relative sense, dominates much geographical thinking, Harvey attempts an inversion which situates our local attachments and experiences of place in the forefront of discussions of what might be necessary for a transformative cosmopolitics. For Harvey, places, regions and territories are fluid and penetrable and must be relationally analyzed or we reify the spatial flows and processes (i.e. contemporary capitalism) which consistently destroy and reinvent communities at all scales. Lastly, Harvey inserts his dialectical thinking into a discussion of nature/environment relationships. He saves his most powerful criticism for the popular works by Jared Diamond and Jeffrey Sachs as crude environmental determinism. Harvey rails against the danger of these writers who shift causal powers to the absolute space of physical environments away from the complex and uneven relationships among powerful institutions and states.

In an epilogue, Harvey summarizes what kind of thinking is required for a successful cosmopolitan project. Here both individuals and the states are discussed as material and immaterial; existing in absolute, relative and relational terms. Failure to recognize these relational dialectical foundations limit any cosmopolitanism because we are unable to liberate ourselves from "the narrow confines of that absolute theory of space and time which grounds bourgeois authoritarianism" (280). At the same time, Harvey warns that any emphasis in geographical theory that does not include material spaces risks narcissism and irrelevance.

Harvey has written a welcome contribution to debates in geographical theory. It is also written with passion and humour (with more than one zinger aimed at the geographical ignorance of George W. Bush). Making the case for any discipline to be foundational can be easily interpreted as intellectual vanity, but Harvey makes a strong case that indeed "geography is too important to be left to geographers alone." The power of his synthesis is derived from its grounding in the Marxist dialectic and decades (if not centuries) of geographic thought. His succinct discussions of key geographical terms that are too often ill defined will be useful to non-geographers and geographers. Yet, this is not an easy book. Harvey cites theorists at significant length, but he assumes the reader is somewhat knowledgeable of sophisticated work by characters ranging from Strabo to Heidegger. What is perhaps more frustrating is that the project is left incomplete. The book requires an entire third act which is absent. Specifically, we need to know how to operationalize the

"propaedeutic" into everyday politics and thought. At the present time, many would be happy to have western school children simply grasp absolute space (i.e. locate countries on a map). Harvey does little to suggest what is practically required to build dialectical geographical thinking into our understandings of our "places" in a world plagued by conflict and competition for resources. If, as Harvey argues, such consciousness is necessary for any meaningful new cosmopolitanism, we surely must turn some attention to how best implement the necessary political project before we run out of both time and space.

Castells, Manuel. 2009. ***Communication Power***. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ISBN 9-780199-567041. Hardcover: 42.95 CAD. Pages: 571.

Reviewed by Derek Hrynyshyn
York University

Manuel Castells' latest work is a wide-ranging attempt to bring together ideas from different disciplines into a single theorization. He combines cognitive science, media studies, and comparative politics in an ambitious effort to develop a new theory of power. Unfortunately, his ambitions exceed his analytical abilities, producing a work that fails to connect his substantial specific claims with his theoretical conclusions.

Building on his earlier trilogy, *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture* (Blackwell, 1996; 1997; 1998), Castells focuses on the relationship between communication and power in what he calls the "network society." The "network" remains the central concept and he uses it to identify several forms of power: network power, networking power, networked power and network-making power. The differences concern whether power is being exercised over other parts of a network, or over others outside a network, or over entire networks.

Making sense of these concepts requires knowing exactly what a "network" is, but this term is too ambiguous to be helpful. It wasn't defined clearly in the earlier trilogy, and remains unspecified here; Castells merely supplies the phrase "an interconnected series of nodes" instead of distinguishing networks from other forms of organization. The term "network," intended to be flexible enough to describe various different

kinds of organizational forms, ends up being so inclusive as to be of little value, providing no basis for understanding different forms of power.

What would be necessary, to show the value of these ideas, is identification of what can't be explained without them, and how these new forms of power help us understand those things better than we could with familiar theories. Instead of justifying his new theoretical system, Castells uses the language of networks to discuss the organization of existing media systems; theories of cognition, emotion and meaning; and recent political developments. These discussions are interesting and important, and combining these discussions to show how important communication is to the exercise of power, and how we need a theory of power that can account for this is valuable. But proposing this synthesis as the basis for a new general description of how power works makes what could have been a helpful book for a general audience into a more demanding work that requires more background but provides little insight.

His insistence on the need for new theories stems from a refusal to identify any particular social force as dominant. For him, the notion that a "power elite" exists is "a simplified image of power in society whose analytical value is limited to some extreme cases" (47). Political, economic and cultural power are all said to operate differently through different networks simultaneously, so we need different theories for different networks. This appears plausible, but as the framework is developed, this kind of pluralistic rubric serves only to justify retheorizing on the basis of the failure of political economy to explain the social world. In particular, he rejects the notion that there is a capitalist class which occupies a central position in the structure of power in our society: "it does have some power, but not over everyone and everything: it is highly dependent on both the autonomous dynamics of global networks and on the decisions of governments in terms of regulations and policies" (44).

This is true in a simple sense, but elsewhere he recognizes the prevalence of deregulation and privatization, particularly in communication industries; an indication that the capitalist class does have power to influence networks of state power. Different networks might organize power differently, but Castells fails to identify any significant network anywhere whose power, goals and organizational principles set it against capital. As a result, his insistence that capital is not at the centre of the structure of social power is simply unconvincing.

His discussion of existing communication systems is a case in point. After introducing the promising concept of "mass self-communication" to describe the way that interactive and distributed networks are used, he

follows with a well-documented analysis of the ownership structure of global media corporations, demonstrating the extent to which the world's communications networks are controlled by a small number of private owners. However, he concludes that, because "a creative audience emerges" in the use of new technologies,

> in spite of the growing concentration of power, capital and production in the global communication system, the actual content and format of communication practices are increasingly diversified (136).

This optimism is not backed up by examples of the exercise of power by those who lacked power without the internet, but only through discussion of the potential uses of the internet.

Much of the evidence he does provide fails to support the conclusions he reaches in his discussion of particular political situations. His look at Russian state violence against the media is one example: he is able to provide compelling evidence that the media has been brought under control of the government; his conclusion, however, is that the lack of open debate in the pages of the Russian press is the result of "self-censorship," as if publishers reach their own conclusions about what they ought to cover. Elsewhere he discusses Rupert Murdoch and his influential extreme-conservative Fox News Network yet rejects the idea of the property of the capitalist class as a source of power as "a truly abstract and unverifiable proposition" (430).

Throughout the book, the evidence is anecdotal and unsystematic. The ability to draw on a wide variety of events and facts gives the appearance of a well-supported theory, but few of the particular claims made are convincing. For instance, Obama's electoral success is presented as a victory for "insurgent politics," but the inability of his administration to fulfill campaign promises of a different kind of politics indicates that his win represents more a renewed ability to attract popular support for a rhetorically different version of the same political project. And his discussion of global warming draws on anecdotal evidence to argue that the current awareness of the problem constitutes the beginning of "a deep cultural transformation of societies around the world." (338) The decline in the acceptance of climate science in the US, the Senate's refusal to adopt even weak limits on carbon emissions, and the international community's repeated failure to negotiate a treaty to deal with the problem are all difficult to reconcile with his optimistic view of the potential for change represented by the structure of communication power.

Ultimately, there is little new here except a framework of unhelpfully open-ended concepts. Without specified limits on their meaning, there is no reason accept his account rather than explanations based on a more traditional political economy of communication. Power is certainly being exercised through communication and Castells deserves some credit for synthesizing discussion of many examples of this into a single volume. But the assembled information doesn't cry out for a new explanation nearly as much as he suggests. Readers are likely to wonder if it is really necessary to create entirely new theories of power to understand how the media use emotional appeals to convince us to support wars, or why the mainstream media are full of celebrity gossip and scandals concerning the private lives of politicians, or how activists can use YouTube and Facebook to reach a large online audience. The efforts are more likely better spent refining existing explanations of the same events.

Newson, Janice and Claire Polster, eds. 2010. ***Academic Callings: The University We Have Had, Now Have, and Could Have***. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press. ISBN 9781551303697. Paperback: 34.95 CAD. Pages: 276.

Reviewed by Diane Meaghan
Seneca College of Applied Arts and Technology

During the past few decades, many texts have addressed the way that world economies have become increasingly linked through state intervention, expanded international trade in goods and services and investments by regional, national and transnational corporations and businesses. A no less important aspect of globalization concerns the manner in which universities are now viewed by the state and corporations as an important source of knowledge innovation. The authors of *Academic Callings* persuasively argue that the transformation of power and knowledge relations in universities is a reflection of the changing political economy of the Canadian state that increasingly serves corporate interests. The various contributors, including some of Canada's pre-eminent scholars and members of the next generation of academics, examine the exogenous policies of government under-funding and corporate pressures as well as the endogenous practices of administrative and select faculty that have compelled post-secondary institutions to adopt

a managerial/entrepreneurial approach which has altered the structure and purpose of higher education.

The text is composed of five sections with twenty nine chapters in total. The first section entitled "Against All Reason: Wake-Up Calls," provides an interwoven and wide-ranging discussion of the implementation of a neo-liberal agenda, using market mechanisms to induce universities to become engines of economic growth. The book opens with Claire Polster discussing restructuring initiatives that have taken place due to the absence of shared governance between administration and faculty and the centralization of power and decision-making accumulating in administrative functions. A number of authors stress that as knowledge is treated as a commodity, universities actively seek to establish partnerships with corporations and industries, resulting in the redirection of funds from core activities of teaching and basic research to an expansion of administrative functions occupied with fund raising and faculty engaged in applied research.

A distinguishing feature of the book is that it offers unique and rich insights into the impact of institutional restructuring on the scholarly work of teaching, research and community service in "Taking Stock of Personal and Institutional Histories: Calls to Account," the second section of the book. Andrew Warnick recollects the days when professors were "radical activists," followed by the massification of education and more recently the introduction of policies and practices that have led to corporatization, commercialization and entrepreneurship. Professor Emeritus, Dorothy Smith, recalls the loss of a process that was relatively democratic and cooperative with a substantive role for faculty and students in decision-making that occurred when the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) was amalgamated with the University of Toronto. Gordon Shrimpton provides a chilling tale of restraints levied against the British Columbia university system by the provincial government in the early 1980s, which posed threats to the independence of these institutions, tenure and the ability of faculty to pursue their own research interests. Bruce Curtis, on the other hand, laments the growing dependency on student tuition fees and academic problems associated with credential inflation.

In the third section of the text entitled "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Calls to Administrative Leadership," Howard Woodhouse's compelling discussion concerns the way university administrators are part of the process to intensify commercial research and privatize university education, while Mary Ellen Purkis struggles with the complicity of some

faculty who favour privatizing research activities of the university. As part of the overarching theme of the fourth section of text, "Making Space: Calls to Open Paths," Jamie Magnusson highlights the ways she interrupts a corporate agenda by work towards equity based on utilizing theories of feminism, anti-racism and post colonialism. Jo-Ann Archibald details the institutional barriers that were overcome in developing Aboriginal epistemologies and methodologies within mainstream programs at the University of British Columbia. In struggling for equality to move women from outside to inside the academy, Joan Sangster similarly articulates the difficulties previously encountered in teaching feminist history and the limited number of women in graduate schools. The plight of contingent faculty that plagues the current generation of predominantly female faculty is taken up by Elizabeth Whitmore, who calls for a model of employment that is democratic and values the importance of participation.

In "Regenerating Publics: Calls to Collectivity," the authors in the fifth and final section of the text envision a new role for universities. In recalling the earlier struggles against forces of colonialism, capitalism and sexism within these institutions, Len Findlay issues a challenge regarding the current dilemma of commercial values supplanting intellectual interests. He advocates democratic governance rather than decision-making based on arbitrary hierarchies, and a shift to a co-operative rather than a competitive style of administering universities. Professor Emeritus, Frank Cunningham, invokes John Dewey's concept of education for citizenship, similarly calling for the preservation of academic freedom, the maintenance of high intellectual standards and the protection of academic pursuits from outside interference.

Concern about the lack of research funding for environmental and social justice issues by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC) and the subsequent heightened pressure on faculty to seek external funding, Barbara Neis details the adoption of a discovery-based method of applied and collaborative research as a strategy of resistance to a culture of commercialization. The final chapter of the book is authored by Janice Newson and focuses on a diminished view of the university that endorses an entrepreneurial rather than an educational model of higher education. In providing a personal and political history of the corporate transformation that has taken place over the past four decades at York University, she speaks to the critical space that must be re-established in higher education to restore a distinctive educational purpose for teaching, research, scholarship and learning.

In sum, the book is very valuable in providing an understanding of the effects on the professoriate, scholarship and the public at large with respect to the ways power-knowledge relations have been produced and sustained in universities under late-stage capitalism. This comprehensive collection of articles makes a unique and important contribution to depicting the complex nature of the relationship among the state, the university and the market. The authors advocate for the preservation and advancement of knowledge by returning to a system of faculty empowerment, academic self-governance and administrative reform. As an informative volume, *Academic Callings* is thought provoking for those interested in the topic of educational globalization with a reasoned call to create a teaching, learning and research environment for the greater good.