

## Reviews / Comptes Rendus

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## REVIEWS/COMPTES RENDUS

Bob Russell, *Back to Work? [:] Labour, State, and Industrial Relations in Canada* (Scarborough: Nelson Canada 1990).

IT IS, PERHAPS, a sign of the great progress made in Canadian labour studies over the last fifteen years that book length syntheses of the historical experience of workers have begun appearing with some regularity. Palmer's *Working-Class Experience* and Heron's *Canadian Labour Movement* exemplify this development and their books' titles accurately reflect their respective foci. Bob Russell's book is another contribution to this synthesizing literature, but its central concern is the role of the state in industrial relations. It is an ambitious effort which attempts to develop a general theoretical framework and to apply it to industrial relations in Canada from its origins to the present. Invariably, such a project crosses ground many others have already explored and Russell's general perspective, as well as his discussions of particular periods, are sure to be controversial.

Russell's enquiry starts from the premise that the establishment and reproduction of capitalist relations of production is problematic. Employer strategies to control the workforce are inadequate on their own and, in any event, always relate to the policies of the state system. Thus, politics play a crucial role in this enterprise. Russell rejects the view that the outputs of the state system are determined at the level of the logic of accumulation. Social agency, especially class conflict, is critically important in deter-

mining the direction of state policy. State policy, however, cannot simply be read off the balance of class forces and it cannot be assumed that the state will have the capacity to achieve hegemonic class compromises. Rather, outcomes are also influenced by internal characteristics of the state and its sub-systems. Russell attempts to abbreviate or, perhaps, operationalize these theoretical positions through the notions of the "politics of work" and the "work of politics." Although the definition and usage of these terms varies somewhat in the text, the former generally seems to refer to the forms of political intervention and the policies they produce while the latter refers to the actual practices of the state and their effect on the system of industrial relations.

Although Russell's theoretical framework seems to dictate a broad definition of industrial relations, he has, without adequate explanation, excluded or marginalized certain subjects. In particular, industrial relations seems to be equated with collective bargaining. As a result, the politics of work is reduced to an examination of state policies directly related to the establishment of trade unions as the bargaining agent of their members. What gets banished from the discussion are important areas of state regulation such as health and safety, workers' compensation, minimum wages and other employment standards. Similarly, gender and its social construction is eliminated from the politics of work and the work of politics. While it is, perhaps, unfair to expect or to demand that all state interventions into the labour market

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should be dealt with in any particular study, it is unclear if Russell is simply accepting the conventional definition of industrial relations (which dates from the triumph of the post-War accord) or whether the choice is based on his view of the particular importance of collective bargaining. In any event, a more expansive view of industrial relations would actually strengthen Russell's project by making the extent of state involvement more visible.

Historically, the weakest section of the book is chapter 2 on early industrial relations. For example, Russell claims (35) that the English Combinations Acts of 1799 and 1800, which criminalized combinations of workers formed for the purpose of raising wages, applied in Canada. This is incorrect. These laws were not received in any Canadian province and only Nova Scotia enacted local legislation of this sort. As well, the first prosecution of workers for criminal conspiracy that we know of was in 1815, not in the 1850s, and such prosecutions were not common occurrences as Russell asserts. Given the relative paucity of studies of this early legal regime, it is understandable that a general survey might get a little lost here. What is less clear are the reasons why Russell skips over the period from 1877 to 1900. One explanation is that the production politics of this period do not fit comfortably into the main story line of Russell's narrative. The political activity of the most influential workers organization during this time, the Knights of Labor, was not principally aimed at establishing collective bargaining. Rather, the Knights sought state intervention which would foster cooperation, protection and de-commodified values of justice. Arbitration was supported as an alternative to adversarial collective bargaining in the perhaps naive belief that once the facts were known, the community's sense of justice would prevail. In effect, the Knights were not just seeking a place for unions as bargaining agents for their members within capitalist

labour markets, but rather were trying to build an alternative industrial future.

The historical core of Russell's book is the period from 1900 to 1948. Here Russell examines the development and practice of the federal government's labour relations policy. Particularly useful are his analyses of the effect of state interventions on the outcomes of industrial disputes. Unlike previous studies which have tended to rely on particular interventions or the role of Mackenzie King, Russell has constructed data bases which include all state interventions under the *Conciliation Act* and, after 1907, the *Industrial Disputes Investigation Act* (IDIA). By focusing on the outcomes of these disputes, Russell is able to analyze the impact of the state's routine practice of industrial relations on the position of labour and capital. How and why state interventions had these results is explored through more qualitative techniques. Russell finds that labour fared poorly under the Conciliation Act regime but that in the first period of the IDIA (1907-14) state intervention was a second best solution if the employer would not agree to direct negotiation. However, as working class strength grew during World War I, state interventions began to run more strongly to the advantage of capital. This trend continued even after labour suffered major defeats after 1919, so that by 1924, "labour could no longer afford a state presence in the labour process and capital no longer required it." (160)

Russell is best at showing the overall effect of IDIA interventions. He is less successful in explaining the reasons why these effects were produced. Russell notes that the tripartist structure of the conciliation boards established under the IDIA gave them a substantial latitude from immediate economic and political interests. Nevertheless, he finds that the boards themselves administered the Act in ways that closely tracked fluctuations in the economy. Thus, in the 1907-14 period, workers fared best in prosperous years while employers got board support

in years of slow growth. Similarly, in the 1915-24 period, IDIA interventions were consistent with government labour policy. The processes which led relatively autonomous IDIA boards to perform their work in this manner are explored through the notion of political use-values. According to Russell, the work of politics is the production of political use-values which he defines as the production of conditions which foster production. (156) Both workers and capitalists have a material interest in expanding social production, although its value for them is different (ie., higher wages versus greater return on investment). The production of political use-values occurs within the boundaries of these economic categories and the social relations of production. This is a useful theoretical starting point because it creates and defines a relatively autonomous space for the state. However, history, not theory, must still be put to work in order to explain why tripartite boards might have, but did not, perform the work of politics in a manner different from some other state apparatus. Russell's analysis does not fully explain this. Perhaps Jeremy Webber's recent examination of the reasons offered by IDIA boards will further illuminate this process. In addition, Russell's approach at times assumes a commonality of interests between labour and capital which arguably was not present, especially when we consider the widespread labour radicalism of the period.

This raises another feature of Russell's work, its lack of attention to the role of ideology. Russell clearly believes in the importance of agency, but his engagement with rational choice theory at times seems to have led him to assume that workers were motivated by a desire to maximize their gains within capitalist relations of production. Undoubtedly this was a powerful force, but the popularity of more radical trade unions like the Western Federation of Miners and the One Big Union should remind us that workers' behaviour was not always

driven by capitalist rationality. Indeed, the eradication of labour radicalism was a primary goal of state policy. Russell identifies the distinction state officials made between legitimate and illegitimate trade unions, but does not, in these chapters, devote much attention to the state's efforts to suppress the latter. Indeed, he tends to marginalize this aspect of the politics of work by relegating it to a brief note on state violence in industrial relations. The use of the criminal law, immigration law and civil injunctions against trade unionists, particularly radical ones, is hardly mentioned.

This theme, however, does emerge more strongly in the chapter covering the period from 1924-48. Russell provides a thorough account of the process which led to the development of the compulsory collective bargaining scheme. He agrees with Warrian that PC 1003 did not determine the shape of the post-War settlement, but that this was achieved through the Rand formula articulated in 1946 and the passage of the *Industrial Relations and Disputes Investigation Act* in 1948. Moreover, he emphasizes that the success of this settlement lay in the way it was able to induce trade unions to accept a legal structure which narrowly confined the scope of their activity in exchange for recognition and security. Perhaps the scope of dispute within the labour movement over these terms is underplayed in his account, but Russell is surely correct in his conclusion that industrial legalism was triumphant.

In the final chapter, Russell examines recent changes in the post-War accord. Here he takes issue with the conclusion of Panitch and Swartz that we have entered into a period of "permanent exceptionalism." Russell emphasizes that the era of "free collective bargaining" was always a highly regulated one and that there was a well-established statist tradition in Canadian industrial relations. Thus, rather than a break, Russell characterizes recent developments as a *de facto* renegotiation of some of the parameters of the existing

industrial relations system. While recognizing that unions are under increased pressure from market forces and neo-conservative state policies, Russell argues that they have not suffered an historic defeat.

In sum, the strength of the book is its theoretical framework and the marshalling of data on the effects of state intervention under the conciliation Act and the IDIA during the 1900 to 1948 period. However, we still need to more closely examine other instruments of state intervention in industrial relations, including both coercive and "protective" measures. Not only will this improve our understanding of the collective bargaining regime, but it will also draw our attention to the regimes of labour regulation under which the majority of Canadians, who are non-unionized, work. Finally, to complete our understanding of the processes of constructing industrial legalism and the extent of its success, there is a need to more closely integrate the history of state intervention in industrial relations with the history of the Canadian labour movement.

Eric Tucker  
York University

Don Taylor and Bradley Dow, *The Rise of Industrial Unionism in Canada — A History of the CIO* (Kingston: Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University 1988).

THE TITLE OF THIS slim volume promises more than the book delivers. This is not a detailed history of either the CIO or the rise of industrial unionism in Canada. What we have, instead, is a well-written but analytically scant outline, based exclusively on already published research, of the CIO's arrival in Canada in the 1930s and 1940s and its impact both on the content of collective bargaining, and on the political economy of the Canadian welfare state in the post-war era.

Those readers already familiar with the contours of Canadian labour history will find little that is new in these pages, but much which is left out. Earlier prede-

cessors of industrial unionism in Canada such as the Knights of Labor, and the One Big Union merit six and twelve lines respectively in the brief introductory chapter, while the United Mine Workers are covered in a single line. The demise of the Knights is attributed, once again, to their supposed "timidity in the face of employer challenges," (2) the One Big Union is erroneously linked to "its confrontation with the government and employers in Winnipeg" (3); and the entire history of craft unionism prior to 1935 is dismissed with the comment that unions, prior to the arrival of the CIO "had not progressed beyond the determination of wages and working conditions for a relatively small ... group of workers." (5) In other words, the critical body of writing over the last two decades on 19th and early 20th century Canadian working class history by Greg Kealey, Bryan Palmer, Ian McKay, Allan Seager, Craig Heron, John Manley, Ian Radforth and numerous others appears neither in the bibliography nor in the interpretative content of this study. Reading the introduction creates a strange sense of *deja vu*, recalling our knowledge of Canadian labour history circa 1968.

In subsequent chapters, dealing with the CIO's arrival and its aftermath, the book gets better. The material on the emergence of the CIO in Canada and the transformation of industrial relations legislation during the war relies heavily on already published work by Laurel MacDowell, but does add some useful perspectives on the importance of the CIO's grassroots adult education program, its broadened concept of "worker citizenship" and the role of music in early organizing campaigns, and provides some sensible comments on the importance of the CIO's bargaining and organizational structure for its subsequent success. The following chapter on the "CIO at the Bargaining Table" provides a concise overview of bargaining objectives of Canada's industrial unions and the changing content of collective agreements from the 1940s until the late 1980s, including

two very valuable appendices. The first gives a chronology and synopsis of contract negotiations between the UAW/CAW and General Motors between 1937 and 1986. The second provides a thematic "overview of the collective agreements typically found in Canadian industry today." Ironically, although craft unions, prior to the arrival of the CIO, are roundly condemned, at the beginning of this book, for their narrow focus on the "determination of wages and working conditions" (5) we discover later on that "industrial unions concentrated their efforts on achieving greater income security for their members." (44) Some difference.

Two subsequent chapters examine the "CIO in Canadian Politics" and its contribution to Canada's social security system. There are some embarrassing factual errors here which careful editing could have avoided. Workers' compensation arrived in Ontario in 1914 not 1915; minimum wage laws enacted in the 1920s applied only to women, not men (48); universal old age pensions arrived in 1951, not 1955. (69) The main thrust of these two chapters is to argue that the CIO's broadened concept of "worker citizenship" led to ongoing political activism, institutional support for the CCF/NDP, and continuing pressure on Canada's federal system for expanded social security entitlement. Again, this is pretty well-trodden ground, although the authors do make a good case for the importance of industrial union achievements in pension bargaining, during the 1950s, for the emergence of the Canadian Pension Plan in 1966. Both in this instance, and in the case of other benefit entitlements in the dental, health care and disability insurance field, the authors argue that industrial unions brought about the "construction of the model upon which the later public plans would be based." (85) Labour's role in the evolution of the post-war welfare state in this country has been neglected and these arguments, although perhaps overstated, raise important questions for future research on the relationship between collec-

tive bargaining and social security.

Less helpful is the authors' tired attack on "latter day revisionists" who would credit the Communist Party and its sympathizers in the 1930s and 1940s with some useful role in the arrival of industrial unionism in this country. In this book Communists are once again reduced to the one-dimensional role of Moscow-directed conspirators whose goal was to "take over and run the labour movement" (63), and destroy support for the CCF. That Communists, through the Workers Unity League, may have played a critical role in the articulation of the CIO's concept of "worker citizenship," or the "venturesome spirit" which provided early CIO unions with goals "beyond mere organizational survival" (57) is ignored. Although the authors, in their introduction, acknowledge that the WUL, through its "talented organizers" had built up a membership of 24,000 industrial unionists across Canada by the early 1930s, which was handed over to the CIO (4), this is their one and only reference to the movement-building role of the Party in the creation of an industrial union culture. For a book with the title "The Rise of Industrial Unionism in Canada," this is a glaring omission. While the American contribution to the building of CIO unions in Canada is consistently overplayed in the text, the indigenous contribution of WUL members remains, for the most part, unacknowledged.

The CIO in Canada "aimed higher and wider than any other labour organization had previously done" (95) Taylor and Dow argue. Those familiar with recent writing by Kealey and Palmer on the "movement-culture" of the Knights of Labor will doubt this conclusion. Still, few will dispute their points that CIO unions played the critical role in creating Canada's present system of industrial relations (with all its flaws); enhanced, through benefit bargaining, our concept of social security entitlement; or "rebalanc[ed]" our political system through enabling the CCF/NDP to gain a perma-



ment foothold in the nation's political culture. Although not new arguments, they are worth restating, particularly in light of the current downward slide of industrial unionism in the homeland of the CIO, the United States. The authors sum up the essential contrast between the CIO in Canada and the U.S. quite well. "The Canadian CIO ... took root in a hostile climate. One of its primary objectives was to change the political structure — a necessary condition for its survival and growth. In its ultimately successful pursuit of this goal, the Canadian movement acquired an independent character never realized by its American counterpart ... The American movement remained essentially dependent upon a political environment over which it exercised little control." (105) Although as a descriptive statement, this is accurate, no clues, apart from the timing of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal are provided in the study as to why these differences emerged in the first place or persisted as long as they did. Industrial unionists, the authors point out, dominated the Canadian Labour Congress during the years when a craft unionist — George Meany — controlled the AFL-CIO. Why this was so remains unexplained.

In sum, for those readers looking for new and original research or insights into the growth and contribution of CIO unions to Canadian working-class history, this book will be disappointing. There is not primary research here and the secondary historical literature consulted for the study is quite thin. Moreover the book does not look at individual CIO unions per se, but instead attempts a thematic summary of some of the highlights of industrial unionism's impact on Canadian society over the past fifty years. As an introductory text for industrial relations courses, the book does serve a useful purpose. Most readers of this journal, however, will find little here which they are not already familiar.

James Struthers  
Trent University

Émile Boudreau et Léo Roback, *L'histoire de la FTQ. Des tout débuts jusqu'en 1965* (Montréal: FTQ, 1988).

LA PUBLICATION de cette synthèse patronnée par la Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec (FTQ) et confiée à Léo Roback devait initialement paraître en 1979, puis reportée en 1982 à l'occasion du 25ième anniversaire de fondation de la centrale. Mais comme si l'ouvrage avait été frappé d'un mauvais sort, toute une série d'événements vont en retarder la publication jusqu'en 1988. Au début de 1980, je confiais à Léo Roback, collègue à l'Université de Montréal, que je venais d'accepter de la CSN un travail similaire au sien, soit de rédiger l'histoire de cette centrale pour son soixantième anniversaire. Sa réaction m'étonna: "Tu viens, dit-il, d'ouvrir une "canne de vers." J'ai peut-être mal saisi le sens de ses paroles, mais je les ai interprétées à l'époque comme s'il me mettait en garde contre les difficultés d'écrire l'histoire d'une centrale qui avait la réputation d'être peu commode, pour ne pas dire sectaire. Ses craintes n'étaient pas fondées et l'histoire de la CSN est parue telle que prévu en 1981. C'est plutôt du côté de la FTQ que les événements se compliquèrent au point qu'il s'écoula finalement dix années entre la mise en chantier du projet et la publication du volume.

Ancien syndicaliste devenu professeur en relations industrielles, Léo Roback acceptait en 1978 le mandat d'écrire l'histoire de la FTQ. C'était à l'époque où les centrales au Québec portaient un intérêt nouveau pour l'histoire; la CSN et la CEQ (la FTQ s'était retirée) avaient mis sur pied deux ans plus tôt un comité d'historiens et de sociologues pour rédiger l'histoire du mouvement ouvrier au Québec (elle sera publiée en 1979). Roback n'avait pas de formation en histoire, mais il était un fin observateur de la scène syndicale au Québec depuis les années 1950 et il avait évolué proche des syndicats affiliés à la

FTQ. Ayant mal réalisé l'ampleur du projet, il consacra beaucoup de temps à la recherche si bien qu'il ne put remettre à la centrale pour commentaires en 1982 que trois chapitres qui portaient sur la fondation de la FTQ en 1957 à l'année 1965, moment où la centrale prenait un nouveau départ. N'ayant pu rencontrer le délai du congrès, il continua néanmoins son travail quoiqu'il ait eu du mal à compléter la rédaction. Il me disait à l'époque en plaisantant qu'il lui fallait de la colle sur sa chaise pour le forcer à rédiger. Puis il mourut subitement à l'été de 1985.

La FTQ fit alors appel à Émile Boudreau, militant à la retraite connu pour avoir "une bonne plume," afin de poursuivre le projet avec comme date limite le congrès de 1987, moment où on célébrerait son 30<sup>ième</sup> anniversaire. Croyant pouvoir s'appuyer sur des textes supplémentaires à ceux déjà connus, il réalisa au printemps 1987 que Roback n'avait pratiquement rien laissé de plus. Comme le temps pressait, il décida de ne pas poursuivre au-delà de 1965 se contentant de "réaménager" les "ébauches" de textes de Roback pour "les rendre publiables." Pour la période antérieure à 1957, il s'adjoignit l'aide de Évelyn Dumas qui a colligé des notes et rédigé des textes qui ont servi de base à la rédaction des trois premiers chapitres du volume. Le tout fut réalisé rapidement, en une année environ, à temps, pensait-on, pour un heureux lancement au congrès de novembre 1987. Mais c'était sans compter sur la guigne qui s'acharnait sur le volume.

La veille du lancement, alors que le volume était prêt et les invitations déjà faites, la direction de la centrale l'annula parce qu'elle n'était pas d'accord sur la photo apparaissant en page couverture, celle d'un permanent de la centrale accompagné de sa femme. On craignait, semble-t-il, que l'histoire de la centrale soit identifiée à ses employés. Le rédacteur, Émile Boudreau, était furieux de cet "enfantillage de petit village." Le

lancement eut finalement lieu en juin 1988 avec une nouvelle page couverture et encore une fois des pépins de dernière minute. On avertissait les journalistes que le texte imprimé ne correspondait pas à la version définitive du manuscrit révisé et corrigé et qu'il y aurait une nouvelle impression au cours des prochains jours.

Je ne sais pas si j'ai en main la copie définitive, mais je vous fais néanmoins part de mes commentaires. Même si le volume est destiné aux membres de la FTQ et que son rédacteur le présente comme le récit "d'histoires qui façonnent l'Histoire," il n'en reste pas moins utile aux spécialistes en histoire des travailleurs. Particulièrement dans les quatre chapitres "ébauchés" par Roback, on trouve de nombreux détails inédits sur la fondation de la FTQ, la grève de Murdochville, l'expansion de ses syndicats affiliés, l'action politique et les tensions avec le CTC qui commencent à se manifester dès 1961.

Rédigés rapidement, les chapitres antérieurs à la fondation de la FTQ sont beaucoup plus faibles. Comme on emprunte surtout à l'*Histoire du mouvement ouvrier au Québec* qui compte peu d'informations sur les syndicats internationaux, on élargit sur la condition ouvrière, les lois sociales adoptées et la situation aux États-Unis (on se demande ce que font les pages consacrées au Parti socialiste américain et à Eugène Debs). Les lacunes de la recherche et la méconnaissance de plusieurs travaux conduisent à escamoter des moments importants du syndicalisme international au Québec ou à mal les interpréter. Je donne quelques exemples qui vont bien au-delà d'erreurs de dates ou de faits. On y lit que le comité exécutif provincial du CMTC fondé en 1889 (non en 1892) n'a jamais joui d'une grande influence auprès du gouvernement québécois ou que la fondation de la FPTQ est liée à la naissance de la CIO aux États-Unis. Ces interprétations ne correspondent pas à la réalité. On ne rend pas compte non plus des revendications législatives de ces

deux organismes qui sont après tout à l'origine de la FTQ. Une meilleure connaissance de leurs activités aurait permis de nuancer l'orientation idéologique attribuée aux unions internationales. De longs paragraphes sont consacrés aux purges anti-communistes d'après-guerre dans les organisations syndicales au Canada et aux États-Unis, mais rien sur les expulsions au Québec, notamment à la FPTQ et au CTM (CIO). Contrairement à ce qu'on y lit, l'échec des pourparlers d'unité avec la CTCC de 1955 à 1961 a déjà fait l'objet de travaux, si bien qu'on aurait pu en relever les causes, en particulier l'obstacle que créait le principe d'exclusivité juridictionnelle des unions internationales.

La lacune la plus sérieuse du volume tient évidemment à ce que l'historique se termine en 1965, huit ans après la fondation de la centrale alors que celle-ci vient de fêter son trentième anniversaire. L'ouvrage de François Cyr et Rémi Roy, *Éléments d'histoire de la FTQ*, aurait pu constituer un bon point de départ pour tracer son histoire jusqu'en 1980. Mais ce sera pour plus tard. Et compte tenu des péripéties entourant la publication de ce volume, ce n'est pas pour demain que la FTQ commandera la suite de son histoire.

Jacques Rouillard  
Université de Montréal

Louis Fournier, Michel Dore, *et al.*, *The History of the Labour Movement in Quebec* (Montreal: Black Rose Books 1988).

THIS STUDY IS A welcome and useful work to anglophone readers: it is the first general history of the labour movement in Quebec available in English. It was originally published as *150 ans de luttes* in 1979 and revised and expanded in 1984. That this first significant attempt at a synthesis of Quebec labour history has gone through two editions and is now translated into English testifies to the need for such a work and to the welcome reception that it initially received.

Chronological and descriptive, this work is meant to be a "simple recounting" (11) of the story of organized labour from the early 19th century to the 1970s. Divided unevenly into periods, a single chapter surveys the 19th century, while almost half the book deals with the period since World War II. In each chapter the political and economic contexts are first briefly described, then there is a section on the condition of the working class, followed by the central concerns of the authors which are organization, struggles, legislation and political action. The emphasis is placed on the growth of working class institutions. This is a collective work by a large number of contributors, undertaken by the Education Committees of the Confederation des syndicats nationaux and Centrale de l'enseignement du Québec. Intended originally as a popularization for rank-and-file education, there are neither any footnotes nor an index. Each subject can be found under a subhead. There is also a short bibliography of further reading and a time chart of major events.

The book is especially helpful in a number of areas, such as on early teachers' organizations in the 1930s. It is also good for tracing changes in Quebec labour legislation during the Duplessis era and the Quiet Revolution, and on sectoral bargaining in the construction industry in recent decades. The revised edition of 1984 was reorganized slightly and updated to include more material on women, immigrants, and international unions, reflecting increased interest and more recent scholarship. In the chapter on the early 20th century there is new material on the 1919 labour revolt, more on the founding of Catholic unions and on early attempts by teachers to organize. These changes filled some of the gaps in the earlier version but it is debatable whether they amount to enough to support the claim that this is a "new, more complete and more vital synthesis." (12) The translation is excellent. The writing is clear, straightforward, and generally well or-

ganized, though curiously the Congress of Industrial Organizations is treated before the Workers Unity League. The French editions were extensively illustrated but unfortunately this translation does not include a single photograph or reproduction.

The dominant themes are the national question and the development of the houses of labour in Quebec, especially the CSN and the CEQ. This was especially the case in the original edition which placed the Quebec labour movement in its international and Canadian contexts in the early chapters where the Winnipeg General Strike, the Paris Commune and the New Deal were discussed. In later chapters, however, the Quebec Federation of Labour and pan-Canadian struggles and developments were eclipsed even when they involved, or had an impact on, Quebec workers. For instance, there was no mention of the Rand formula. Nor was there any discussion of the 1965 postal strike, a dispute in which the Montreal local played a key role in defiance of both the government and the national union leadership, and one that had an important influence on federal labour legislation. In the revised edition, and in this translation, these lacunae have been addressed in an attempt to broaden the context beyond an exclusive emphasis on Quebec. On the decades since World War II there is also more on the American Federation of Labor affiliates and on federal public service unions. Still there is a view that the Quebec Federation Labour only "emerged in its own right" (198) when it asserted its Quebec identity.

While there is a short discussion on the crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s, this period has not been given the same detailed treatment as earlier ones. This update is contained in a brief postscript which leaves the reader with a striking impression of the demoralization of the labour movement. As the percentage of organized workers in Quebec dropped alarmingly from 42.1 per cent of the paid labour force in 1972 to 35.7 per cent in

1980, the movement has been on the defensive, increasingly divided, and there has been a "climate of gloom and suspicion" regarding political solutions. (257) This disappointment came in part with the growing conservatism of the Parti Québécois government which had been strongly identified with social democratic aspirations until it joined the attack on labour and social legislation in its second term of office. The postscript ends with a call for new political alternatives and the development of "a fundamentally new vision of society." (258) There is, however, no attempt to suggest what shape these alternatives might take.

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J.K. Johnson, *Becoming Prominent: Regional Leadership in Upper Canada, 1791-1841* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press 1989).

THIS IS A STUDY of an elected elite, an examination of the social and economic background of the 283 men who sat in the Upper Canadian House of Assembly between 1791 and 1841. It also examines the distribution of political patronage and contains a useful appendix containing individual biographical data. This is not a book which will appeal to readers not already very well informed about Upper Canadian politics; but it will be interesting indeed to the relatively few readers who are.

Professor Johnson has assembled data related to occupation, wealth, national origin, religious denomination, offices held, military service and political commitment which do not lend themselves to easy summary in a review such as this. I shall therefore concentrate upon a few points that interest me.

His occupational data indicate the 283 members of the assembly were mainly engaged in five or six activities: Farmer 143, Public Servant 112, Merchant 100, Miller 65, Lawyer 47, Distiller 24, Developer/Speculator 21, Lumber-

man 19, and so on in descending order. These and other activities, however, were usually combined, these 283 persons actually being involved in 690 separate jobs. Over time the percentage engaged in agriculture diminished which suggests a flight from farming into more agreeable or prosperous activities. (10-11)

While Scots, who were presumably largely Presbyterian, held offices out of all proportion to their numbers, Johnson's data indicates that Anglicanism was the leading denomination in the House of Assembly accounting for an astonishing 50 per cent of the members in the thirteenth parliament of 1836-41. And a surprisingly large number of reformers were Anglican. "On the other hand, (known) Methodists, who had been just behind (known) Presbyterians for third place among denominations in the eleventh parliament (1830-4), slipped back a bit more in the twelfth (Reform) parliament, and lost even more ground in the thirteenth ... dropping from 18 to 14 per cent of the membership." (133) All of which suggests that the denominational commitment of members was curiously unrelated to the denominational controversies those members so heatedly debated.

This would seem to reinforce my own view that many members were elected for reasons that had little or nothing to do with what are taken to be the leading political issues of the day, that whether candidates were reform or tory was often irrelevant at the polls. Most electors were concerned with local issues, often sectional in nature, which not infrequently pitted long settled townships of the front of a riding against expanding townships of the rear which attempted to combine with some third interest. These important local issues, however, were of no interest to electors living outside of the sections affected. That is why, as parties developed that were provincial in extent, emphasis had to fall upon platforms that were also provincial in extent but relatively less electorally significant at the local level. In interpreting Professor

Johnson's interesting data, readers should keep this sort of thing in mind.

Johnson's discussion of patronage is by far the best treatment the subject has received. Appointments as magistrates and militia officers he terms basic building blocks. Both supporters of the executive and opposition members could be found in the ranks of these; but appointment to stipendiary offices was a different matter. Here having correct political views and the right connections in the central government were of critical importance. And Johnson thinks that religion and nationality were at least as significant.

In general I think he is correct; but I also can think of some important exceptions to the rule. The executive was not always free to distribute offices arbitrarily and seldom chose to do so. The literacy of a candidate was always a factor, as was his achieved position within his local community. When the Loyalist Regiments were settled, it would have been unthinkable, for example, that important positions be given to the rank-and-file rather than to its officers. Likewise leading merchants like Richard Cartwright and Robert Hamilton were given office even though their views did not always coincide with those of lieutenant-governor Simcoe. And when Sir John Colborne succeeded Sir Peregrine Maitland he attempted to undo the opposition raised by his predecessor by the use of patronage. This was much to the dismay of an indignant Christopher Hagerman who contended that the only proper method of distribution was that indicated by Professor Johnson. The Colonial Office also appears to have had something else in mind when it instructed Sir Francis Bond Head to appoint Marshall Spring Bidwell to the bench, which would have conveniently removed from politics an important reform leader in the Assembly. Another well known example of this sort of thing, albeit in another colony, occurred when Sir George Prevost used patronage to control *Le Parti Canadien* in Lower Canada.

The distribution of patronage was an exercise of power which was sometimes most effectively employed by bestowing office in complete disregard of factors such as correct political views. These considerations must surely have been in mind when reformers were appointed as officers in the militia or to the magistracy. This sort of thing needs closer study; generally, however, the factors pointed to by Professor Johnson would seem to have prevailed.

This is an important book which should stimulate important new research. One promising field for further investigation would be a comparable study of the interests and background of the candidates these members of the Assembly defeated at the polls.

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Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links, and Letters* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1990).

ONE OF THE CHARACTERISTICS of good scholars is that they are willing to give up untenable positions when the basis of their work is shown to be wrong. In 1980, Messrs Houston and Smyth published a then state-of-the-art article in *Irish Geography* entitled "The Irish Abroad: Better Questions through a better source: The Canadian Census." In that article they made two major factual assertions based on their reading of Canadian census materials: (1) that the Catholic Irish in Ontario were "confined to urban centres." The maps and statistical data in that article were said to "clearly support statements about the weak rural nature of Catholic Irish settlement in Ontario;" and (2) that "with the exception of the immigration of the early 1820s, the movement of Catholics into Ontario was insignificant until the famine migration of the late 1840s." (14-5)

The explosion of work on the Cana-

dian Irish in the 1980s totally disproved these central assertions. Although Houston and Smyth do not formally recant (at minimum a graceful palinode would have been in order), they base their major survey of the Irish in Canada on that work done in the 1980s and to good effect. This volume is an admirable synthesis of the literature on the Irish in Canada up to, roughly, 1870, and it is a readable mix of generalizations and specific examples.

Because this is a work of historical geography, historians should be warned that it operates by slightly different rules than does conventional history. There is no bibliography, there are lots of typos and misspellings; the citations are a bit less exact than historians usually employ; and priority-of-discovery by previous scholars is not fully honoured; on occasion a data series developed by other scholars is presented as if Houston and Smyth had made the compilation. But there are major compensations. The visual presentation of data in this book is impressive, a mixture of efficiency and shrewd aesthetics.

Although there are no major theoretical ideas put forward in this book, it contains a string of useful observations. One of these is the demonstration that among the Roman Catholics who came from Ireland to Canada, a disproportionately large fraction (roughly one-third) were from Ulster. Second, although the Protestants made up the majority of Irish migrants to Canada, most were Anglicans, not, as is frequently supposed, Presbyterians. These are useful facts, especially when juxtaposed: they mean that the stereotypes one has of Ulster migrants being all Presbyterian and of Protestants being all Ulster-born are doubly wrong.

Another useful set of ideas involves the authors' estimate of the flow-through of Irish migrants: that is the number who landed in Canada but lived their lives in the U.S. They estimate a flow-through of roughly two-thirds in the 1840s. Thus, Irish migration to Canada can only be understood within a North American con-

text. The authors are also insightful in emphasizing that the heavy Irish migration to Canada of 1831 and 1832 was as significant in relation to the total Canadian population of the time as was the 1847 migrant flood.

Houston and Smyth also swim against the conventional wisdom in their emphasis that many Irish emigrants were far from poor. They convincingly argue that large parts of Ireland were not poor by European standards and that many of the successful small farmers migrated, not merely the impoverished. Further, instead of treating migrants, even the poorest, as mere flotsam, the authors wisely argue that they were making an investment in choosing to emigrate. This investment, because of its psychic as well as economic costs, was greater than most modern Canadians ever have to contemplate.

Regional historians of Canada will profit greatly if they pay attention to the authors' arguments concerning the way that certain regions in Ireland became tied to certain reception areas in Canada. The singular pattern (within the Canadian context) of the Halifax Irish Catholics (who follow the American model of urbanization) is thus illuminated. Regional ties to Irish locales of the New Brunswick and the Newfoundland Irish are also suggested.

The book concludes with the reproduction of over ninety pages of letters from Irish emigrants to Canada. Strikingly (and the authors are well aware of this) all of the letters are from Protestants. This raises the troublesome question: why it is that (as the authors correctly note) there are very few surviving emigrant letters sent back from Irish Catholic migrants? This holds not only for Canada, but for Australia, New Zealand and the United States. This occurs despite the fact that the Irish Catholic emigrants overwhelmingly were literate, and despite the fact that Irish Catholic families have shown themselves very good at maintaining family artifacts and heirlooms, just the things that one would think would

have found their way, after 1922, into the museums and archives and libraries of independent Ireland. There is just the chance that we have here evidence of different family values as between Protestant and Catholic families. I am skeptical of such an hypothesis, but one might want to try it: namely, that the typical Irish Protestant family of the 19th century was a more closely bonded and more enduring network than was the Catholic, and therefore trans-Atlantic bonds were more often maintained by Protestants than by Catholics. Perhaps the authors will test that hypothesis for us at some future date.

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Chad Gaffield, *Language, Schooling, and Cultural Conflict. The Origins of the French-Language Controversy in Ontario* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1987).

THE FRENCH-LANGUAGE controversy in Ontario, culminating in the Regulation 17 conflict (1912-27) has long been the best-known aspect of Franco-Ontarian life, indeed the catalyst of Franco-Ontarian group solidarity and identity. In this book, Professor Gaffield has undertaken to scrutinize the origins of the fight during the second half of the 19th century, with a view to demonstrate the social, economic, demographic, and political underpinnings of a conflict that has usually been presented in cultural and ethno-linguistic terms. He wants to show how the population (as opposed to the leaders) of Prescott County, specifically of Alfred and Caledonia Townships, created the broad context of a post-1883 fight, and did so over several decades beginning in the mid-19th century (the *longue durée*).

Gaffield claims to reinterpret the conflictual events by showing that the educational policies of the government of Ontario were rooted in the long-standing educational history of eastern Ontario, in a changing material context engendered by

local demographic and economic developments, and in a new Franco-Ontarian identity emerging in the 1880s. Such an examination of "the interplay of cultural groups in the context of social change" (xiv) would lead to a reinterpretation of the language controversy. "My most important conclusion is that the behaviour, attitudes, and perceptions of anglophones and francophones must be examined in the context of their own material lives." (xvii)

The book's seven chapters address in turn, first Ontario's long-standing 19th-century policy *vis-à-vis* francophones, that of "voluntary assimilation"; second, family and kinship structures among both francophones and anglophones of the period; third, economic life in Prescott County; fourth, the social structure of schooling in Prescott County as it related to language; fifth, the local political context of cultural conflicts; sixth, the Catholic Church and Separate Schools as they related to cultural solidarity; and finally, in a brief concluding chapter, the cultural fission that followed 1883 as the culminating event that resulted from decades-long social, economic, and demographic development and change. Beginning in 1885, this locally generated cultural fission merged with other events of national significance (the hanging of Louis Riel, the 1890 election in Ontario) to provide the explosive elements of a prolonged estrangement between Prescott County's francophone and anglophone populations.

Chad Gaffield sheds a great deal of new light on the origins of the school questions in Ontario. In addition to providing an excellent review of Ontario educational policy on language during the 19th century, Gaffield is the first to show the consistency of the government of Ontario's policy aimed at assimilating francophones, during the Ryerson (1844-76) and post-Ryerson (1876ff) eras. The objective was always to assimilate francophones. It was the means of achieving the objective that changed after 1885. The pre-1885 policy of toleration was based on an expectation of "voluntary assimila-

tion." It was only when the latter expectation proved groundless, that coercion replaced toleration. Gaffield speaks of "theoretical accommodation of franco-phones" (21) by Egerton Ryerson, adding that "the Mowat government differed with the Opposition over strategy rather than ultimate goals." (25) All believed that English must prevail.

Using his social, economic, and demographic analysis, Gaffield then proceeds to demonstrate on the one hand why francophones in Prescott County were not assimilating voluntarily into the anglophone community, and on the other hand why the anglophone community and the government of Ontario became coercive and intolerant after 1885. Reasons include the growing stability of both francophone and anglophone communities, an emerging proletarianization among francophones, the new majority-status of francophones, and the changing role of the family in the area's economy.

The author usually shows balanced and responsible judgment. On one or two occasions, however, he succumbs to the Faustian temptation that teases more than one social historian who indulges in the heady wine of historical revisionism. So it is that rather than make his stand on the solid ground of the important contribution that social history makes to our historical understanding in conjunction with more traditional methods of historical interpretation, Gaffield writes that "the history of minority-language education in nineteenth-century Prescott County can be better explained by the changing interaction of land and family than by inherent intercultural attitudes. Social change engendered new mentalités." (185) I submit that the interaction of land and family which Gaffield has studied does shed a considerable amount of light on the issue under consideration, and thus constitutes a valuable avenue of explanation. But it is gratuitous for the author to state that it constitutes a *better* explanation.

In the same vein, he also writes that "cultural considerations ... can be fully



explained by the general social evolution of Prescott County" (60), and denounces the "folly" of most Canadian policy makers who have "assumed their own ability to control and change ... attitudes and behaviour." (180) It is again the categorical words "fully" and "folly" that are problematic here. I submit that various leaders in society, be they political, scholastic, or religious, while on the one hand rarely in a position to absolutely determine social attitudes and behaviour, are frequently, on the other hand, able to influence and direct such attitudes and behaviour. Otherwise, leaders would be mere mouthpieces of fully automated social collectivities driven by Gaffield's blind "converging forces." Are we to believe that leaders like Adolf Hitler, or John XXIII, to name only those two, were merely products of the converging forces of their times? If we acknowledge, as I do, that such leaders do leave their unique mark on their societies, then one must dispute the lack of nuance in the Gaffield conclusions noted above. Such simplistic judgments are analogous to that of the theologian who reduces all causality to the work of either the devil or the Holy Spirit, or both, or to that of the "nationalistic" historian who explains everything in the light of national interests. I submit that reality is much more complex, and ultimately mysterious, than Gaffield seems willing to admit.

Chad Gaffield's book is very well-written, generously equipped with tables and graphs, and well-researched in both primary and secondary sources. The only factual error noted was in a footnote (Note 22, chapter one) where Father J.-M. Bruyère of the Diocese of London is mistakenly identified as a bishop. Only a handful of typographical errors were noted. This reviewer wonders why a bibliography was not provided.

In sum, Chad Gaffield has made a contribution to the advance of historical understanding by publishing an original study which probes the material lives of 19th-century francophones and anglo-

phones in Prescott County, and relates these material conditions to the languages-of-instruction controversy in Ontario. He shows that in order to understand such conflicts, one must probe beyond the level of official discourse and assess the conditions of a people's economic, political, social, and religious existence. My only serious reservation about the book is that the author seems to want to transform his important but limited socio-historical answer into a total answer to the question of social relations.

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Denise Lemieux et Lucie Mercier, *Les femmes au tournant du siècle, 1880-1940: âges de la vie, maternité et quotidien* (Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1989).

EN CETTE FIN DE SIÈCLE où les phénomènes liés à la maternité et à la domesticité représentent des enjeux sociaux majeurs au Québec comme dans d'autres sociétés occidentales, l'ouvrage de D. Lemieux et L. Mercier tombe à point nommé. Le tournant du siècle, cette période inscrite à la charnière de deux siècles, évoque un temps de transition, un temps de passage entre l'ancien et le nouveau. Les cycles de vie des femmes, saisis à travers les rôles sociaux d'épouse et de mère au tournant du siècle, évoque l'ampleur des changements associés à la maternité et à la domesticité.

Des facteurs tels la longévité, la baisse de la fécondité, la scolarisation prolongée ou l'augmentation du taux d'activité sont maintenant connus comme autant d'indices d'une mutation du cycle de vie des femmes depuis un siècle. Mais les facteurs d'identité reliés aux rôles sociaux d'épouse et de mère restent, aujourd'hui comme hier, obscurs. L'intention des auteures est précisément d'explorer les dimensions normatives et subjectives qui caractérisent cette mutation observée tant au niveau des pratiques

quotidiennes qu'à celui du cours de l'existence. La question posée est la suivante: "Quelles figures inédites ou plutôt quel amalgame des modèles et des rôles du passé et du présent s'édifient peu à peu, en interaction avec ces trajets multiples, complexes, qui semblent caractériser tout au moins la vie des Québécoises innovatrices à notre époque?"(15)

*Les femmes au tournant du siècle, 1880-1940* constitue le premier volet de la recherche menée par D. Lemieux et L. Mercier, à la fois historienne et sociologue, pour documenter cette question. Le deuxième volet couvrira les années 1950-1985. Le premier chapitre de l'ouvrage présente ainsi la problématique d'ensemble de la recherche, axée sur l'évolution des cycles de vie des femmes depuis un siècle. Au premier abord, cet exposé complexe, exprimé dans un langage académique lourd, a quelque chose de rebutant. L'approche des auteures est pourtant fort intéressante. Elle consiste à articuler le temps historique, le temps biographique et le temps quotidien en cernant la dynamique des liens qui se tissent entre la vie quotidienne et le cours de l'existence pour différentes périodes et pour différents milieux sociaux.

La construction de l'ouvrage s'appuie sur le postulat suivant lequel la transformation des cycles de vie féminins et de leurs représentations repose sur "un questionnement percutant sur le rapport au biologique vécu autrefois comme destinée et que l'ère des maternités choisies et de la technologie ménagère viennent modifier, sans toutefois l'anéantir."(32) D. Lemieux et L. Mercier manifestent l'intention d'interroger ce rapport (des femmes au biologique) qu'elles qualifient de privilégié et d'ambigu. On cherchera en vain cependant des questions ou des hypothèses explicites sur ce sujet. La perspective adoptée par les auteures consiste davantage à rendre visibles les expériences subjectives relatives à la maternité qu'à suggérer des pistes d'explication sur celles-ci. C'est du moins ce que laisse

croire la place faite à la présentation critique des sources et de la méthode utilisée comme élément central de la démonstration du sujet.

Le chapitre 2 consacré à la méthodologie de la recherche est, à cet égard, d'une rigueur exemplaire. Les auteures s'attardent ici à exposer de façon minutieuse l'ensemble des démarches faites et des ressources mises à profit dans la production de l'ouvrage. D. Lemieux et L. Mercier se sont inspirées — outre d'une connaissance étendue du sujet attestée par la bibliographie citée — d'un corpus documentaire nouveau, formé d'une quarantaine de récits autobiographiques et de documents personnels. Ceux-ci évoquent la vie d'autant de femmes au cours des années 1880 à 1940. Ont ainsi été retenus les écrits de femmes francophones, ayant vécu avec un conjoint et un ou plusieurs enfants, aussi bien à la campagne qu'à la ville, au sein de familles de condition bourgeoise le plus souvent, mais également de condition modeste. La trame du récit qui évoque la vie des femmes au tournant du siècle est ensuite formée par le croisement des différents récits pour chacun des thèmes qui font l'objet des chapitres à venir.

Nous voilà au coeur de l'ouvrage. A la suite des deux premiers chapitres qui situent l'enfance et la jeunesse des femmes au tournant du siècle, l'essentiel du récit porte sur la vie adulte, traduit les changements de statuts et concerne les périodes de transition: mariage, naissance, maternité (trois chapitres). Suivent ensuite deux chapitres consacrés à l'étude du quotidien à travers les fonctions nourricières et les fonctions de communication associées et dévolues aux femmes. Un dernier chapitre enfin évoque les discontinuités du cycle de vie (maladie, mort, remariage) et la vieillesse (le temps des grands-mères). Le coeur du texte, à la différence des chapitres préliminaires, se lit aisément. L'adoption d'un style plus journalistique, mais surtout le recours à des "bonheurs d'expression de toutes ces femmes qui ont pris la plume pour com-

munique ou pour échapper à l'oubli,"(47) révèle une histoire passionnante. Derrière l'image stéréotypée d'épouse et de mère modèle, ressassée à satiété, ces femmes témoignent d'expériences variées et de visions contrastées.

C'est ce que font ressortir les auteures qui concluent, au bout du compte, que la vie des femmes au tournant du siècle constitue un amalgame de modèles et de comportements anciens et nouveaux. Elles montrent également que tous les milieux sociaux n'ont pas accès au même rythme aux nouvelles technologies qui transforment progressivement le mode d'organisation des activités ménagères sans pouvoir, cependant, observer de différences caractéristiques suivant les milieux de vie des femmes. Ces conclusions corroborent, comme le précisent les auteures, des éléments connus de l'histoire sociale et confirment des aspects des modes de vie dont on soupçonnait l'existence. Celles-ci apportent, comme elles l'expliquent encore, un nouvel éclairage sur certains aspects des itinéraires féminins et sur les représentations et les valeurs sous-jacentes aux comportements observés.

Au terme de la lecture des 10 chapitres que compte *Les femmes au tournant du siècle*, l'ouvrage, de fabrication exemplaire, déçoit pourtant. Compte tenu de l'intérêt que représente la période étudiée, de la nouveauté du sujet traité, de l'originalité du corpus documentaire, de la pertinence de l'objectif recherché, de la rigueur de la démarche poursuivie et, finalement, de la richesse de l'expérience conjugée de deux auteures, à la fois historiennes et sociologues, cet ouvrage pêche, paradoxalement, par excès de prudence. Le développement méthodologique fort ne peut masquer complètement la faiblesse du questionnement, de l'interprétation, voire même de la conclusion, dont le traitement apparaît terne et sans surprise. Par contraste, le traitement des récits autobiographiques fait ressortir l'originalité, la fraîcheur, la hardiesse de

ces voix de femmes dont la réalité étonne souvent.

Dans un ouvrage sur les femmes au tournant du siècle, on se serait attendue à trouver des précisions ou, à tout le moins, des questions sur le sens de l'évolution de la vie quotidienne et des cycles de vie des femmes depuis un siècle. En quoi et comment, par exemple, les comportements et les valeurs reliés aux rôles d'épouse et de mère permettent-ils de modifier l'image stéréotypée de l'épouse et mère québécoise traditionnelle et d'en proposer de nouvelles? De quoi est fait exactement cet "amalgame d'ancien et de nouveau" qui caractérise la période de transition du tournant du siècle? Etc., etc. Il est à espérer que le deuxième tome interroge les enjeux sociaux et la signification des changements survenus dans la vie des femmes, tout en conservant la rigueur du présent ouvrage. A suivre.

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François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains* (Paris: Éditions Belin 1989).

WRITTEN FOR A French audience, this brief history is based essentially on a comprehensive reading of the secondary literature which includes a number of innovative studies in labour history. In addition, the author incorporates some useful material from his ongoing graduate work on a large textile firm in Chicopee, Massachusetts, as well as research in the credit records of Dun and company and the reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics. The title is actually somewhat misleading in that the focus is entirely on the mill towns of New England, but this, after all, was where the great majority of Franco-Americans spent their lives.

Weil begins by examining the migration process to New England, as well as the reaction of the French-Canadian élite to the exodus from Lower Canada/Quebec. He then turns to the industrial expe-

rience in New England, as well as the birth of French language communities after the Civil War. The last half of the volume deals mainly with the growth of these communities from 1880 to 1945, though a brief final chapter discusses the post-war process of disintegration and assimilation. Weil's thesis is that group cohesion was long preserved by the Franco-American élite which established the institutional structures of parish, school, associations and press, all in the service of the clerico-conservative ideology known as "la Survivance." He goes on to suggest that the popular rejection of that increasingly anachronistic ideology after World War II was the principal reason for the collapse of Franco-America. Whereas most accounts have tended to blame the jingoistic advocates of assimilation, Weil suggests that their attacks actually strengthened the resolve and influence of the growing Franco-American élite during the early 20th century.

The first chapter suffers somewhat from the author's lack of familiarity with the more recent historical literature on Quebec. Thus, he fails to acknowledge how controversial the whole question of a Lower Canadian agricultural crisis remains. He particularly stresses the habitants' backward farming methods as well as their lack of access to credit, though it is debateable whether other North American farmers were much further advanced in either respect, particularly during the pre-industrial era. Weil also repeats the cliché that the nationalist élite opposed industrialization and urbanization, and assumes wrongly that the colonization movement had an exclusively agrarian agenda. Finally, we are left with a rather unsatisfactory explanation as to why French Canadians chose to migrate to the mill towns rather than move to the western frontier in larger numbers. Weil stresses the strong attraction of the factory jobs and states that their strategy "fut d'abord la manifestation de leur pragmatisme" (18), but this begs the question as to why so many native New En-

glanders preferred to abandon their own region for the West rather than take these jobs themselves. Weil might reply that the impoverished habitants could not afford to become western settlers, but surely many of the European immigrants who moved to the frontier were no better off financially. It would appear that the lure of New England to the French Canadians lay principally in its proximity to Quebec, not simply because of the inexpensive transportation costs, but because cultural ties could be maintained along with the hope of being able to resettle in the homeland. Once French-speaking communities were established in the mill towns, the cultural reasons for migrating southward rather than westward became more decisive than ever.

The whole question of seasonal migration back and forth from Quebec remains to be explored, but Weil does make it clear that the high rates of geographic mobility had crucial ramifications for the French-speaking population in New England. For example, the Dum credit records reveal that between 1870 and 1880 twenty-four of twenty-eight francophone merchants in fall River, Massachusetts went bankrupt and/or left town in large part because of the transient nature of their clientele. In addition, the French-Canadian workers long remained unpopular with the American union movement because of their tendency to abandon their jobs rather than participate in strike action. In the 1881 report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labour Statistics (the Wright Report) Franco-Americans were labelled the Chinese of the eastern States because of their readiness to work for low wages as well as move about in order to evade regulations prohibiting child labour. As Weil points out, however, the outraged reaction by the Franco-American élite was itself evidence that French-speaking communities were taking root in New England. Indeed, he adds that the rise of Yankee xenophobia in the 1880s was essentially a reaction to the proliferation of francophone institutions.

After 1890 popular concern shifted to the European immigrants, and the Franco-Americans were able to win some victories in the campaign launched against their national parishes by the Irish-dominated church hierarchy. However, the nativist hysteria stirred up by World War I ultimately led to a concerted attack on the so-called divided allegiance of the French-speaking population. In 1922 Rhode Island's Peck Bill decreed that English would be the language of instruction in all private-school classes except for language and religion. Shortly afterward, the Bishop of Providence, who had supported this legislation, imposed a subscription for Christian education throughout his diocese. The reaction by the hardliners who established the *Sentinel* as their mouthpiece ultimately led to their excommunication by Rome, and a damaging rift within the Franco-American leadership throughout New England. Weil suggests as well that the clerico-conservative élite was losing its moral authority as working-class consciousness grew in response to the decline of the textile industry. The last straw came with World War II, when the élite sympathized with Pétain while the franco-American people rallied to the national war effort. The popular rejection of "le culture de la Survivance" is well illustrated by the novels of their own Jack (Jean-Louis) Kerouac and Grace Metalious (de Repentigny). Of course, even the clerico-conservative stronghold of Quebec could not resist indefinitely the forces of political "modernization," but the crucial difference (not mentioned by Weil) was that North of the border the growing bureaucratic and technocratic middle class was in a position to take control of the state in the name of a redefined national identity.

In the final analysis, Weil may be over-emphasizing the role of the élite as far as cultural survival and decline is concerned. Surely it was natural for people to continue speaking French as long as they worked and lived together in an era before mass American culture invaded every

home through radio and television. As Weil himself points out, World War II brought the unsettling impact of military service abroad, as well as work in munitions factories elsewhere in the United States. Furthermore, the decline of the New England textile industry was already causing the destruction of the Little Canadas, a trend accelerated by the post-war flight to the suburbs. Mixed marriages drove the final nail in the coffin as far as resistance to the decline of national parishes and French language education was concerned. What a more "progressive" élite could have done to change all this is not clear. While one might quibble with the slant Weil places on his analysis, the fact remains that by raising the question of class relations in Franco-America he provides fresh insight into the rise and fall of this once-dynamic industrial community.

J.I. Little  
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Alan Noon, *East of Adelaide: Photographs of Commercial, Industrial and Working-class Urban Ontario, 1905-1930* (London, Ont.: London Regional Art and Historical Museums 1989).

PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION of the history of the urban working class in the early 20th century, when the simple mass-produced box cameras within reach of working-class budgets could record only brightly-lit outdoor scenes, remains scarce and incomplete. For this reason, Ontario historians should welcome the serendipitous recovery of a substantial body of photographs produced by Henry G. Hines, a commercial photographer who operated a studio in the working-class district of East London from 1905 to 1930. Arriving from the United States in 1899, Hines worked as a conductor for the London Street Railway before opening a photographic studio on Dundas Street in partnership with his son, William. Lacking access to the lucrative portrait market that sustained uptown photographers, the

Hines Studio attracted a clientele of local businessmen, shopkeepers, factory owners and their families, and undertook commissioned assignments for the City of London, the London Street Railway, the London Public Utilities Commission and the Western Fair Association. Although Hines' photographs were reproduced in many municipal publications between 1910 and 1925, most of the glass plate negatives were sold for scrap following the closing of the studio, being much in demand as a source of high-quality scratch-free glass. By some chance, however, several boxes of negatives survived for more than four decades in the damp basement of a London home, narrowly escaping incorporation into the walls of a greenhouse in 1951. Not until 1971 were they shown to Alan Noon, a media specialist in photography at the University of Western Ontario, who eventually agreed to undertake the lengthy and arduous process of documenting and restoring the collection. From the original 1,200 smashed and decomposing negatives, some 400 images were salvaged, of which more than 160 are reproduced in this book.

Harry Hines was one of many Ontario commercial photographers, with their large cameras and various forms of artificial lighting, who were regularly commissioned by turn-of-the-century public and private utilities, factory owners and merchants to photograph their buildings and workplaces. Thanks to the advent of the half-tone process, such images could now be reproduced in annual reports, magazines and newspapers for promotional purposes. Hines' outstanding views of building exteriors, interiors, and lavish window displays reveal that George Young Professional Horseshoer, Luxite Textiles of Canada, Regal Motor Cars, the London Street Railway, Briggs Bicycles, Cowan Hardware, the Forest City Business School, Thomas Furniture, Fink Clothiers, the London Fire Department, Armstrong Druggist, the Silverwood Dairy, the Crystal Lake Ice Company, and the Kleeno Kwality Kloths and Waste

Company were among the London clients anxious to avail themselves of the services of a commercial photographer. Prominent among many themes emerging from these images is the transformation of the face of London as it underwent electrification and witnessed the replacement of the urban working horse by the automobile and delivery truck. But most significantly for historians of the working class, as Alan Noon notes, Hines' commissioned photographs captured "people in their daily routines both at work and leisure allowing us to reconstruct segments of their lives during the early part of this century." Although scenes of domestic and family life are disappointingly, if understandably, absent from this collection, we are amply compensated by the rich documentation of London workplaces and of the activities of the men and women who frequented them. Caught by Hines' roving camera are the faces of barbers and their clients, garment workers, bartenders, butchers, telegraph delivery "boys," auctioneers, truckdrivers, retail sales clerks, railway repairmen and mechanics, biscuit and candy makers, milkmen, and blacksmiths.

Among the highlights of the collection are the superb images created by the Hines Studio for the Western Fair Association and the London Railway Commission. In response to the success of the Canadian National Exhibition, London's business community established the Western Fair in the heart of suburban East London. Hines' images of the midway, harness races, manufacturers' displays and demonstrations of machinery clearly document the congruence of marketing and recreation at these celebrations of 20th-century consumerism. Also of interest are the images of military life taken during the Great War when the site of the Western Fair was requisitioned as a training camp. On an assignment for the London Railway Commission, Hines photographed the recreational facilities of nearby Port Stanley, and vividly, if inadvertently, documented the changing pat-

tern of working-class recreation in the mid-1920s. Particularly after the electrification of the London & Port Stanley Railway by Adam Beck in 1915, the beach resort of Port Stanley became a popular site for ethnic, corporate and family picnics. As revealed in Hines' superbly crafted yet delightfully informal images, Port Stanley offered to working-class pleasure-seekers from landlocked London the attractions of sunshine and sandy beaches, boardwalks and concession stands, rides and amusements, music and dancing. Ultimately, images such as these, enhanced by the high quality of the reproductions, are the real strength and contribution of *East of Adelaide*.

The task of restoring the severely damaged surviving Hines negatives presented a formidable challenge, judging from a representative image printed before and after the process of cleaning and stabilizing. Documentation of the collection, whose origins mystified the owners of the basement in which it had resided, also required considerable ingenuity. The link with the Hines Studio was eventually established through interviews with local historians and elderly residents of East London, and was confirmed by the subsequent discovery of original photographs bearing the studio imprint and matching some of the salvaged negatives. With the assistance of a number of volunteers from the community, Noon devoted "countless hours" to research for the captions, in order to be able to identify models of cars and trucks and individual East London residents by name, to establish locations, and to provide capsule histories of local businesses. Brief chapter introductions provide further background on, for example, the early development of East London, urban transportation and electrification, the founding of the Western Fair, and the rise and fall of Port Stanley as a working-class resort. In 1987, the work of restoration and documentation of the photographs provided the basis for a popular exhibit held at the London Regional Art Gallery. The publication of this book of

the same title will no doubt prove equally satisfying to those interested in the history of East London.

Despite its extensive documentation of local history, *East of Adelaide* does not entirely deliver on the promise of its title. A more substantial introductory chapter reflecting some familiarity with the current scholarship on urbanization and on the history of the Ontario working class would have lent support to the author's claim that these photographs are "representative of any comparable Ontario urban centre." As the book stands, however, that claim to broader significance is not fully substantiated. Despite considerable sleuthing by the author, the details of Hines' life and career remain sketchy. Our understanding of his activities, and of the images he created, however, could have been greatly enhanced had they been more fully situated in the larger context of what is now known about the role of the commercial photographer as businessman and booster in turn-of-the-century North American cities. Noon correctly observes that many of the images produced by the Hines Studio are invaluable historical documents, as in the example of two strikingly detailed and informative images showing the interior of the shop of a blacksmith for the London Street Railway before and after electrification. Nonetheless, the documentary value of historical photographs is not always self-evident, and more analytical and less descriptive captions would have helped to sensitize both general readers and professional historians not trained to "read" visual images. In all fairness, however, Noon's extensive research to identify people, locations and other details in the photographs has greatly augmented their documentary value for future historians. *East of Adelaide* is an attractive and well produced book, a valuable resource, and a welcome contribution. For Alan Noon, raised in East London, the restoration and documentation of the Hines collection has obviously been a labour of love. Historians of Canadian photography and of com-

mercial, industrial and working-class urban Ontario are now in his debt.

Diana Pedersen  
University of Western Ontario

William C. Beeching, *Canadian Volunteers: Spain 1936-1939* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center 1989).

MORE THAN HALF a century has passed since the Spanish civil war came to an end. Until recently only one book, Victor Hoar's *The Mackenzie-Papineau Battalion*, dealt with the Canadian participation in that conflict. Now we have a volume prepared by William Beeching, a veteran of the war, consisting in large part of the recollections of other Canadian veterans.

Although they have inevitably been shaped by the passage of time, the reminiscences themselves are often gripping. They provide the fighting man's view of the war, its brutality, its boredom and its dangers, but also its occasional exhilaration. We read much about the sudden death it brought to hundreds of the volunteers from Canada. The dedication tells us that 1,448 Canadians fought in Spain and 721 never returned home. The book includes a 'roll of honour' listing all who fought but not, oddly enough, those who died or are missing. Surely Beeching could have updated the incomplete tally of the known and presumed dead found in Hoar's book.

Beeching did not set out to write a book about Canada and the Spanish Civil War but a history of the Canadian veterans of the International Brigades. Still, the editorial board at the Canadian Plains Research Center seems to have thought that something was necessary to put the veterans' accounts in context. The result is a preface by James N. McCrorie, executive director of the Center, who briefly discusses Canada, Spain and Europe in the 1930s. This account contains several errors. McCrorie is quite wrong in asserting that in 1936 "the Great Depression was at its peak [sic]," that "savings had been wiped

out by currency depreciation," and that "lasting economic recovery was nowhere in sight." But he does give some sense of what was happening in the larger world.

Beeching does so only in passing, and with an interpretation that echoes Communist Party propaganda of the late 1930s. Indeed, much of his book has that flavour. In his view, the volunteers went to war to fight the fascists, "to prevent the outbreak of a world war and to preserve democracy." That is why they thought they went, why many of the survivors still think they went. And certainly historians have to take this view into account. But they must also see clearly what was happening on an international stage on which the volunteers were minor actors. And this Beeching, because of his ideological blinders, is ill-equipped to do. His bibliography makes this clear: it lists several apologia by Communists, including two volumes published in Moscow, while ignoring a study such as George Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia*, devastatingly critical of the Comintern's role in the struggle.

Beeching is right in asserting that in 1936 liberal-minded Canadians favoured the Spanish republic over Franco's insurgents, who represented the conservative and reactionary elements in Spanish society, including its homegrown fascists, and were supported by Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. He fails to note, however, that by the end of 1937 the non-Communist left in Canada had largely lost interest in the war. The reason? The republic was becoming increasingly identified with the Comintern, and this alienated people who hated Franco, Hitler and Mussolini but also, and rightly, distrusted Stalin and his Canadian supporters.

Given the cynical and highly questionable policy of non-intervention championed by the British government and supported by France, the United States and Canada among others, the Spanish republic had no choice but to accept Soviet and Comintern help. But as Hugh Thomas concludes in his important study of the Spanish civil war, the growing reli-



ance on Communist assistance put the government of Juan Negrin in an impossible position and ultimately helped to seal it down.

Beeching largely avoids discussing such issues, though he rightly attacks the Anglo-French policy of non-intervention as dishonest and foolish. Had the western democracies opposed fascism in Spain, he believes, the Second World War might have been prevented. Thomas's more credible assessment is that such intervention would probably have accelerated the coming of war, but on terms more favorable to Britain and France than the conflict that began in September 1939. By that time Stalin, whose interest in Spain had cooled a year earlier, had lost interest in an anti-Axis alliance and had seized the opportunity provided by Nazi Germany's approach in August to buy what he thought was security against a German attack.

Beeching fails to discuss such subjects as the function of the political commissars in the International Brigades, the anti-Trotskyist attitude and policy of Canadian recruiters for the republican cause, and the significance of that fact that so many of the volunteers from Canada were neither anglophone nor francophone in background. But although these are serious omissions they are dwarfed by the book's major weakness and stem partly from it: an interpretation of the Spanish civil war and the Canadian role in it that incorporates a thoroughly discredited ideology.

To say this does not diminish by one iota the courage and idealism of the men who fought and died in Spain. They were on the right side, in my opinion, and they deserve more recognition than they have received, including veterans' benefits from the Canadian government. But for the historian an account of their bravery and idealism is not enough. Clear vision is also needed, and of that this book has too little.

Michiel Horn  
York University

Gregory S. Kealey and Reg Whitaker, eds., *R.C.M.P. Security Bulletins: The War Series, 1939-1941* (St. John's: Committee on Canadian Labour History 1989).

IN 1983, Prof. Reg Whitaker of York University submitted an access request to the RCMP for specific issues of the Police's *Intelligence Bulletin*. The next year he received xerox copies of the material, heavily marked up with deletions. In 1987, the Canadian Security Intelligence Service, now the keeper of the RCMP security service records, gave permission to publish the Bulletins, as well as those that Prof. Greg Kealey had had declassified. This volume, covering the first two years of the war, is the first in a series that is intended to cover the period from 1919 to 1955.

All historians can be grateful for the Whitaker-Kealey efforts to press the RCMP to declassify material which is important to the understanding of our past. No one could disagree with that. But one may question the wisdom and necessity of publishing any further volumes in this series if the quality of the material is as thin as that provided here.

The material is thin gruel indeed. The *Intelligence Bulletin* was produced within the RCMP's tiny Intelligence section and it undoubtedly reflected the force's mindset. Communists were dangerous, and so, belatedly and once the war started, were fascists and Nazis. Japanese-Canadians were not dangerous, even after Pearl Harbor. Unions were potentially full of troublemakers, most especially Communist ones, and strikes clearly were objects of concern; indeed, strikes in wartime amounted to sabotage. Ethnic groups of all sorts were troublemakers, and Finns and Ukrainians were the worst. Those who opposed conscription were disloyal, a breathtaking allegation at a time when the government and the Opposition both claimed it was unnecessary. And Technocracy and the Jehovah's Witnesses deserved the harsh repression that fell on them. The sources for these simplistic judgments that circulated — unread, one must believe — to

politicians, bureaucrats and the outlying stations of the Police were a mixture of press reports from ethnic and Communist newspapers, as well as the mainstream press, and extracts from Communist Party bulletins and RCMP reports from the field.

But is any of this news? The pathetic quality of the Mounties' security and intelligence work before, during and after the war has long been known, and this volume amply confirms the truth of that fact. The Police were fixated on the Communist threat, something Whitaker makes clear in the introduction, and it did not take long for the government to reach the conclusion that the RCMP's skill and judgment were sadly lacking. J.W. Pickersgill in the Prime Minister's Office was saying this in memoranda as early as November 1939, and bureaucrats like Norman Robertson who had been charged with the task of preparing lists of those to be interned in August and September 1939 had realized this even earlier.

The editors have been careful in indicating the excisions that the Access legislation has permitted. The introduction Whitaker provides is very brief but points readers in the right direction (although Whitaker seems to believe that all Japanese Canadians were interned). The index unfortunately is very weak and inaccurate, and the review copy of the book suffered from print shop mishaps with the result that pages are bound in the incorrect order. In the bizarre world of the security service, those slips in pagination scarcely affected the flow of the text.

In other words, it is useful that we have in print a sampling of the Mounties' thinking. But unless the quality of historical material in the earlier and later Bulletins is higher than that provided in the 1939-41 volume, then it ought to be sufficient that the Bulletins sit on the open shelves of the Archives. The editors should cry halt, and the CCLH should devote its publishing budget to more productive areas.

J.L. Granatstein  
York University

Michael M. Atkinson and William D. Coleman, *The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press 1989).

SOME BUZZWORDS do die. Having swung our rudder and set our sails to catch the winds of free, or at least managed, trade in the 1990s, Canadians no longer display much enthusiasm for the once much sought after lodestar of an "industrial strategy." A decade ago, the urge for a made-in-Canada industrial policy had become almost manic; countless political speeches, business-government seminars and federal programs tried to divine a formula for a late 20th century technocratic reincarnation of Macdonald's interventionist National Policy. Could Canada too, businessmen and bureaucrats alike asked, enjoy the fruits of an anticipatory industrial policy? Could there be a MITI within our borders? Any good student of Canadian history, schooled on decades of federal-provincial friction and immovable tariff walls, could have revealed that the answer was a flat no.

As Richard French so trenchantly revealed in his *How Ottawa Decides* (1980), "The technocratic planning theories of the Sixties and Seventies have been irreparably devastated by the critiques of both right and left, by the conservative spokesmen of economic freedom and by the neo-Marxists, and no satisfactory post-positivist theory of planning has been developed in their place. There are no obvious technical solutions." We are, French concluded, "Older and sadder" and "a little wiser" for the experience. Nearly a decade later, political scientists Michael Atkinson and William Coleman return to the hoary question of industrial policy.

Their inquiry is predicated on the belief that Canada *must* have an industrial policy. They thus attempt to identify the "policy networks, systems of relationships among state and societal organizations" that might nurture it. Their journey, across a sea of paradigms and jargon, brings us eventually to a familiar harbour.

Canada, they report, has a "highly diffused and fragmented federal state that is poorly equipped to conduct anything more than reactive policy." We are left at dockside wondering whether the voyage was necessary.

Atkinson and Coleman attempt to isolate the "organizational culture of state and society in the realm of industrial policy" by focusing on three dissimilar industrial sectors: the expanding, research-intensive telecommunications and pharmaceuticals sector, the rapidly changing sectors of petrochemicals and meat processing and the ailing textile, clothing and dairy processing sectors. For each they create a model of economic characteristics, lobbying style and government reaction. Into these moulds they pour the results of an intensive reading of the secondary literature and the essence of just over a hundred interviews with senior federal bureaucrats.

The results are predictable. Canada's industrial policy is "a rather confused and uneven amalgam of initiatives" by which "the state is predisposed to leave business alone." Only where the state alone can assert primacy, such as in the space industry, does an "anticipatory" industrial policy emerge. Elsewhere, the play of political pluralism, varying degrees of industrial concentration and protection prove more conducive to "reactive" policy-making. Atkinson and Coleman apply a series of tests to determine the relative structural strength of each sector and the resultant "policy network" determining its industrial fortunes. In virtually every case, from the strong telecommunications industry to the weak textile industry, "hesitancy and inconsistency" persistently frustrate the assertion of a state-led industrial strategy. A sense of *deja vu* pervades the analysis.

An aridity also pervades the book. The text is lifeless, revealing little of the interviews with senior bureaucrats that purportedly constitute the foundation of the methodology. That these interviews were conducted in 1982 may account for their infrequent citation; one department,

the Ministry of State for Economic Development, for which some of these bureaucrats works, no longer exists. More fundamentally, despite the authors' frequent emphasis on Canadian political pluralism, no attempt appears to have been made to interview federal cabinet ministers or industrial association executives. All are crucial "players" in the industrial policy game. Where is Eugene Whalen being bombarded with milk jugs by angry farmers? Thus, outdated research and narrow focus of investigation greatly diminishes the worth of this study.

One is left wondering just what audience the publishers of this book intended it to serve. Will it be read avidly by the makers of Ottawa's industrial policy? Will Shirley Carr, Tom d'Aquino or John Crosbie engross themselves in its analysis of the "functionalist neo-Marxist paradigm" or "meso-corporatism"? Probably not. Will the ambitious young bureaucrats of Ottawa's C.D. Howe (who goes unmentioned in the authors' historical review of industrial policy) Building apply its strictures to their policy formulations? Will they be joined by corporate executives? Again, probably not. *The State, Business, and Industrial Change in Canada* will, one can conclude with some certainty, appeal to that small band of political scientists, well initiated in the layering of jargon and past theory, who at some future date will employ it as a chart on their journey into paradigmland.

Duncan McDowall  
Carleton University

Yves Vaillancourt, *L'évolution des politiques sociales au Québec 1940-1960* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1988).

LA PÉRIODE 1940-1960 constitue la pièce de résistance de l'histoire des politiques sociales au Québec et l'ouvrage d'Yves Vaillancourt, qui couronne une série d'études chronologiques sur les politiques sociales depuis le début du

siècle, est le fruit d'une courageuse entreprise. La plupart des programmes de ce qu'il est convenu aujourd'hui d'appeler l'État-providence sont créés durant ces vingt années et la plupart des problèmes sont posés dans les termes qui préoccuperont les politiciens des années subséquentes. Parallèlement, des institutions anciennes se métamorphosent: le financement des hôpitaux, des orphelinats, des sanatoriums et des organisations charitables passe progressivement du secteur privé au secteur public, une évolution débutée dans les années 1920, et qui laisse présager le transfert complet de propriété de la Révolution tranquille. De plus, le nombre des oeuvres et des institutions confessionnelles d'assistance double. En conséquence les subventions provinciales à leur endroit grimpent à un rythme extraordinaire.

L'auteur explique les transformations des politiques sociales par l'évolution des rapports de classe, qui reflètent à leur tour les changements de l'économie. Cette façon de voir a le double avantage de saisir le "Welfare State" dans l'ensemble de la société et de considérer les politiques comme un ensemble d'éléments interreliés. L'argument majeur de l'ouvrage se présente comme suit: les premiers programmes universels de sécurité sociale sont le fruit d'une alliance entre une faction éclairée du grand capital et de la petite bourgeoisie technocratique, avec une plus ou moins grande ouverture aux demandes du mouvement ouvrier, dans le but d'instaurer un régime de régulation sociale de type "fordiste." Les politiques sociales servent alors à "huiler les rapports sociaux et à intégrer les classes populaires ... à l'intérieur de l'organisation capitaliste du travail et de la société." En contrepoint, l'alliance plus ancienne de la petite bourgeoisie traditionnelle et d'autres factions du grand capital se dissout, emportant avec elle le projet d'une forme strictement capitaliste de régulation. Les différents gouvernements

n'entrent pas tous au même rythme dans le mouvement: la Saskatchewan d'abord, puis le Canada à partir du milieu des années 1940 et le Québec, à partir du milieu des années 1950.

Vaillancourt alloue une attention particulière aux demandes des différentes classes sociales, et les passages sur le mouvement ouvrier sont parmi les meilleurs et les plus systématiques du livre. On y retrouve des considérations sur la pensée sociale des centrales syndicales, des regroupements d'infirmières et des associations de travailleuses sociales; en ce qui concerne ces dernières, l'auteur utilise des sources d'une richesse particulière. Ses analyses font aussi preuve d'une ouverture aux questions de genre plus grande que celle des ouvrages antérieurs; on apprend entre autre comment le gouvernement fédéral restreignit les critères d'éligibilité à l'assurance-chômage en 1950, pour encourager les femmes mariées à retourner à la maison.

Si cette approche lui permet de relier l'histoire des politiques sociales à celle de la socio-économie globale, elle est souvent trop générale pour permettre de tirer des liens précis et concrets. Pour Vaillancourt, une transformation ne s'explique en définitive que par l'exacerbation des contradictions de l'économie, par la montée d'une classe, ou encore par la prise de conscience par une classe de ses intérêts objectifs. Certes, plusieurs transformations des politiques relèvent de cet ordre de phénomènes; l'adoption des allocations familiales par le gouvernement fédéral dans le but de contenir les demandes salariales d'après-guerre représente un cas de ce type. Mais, il faut expliquer pourquoi les mêmes réclamations ne produisent pas toujours les mêmes résultats. Par exemple les dénonciations des lacunes de la Loi de l'assistance publique ne cessent pas durant toutes les vingt années étudiées. Pourquoi sont-elles tantôt reçues, tantôt ignorées par les autorités provinciales? L'auteur accepte parfois que l'idéologie fasse perdurer un

régime d'assistance publique qui "con-redit les faits sociaux objectifs." Dès lors, il faudrait qu'il se demande dans quelles conditions l'idéologie cesse de suffire. Comment par exemple, après la Seconde Guerre, les femmes purent-elles à la fois être moins perméables au message de l'élite petite-bourgeoise et demeurer victimes de sa propagande au sujet de l'effet miraculeux des allocations aux mères nécessiteuses?

Quand il abandonne les grands facteurs infrastructurels, Yves Vaillancourt ne peut compter, pour le Québec, sur une historiographie aussi riche que celle dont bénéficient déjà les politiques sociales du Canada et de la Saskatchewan. Il est plus souvent forcé de faire lui-même le travail de recherche et d'analyse préliminaires à la synthèse. Il doit alors puiser ses renseignements à même les rapports gouvernementaux écrits par des membres de la petite bourgeoisie technocratique qui, pour présenter leurs réformes comme un progrès, ont "noirci" à grands traits les régimes antérieurs et en ont éludé la complexité. De cette littérature des experts, Vaillancourt importe malheureusement une idée passive et statique des besoins. "Le bien-être et la santé du peuple québécois" sont mesurés à l'aune de statistiques sociales globales, et les "gestes planifiés et constructifs" nécessaires pour combler ces besoins devraient nous sembler évidents. De plus, l'auteur reprend des mythes inutiles sur la société québécoise: à la lumière des découvertes de l'histoire sociale, on ne peut plus invoquer la "légendaire solidarité de la famille élargie." D'une certaine façon, cette dépendance vis-à-vis de la rhétorique des fonctionnaires porte à tourner en rond: l'historien en arrive à délaisser les besoins de la population agricole, en raison du fait que peu de politiques sociales lui furent destinées.

C'est aussi dans la foulée des experts gouvernementaux que l'auteur attribue une valeur positive à la modernisation, c'est-à-dire à des programmes sociaux

publics, globaux, intégrés, planifiés par une fonction publique efficace, rentable, impartiale, et administrés par des travailleurs sociaux. Implicitement, un tel régime est sensé rencontrer le critère d'appréciation par excellence: la satisfaction des besoins des classes populaires. En vertu de cette adhésion de principe au welfare state moderne, l'auteur utilise le gouvernement fédéral, le gouvernement socialiste de la Saskatchewan et le gouvernement québécois de la Révolution tranquille comme des repoussoirs. Certes, en se demandant "qu'est-ce qui ... empêche [le Québec] d'instaurer ses propres programmes, tout comme l'avaient fait d'ailleurs certaines provinces de l'Ouest ..., plusieurs années avant que le fédéral ne 'bouge' dans ces secteurs," il amorce une entreprise qui est bienvenue, car les études sur le Québec souffrent trop souvent d'isolement. Malheureusement, les comparaisons s'arrêtent une fois les retards du Québec mis en valeur.

En raison de cette communion paradoxale avec les experts, Yves Vaillancourt réserve le plus gros de ses suspensions à la petite bourgeoisie cléricalo-nationaliste. Comme un inspecteur du gouvernement qu'on aurait envoyé dans le passé pour repérer les lacunes du système, il distribue les torts. Au total, la logique des intentions et des actions de la bourgeoisie traditionnelle ne sont pas assez explorées, non plus que leurs limites et leurs contradictions. Cette conception manichéenne autorise peu d'analyse du fonctionnement des institutions dites "traditionnelles," "désuètes" ou "improvisées." Vaillancourt discrédite systématiquement les discours de leurs défenseurs. Il s'empêche ainsi de soupeser les problèmes occasionnés par la centralisation de l'administration sociale, par l'impersonnalité des services publics, autant de questions que l'actualité brûlante pose à l'histoire de l'État-providence.

Ainsi disposé, l'auteur se contente de trouver "étonnants," ou "inconsistants"

les écarts de Duplessis au traditionnalisme. Qui veut savoir pourquoi le Premier ministre de la Grande noirceur a accepté sans rechigner les programmes fédéraux concernant les personnes âgées, en 1951, et le programme fédéral de construction d'hôpitaux restera sur sa faim. Plus globalement, on devrait analyser plus à fond l'explosion des dépenses publiques québécoises en matière de bien-être: il est tout de même extraordinaire qu'un cabinet aussi traditionnaliste ait porté les déboursés pour le bien-être social de 6,6% à 25% de son budget au cours des vingt années couvertes par l'ouvrage. Les efforts de "modernisation" de l'Église mériteraient eux aussi un plus long développement. Enfin, par une inversion du même réflexe, Vaillancourt présente les écarts au traditionnalisme comme des signes annonciateurs de la Révolution tranquille. Or, les éléments "avant-gardistes" ne sont pas nés dans un vacuum, et ils ne sont pas nécessairement incompatibles avec un système traditionnel. Il y aurait moyen, par exemple, de placer le réseau public d'"unités sanitaires" qui faisait l'envie des autres provinces en 1945, dans l'ensemble des actions du gouvernement québécois de leur temps.

En somme, deux arguments parallèles sont menés de façon étanche: d'une part le "contexte" vu de façon marxiste; d'autre part le développement des politiques, "factuel et descriptif," vu à travers les lunettes de la petite bourgeoisie réformiste. Cet achoppement théorique explique la plupart des problèmes d'unité de l'ouvrage. Que ce soit dans la construction générale du livre: une trop longue première partie est consacrée au cadre général d'analyse, celui des grandes alliances de classe, alors qu'il aurait pu être amené au fil de la démonstration. Ou alors dans le contenu des chapitres subséquents qui portent chacun sur un secteur particulier de politique: ils débutent par une présentation des programmes où, faute d'argument intégrateur, l'auteur défile

des listes de caractéristiques et d'amendements qui trouveraient mieux leur place dans un annuaire gouvernemental. L'analyse n'arrive qu'en fin de section.

Pour surmonter cette impasse, il faudrait regarder du côté de l'histoire des partis, de celle des réponses de la clientèle, de l'évolution des pratiques des fonctionnaires. Il faudrait analyser plus finement les relations changeantes entre l'Église, les syndicats, les regroupements d'agriculteurs et les récipiendaires des programmes publics, au lieu de présenter ces groupes isolément. Pourquoi et comment naissent les partis porteurs de réformes? Pourquoi l'État fédéral développe-t-il plus rapidement une fonction publique moderne? Il y a beaucoup à trouver du côté de l'analyse des propositions qui échouent, des exceptions. Tant que les effets réels des mesures sociales aux yeux de la population ne seront pas pris en compte, tant aussi que le Duplessisme ne sera pas compris comme un système positif, la question du maintien de programmes apparemment désuets et insatisfaisants, comme celui des allocations aux mères nécessiteuses, ne sera pas élucidée. Ainsi la question la plus prometteuse, dans le cas central de cet ouvrage est peut-être la suivante: pourquoi Duplessis est-il demeuré relativement populaire, malgré le manque d'imagination de l'élite dont il faisait partie, et quels rôles ont joué les politiques sociales pour le maintenir au pouvoir? Pour y répondre, il faudra peut-être accepter que ce régime ait eu quelques avantages pour la population.

Dans les passages factuels, Vaillancourt pointe souvent dans la direction d'une histoire plus politique: les intentions d'un Mackenzie King, par exemple, deviennent tout à coup primordiales. Pour Vaillancourt, le problème majeur à ce niveau d'explication est celui des conflits constitutionnels, et il lui accorde une attention minutieuse. Mais il ne modifie pas pour autant son cadre d'analyse et ne tente pas de conceptualiser ce que son

voyage dans les sources lui a permis de découvrir. En sens inverse, on sent aussi une ouverture du cadre théorique dans la direction d'une vision plus prometteuse que le déterminisme économique des études précédentes: l'introduction présente les travaux de l'école de la "régulation sociale," qui propose une conception nuancée de l'État et qui lui confère une plus grande autonomie dans ses relations à l'infrastructure. Mais l'auteur n'exploite pas à fond le potentiel de la théorie qu'il invoque: la réalité n'est pas cohérente ni unifiée, se contente-t-il de conclure, la synthèse est donc périlleuse et impossible.

Le manque de cohérence des interprétations n'enlève pas à cet ouvrage un caractère précieux: comme encyclopédie exhaustive sur la nature et les transformations de programmes sociaux complexes, comme guide exhaustif des sources gouvernementales et des articles des observateurs et acteurs contemporains, comme résumé du contenu de ces textes, il est sans pareil; muni d'un index, il aurait été encore plus utile. A ce titre, il me semble qu'il pourra susciter une ronde de monographies sur l'histoire des politiques sociales au Québec. L'auteur de la prochaine synthèse aura la vie beaucoup plus facile.

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Richard Harris, *Democracy in Kingston: A Social Movement in Urban Politics, 1965-70* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1988).

ACADEMICS ARE NOW beginning to examine the rise of popular protest in the advanced capitalist countries in the 1960s. Richard Harris looks at one aspect of this rise in popular protest, the urban reform of the New Left and its counterpart amongst left-liberal reformers. He focuses upon the urban reform movement as it developed in one specific location, Kingston, Ontario. Kingston is a small

city in Southern Ontario that was particularly suited to the rise of urban reform during this period. It had a serious lack of low income rental housing during these years, years that coincided with the beginnings of the federal government's urban renewal programs. In addition, its status as host to Queen's University provided the city with a disproportionately large number of student activists eager to become involved in the type of community organizing which had been popularized by the SDS/ERA projects in the United States.

Using archival sources from community groups, the NDP, and the municipal government, as well as newspaper reports, personal records and interviews with activists of the time, Harris summarizes the city and its politics; the development of the New Left in Kingston, its projects with working class youth, inner-city residents and the welfare poor; the development of middle-class reform through churches, voluntary organizations and the NDP; the focus of these two currents on the issues of housing and urban renewal; and their decline in the early 1970s.

Harris works from the conclusion that "although class is not usually the most visible factor in Canadian life, it is the most important." He does, however, disagree with Marxist attempts to define the city, as well as political and social conflict, exclusively in terms of the class relations of capitalism. Harris holds that other factors that have not been developed adequately by Marxist academics influence local politics. As a geographer, Harris is primarily concerned with two such factors: the ownership of domestic property and people's place of residence. Working from the assumption that place of residence and housing tenure are not reducible, though obviously tied to class, Harris provides a detailed examination of the tensions that existed between homeowners and tenants in the working-class North End, of the division between the welfare and working poor, and of the lines

of cross-class resistance and protest that were created by working-class and middle-class reformers in tenant organizing and political lobbies. Harris also demonstrates well how when push came to shove, class loyalties shone through, causing middle-class reformers to scrap public housing projects in predominately middle-class neighborhoods and split cross-class reform efforts.

Although his work is specific to the Kingston scene, Harris does stress that its reform movement of the 60s and 70s must be seen in the context of the broad movement for social change of that period. He notes that this movement contained two different, sometimes warring factions, the New Left (including the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Student Union for Peace Action) and less radical mainstream reformers (from the Waffle and left-liberal camps). He insists that this social movement must be seen as a whole — as a product of the growth of popular support for liberal or social democratic reform that emerged with the economic boom of the post-Cold War days when criticism of state practice in the West became not only more acceptable but more affordable.

Harris' examination of the development and workings of the New Left as a whole and of its Canadian component in particular is somewhat superficial, as might be expected from a work that is intended less as a comprehensive look at the New Left than as an examination of one narrowly-defined aspect of it. He is at his best when he is dealing with the specifics of urban reform in Kingston in the years after the dissolution of an organized New Left group. If this book was solely about urban reform in Kingston during this period, this would not pose a problem. However, Harris makes larger claims for his work. His examination is centred around the question of "in a capitalist society, where people are unequal, how do the powerless try to make democracy?" Harris' decision to approach this question through an examination of the

urban reform of the *New Left* in particular would imply that a more rigorous questioning of its political approach and praxis be developed. As well, one might also expect to see a closer link between this questioning and Harris' own theoretical critique of traditional Marxist analytical tools. Harris is certainly able to view divisions within the working class along lines of place of residence and housing tenure, but with these exceptions, he probes no deeper into the meaning of working-class life in Kingston than did the majority of the sixties activists before him. For example, as many in the New Left did at the time, Harris portrays the organized working class as a uniformly conservative, backsliding group, a result of the fact that he reduces the spectrum of the organized working class in Kingston to equal the local union bureaucracy of the time. Harris' desire to develop a more synthetic materialist analysis is obviously not extended to create a more textured understanding of this section of the working class.

Harris concludes that the New Left changed "our political assumptions and circumstances in many ways" — one key way being its stress upon 'the personal as political.' Though the feminist movement has done the most in the past-twenty-five years to build a politics rooted in the personal, there is little indication that Harris has been informed by this work. Gender dynamics within the New Left are only briefly touched upon and left unrelated to ways of organizing and the theoretical approach adopted by the New Left and urban reformers. A key blind spot for many community organizers and urban reformers of the period — namely the manner in which family dynamics shaped the individual and community life of city residents — is also left untouched in this study.

*Democracy in Kingston* provides us with a well researched and straight forward examination of the reform movement in that city in the 1960s, and with at least a partial glimpse of the New Left's



role in the social change movement of that period. As such it is a welcome addition to the study of urban reform in Canada in the postwar years.

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André Petitat, *Les infirmières. De la vocation à la profession* (Montréal: Boréal 1989).

A L'HEURE où la profession d'infirmière est secouée par ce qui constitue sans doute la crise la plus profonde de son histoire, l'ouvrage du sociologue André Petitat apporte un éclairage utile sur l'évolution de cette profession. A partir d'études de cas portant sur trois hôpitaux montréalais (Hôtel-Dieu, Notre-Dame et Montreal General Hospital), l'auteur retrace les grandes étapes qui ont jalonné l'histoire des infirmières québécoises. Esquissant à très grands traits cette histoire durant la première moitié du XXI<sup>ème</sup> siècle, la majeure partie de l'étude, de même que les sources et la documentation utilisées, traitent surtout de la situation de la profession depuis les années 1950 jusqu'à ce jour, contrairement à ce que laisse supposer le titre du livre. Le mérite de cette étude ne réside pas tant dans la perspective "socio-historique" (19) adoptée que dans le tableau relativement précis qu'il brosse de la situation actuelle des infirmières et des principaux problèmes auxquels la profession est confrontée. Mais en définitive, plus qu'à une étude sur la profession en soi, l'ouvrage de Petitat nous convie à une réflexion sur le sens de l'évolution du champ de la santé et de l'hôpital, perspective dans laquelle il place d'emblée son cadre d'analyse, prenant comme point de départ l'évolution de la profession au cours des dernières décennies.

C'est dans ce contexte qu'il analyse le rôle de l'infirmière perçue en tant que *médicatrice* privilégiée entre d'une part, l'énorme bureaucratie que constitue l'hôpital d'aujourd'hui et, d'autre part, le malade. L'ouvrage, que l'on peut diviser en

trois parties principales, traite en premier lieu de l'évolution de la gestion hospitalière et de la maladie dans les trois hôpitaux, du début du siècle, caractérisé par une gestion de type familial, aux années 1980, placées sous le signe de la "bureaucratie transitaire." D'abord une institution charitable et un lieu de refuge pour les plus démunis, l'hôpital est devenu une énorme entreprise, une "institution surplombante," qui détient le monopole de tout le domaine de la maladie, mais aussi de la santé, de la naissance à la mort. La charité a dû céder la place à la science, alors que l'État s'est graduellement immiscé dans la gestion des hôpitaux obligeant religieuses et bénévoles à se retirer. Reflet de l'organisation sociale, cette évolution a complètement transformé notre vision de la maladie et du malade, dans le sens de leur éclatement. C'est que dans l'intervalle, le corps médical s'est fragmenté, en fragmentant le corps humain. (71) La multiplication des spécialités, des corps professionnels soignants, de même que la formalisation des savoirs ont entraîné une division de plus en plus profonde des pratiques et de ceux qui les effectuent. Le rapport simple, à l'origine, entre malade et soignant est dorénavant médiatisé par une multitude de phénomènes et d'intervenants. Le monde de l'hôpital se présente comme le lieu de rencontre, mais aussi d'affrontement, de différentes logiques qui sont loin d'être toujours compatibles entre elles: à la logique de l'hôpital même, comme institution bureaucratique, se surimposent la logique de la technique, celle des organisations professionnelles et syndicales, celle de la formation, sans compter la logique de l'État et des contraintes budgétaires qu'il impose.

C'est pourquoi, le monde hospitalier s'apparente de plus en plus à un monde en "transit" animé par le mouvement perpétuel du personnel et des patients, ce qui requiert la consignation par écrit de toutes les opérations afin d'assurer une gestion cohérente. Cette fragmentation du

corps médical, et surtout la multiplication des intervenants appartenant à la catégorie paramédicale a cependant diminué l'importance relative de l'infirmière, même si elle demeure une figurante centrale du secteur de la santé. Après un rapide survol de l'évolution de l'organisation du travail infirmier au début du siècle, la deuxième partie de l'étude de Petitat analyse les transformations qui y sont intervenues depuis la fin des années 1940, époque où le secteur hospitalier connaît une croissance sans précédent. Il nous dépeint ici, dans toute sa complexité, les innombrables problèmes que comporte le fonctionnement du département du nursing au quotidien. Reposant essentiellement sur une documentation constituée de rapports soumis aux différentes commissions d'enquête sur le secteur de la santé ou d'études produites par la corporation des infirmières, cette partie de l'ouvrage traite cependant davantage de gestion du nursing, masquant ainsi l'expérience professionnelle des infirmières. Il aurait été souhaitable de diversifier l'éventail des sources utilisées afin de faire émerger leur pratique.

Hormis la question des problèmes d'organisation sur les lieux de travail, la crise qui secoue présentement la profession concerne le rôle même de l'infirmière et son rapport aux malades; question dont les ramifications remontent aux origines de la profession. Au départ, le nursing s'est constitué sur la base d'un ensemble de savoirs ou plutôt de savoir-faire féminins reliés au soin et à l'entretien du corps, appelé le "care." Mais pour faire reconnaître ce travail, jusqu'alors compris comme étant du domaine du maternage et donc considéré comme travail gratuit, les infirmières ont choisi de valoriser de plus en plus les aspects techniques de ces tâches, reléguant graduellement au second plan toute la dimension féminine de leur pratique. Orientant leur expertise afin de répondre aux besoins des hôpitaux alors en plein essor, elles ont ainsi privilégié le savoir formel, calqué

sur celui des médecins. Au cours de cette évolution, les infirmières en sont venues à délaisser de plus en plus les tâches simples et les travaux domestiques, assumés dorénavant par des corps auxiliaires, pour se concentrer sur les soins complexes requérant une technique plus développée. Le problème, c'est qu'au cours de ce processus axé vers une pratique basée sur des savoirs "technico-scientifiques," elles ont perdu contact avec les patients avec lesquels elles n'ont plus que des rapports partiels.

Dans la troisième partie de son ouvrage, Petitat analyse ce processus de formalisation et de constitution des savoirs infirmiers de même que l'évolution de la formation. A l'origine, la formation des infirmières était essentiellement composée d'un apprentissage pratique doublé de quelques cours théoriques. La constitution d'un cursus, d'abord l'oeuvre des premières directrices du nursing dans les hôpitaux, sera complétée à partir des années 1920 et 1930 par des infirmières universitaires qui vont se spécialiser dans l'enseignement de cette profession. Les programmes visent à une meilleure compréhension des maladies (causes, symptômes, traitements) et comprennent des cours qui traitent des soins à donner dans les différents cas de chirurgie, médecine, psychiatrie. L'histoire de la profession de même que la déontologie y occupent une place importante. Mais durant cette période, la pratique organisée sous forme de stages dans les différents services hospitaliers constitue la majeure partie de la formation.

Le passage de la formation infirmière dans le réseau d'enseignement public au début des années 1970 représente, à priori, une grande victoire des associations professionnelles qui revendiquaient depuis les années 1930 que la formation soit séparée du travail des infirmières. Jusqu'à cette date, l'apprentissage "pratique" des élèves constituait en somme du travail gratuit en échange duquel elles recevaient le gîte, le couvert et une petite indemnité monétaire. Le transfert de la

formation, même s'il a permis de la mettre au premier plan, ne représente qu'une demi-victoire, puisqu'à partir du moment où c'est l'État qui régit l'organisation du réseau public d'enseignement, les infirmières perdent l'autonomie dont elles bénéficiaient sur le contenu de la formation en nursing.

Au-delà du changement de lieu de formation, c'est toute la conception de la profession qui est alors bouleversée. Comme l'explique l'auteur, l'enseignement, lorsqu'il se déroulait à l'hôpital, s'apparentait à une formation "intégrale" dans la mesure où tous les aspects de la vie des élèves étaient régis; des heures de cours et de travail aux moments de loisirs et de repos. A l'image des couvents, l'univers des infirmières formait une grande famille, animée par une philosophie charitable, où toutes se connaissaient. La profession était alors présentée comme constituant une forme d'apostolat, et tant les religieuses que les dirigeantes laïques des hôpitaux anglo-phones valorisaient un idéal professionnel empreint de la plus haute moralité. Mais avec le développement de l'activité hospitalière et ce, surtout à partir de la Deuxième Guerre mondiale, l'ancienne unité des départements de nursing s'effrite et les rapports deviennent plus impersonnels. L'idéologie véhiculée ne correspond plus à la réalité et c'est pourquoi le contrôle aussi important de tous les aspects de la vie des élèves n'est désormais plus possible, ni accepté par ces dernières qui réclament davantage de liberté et d'autonomie. Ces bouleversements vont complètement modifier le sens de l'engagement professionnel qui reposait jusqu'alors sur le don de soi. Ces changements dans la philosophie de la formation et l'engagement professionnel de conclure André Petitat reflètent les transformations intervenues à un niveau plus profond et plus global dans le champ de la santé dans son ensemble.

A l'issue de la lecture de cet ouvrage, on demeure avec l'impression étrange que les infirmières sont les grandes absentes de cette analyse. Certes, Petitat

documente très bien l'évolution de l'univers hospitalier en étant sensible à la dualité du contexte québécois-religieux/laïque, de même qu'il identifie clairement les principaux problèmes auxquels la profession est confrontée. Mais nulle part dans son ouvrage il n'a vraiment été possible de saisir les motivations des principales concernées, de comprendre les choix qu'elles ont posés, même dans le dernier chapitre qui traite pourtant de "logiques intentionnelles."<sup>(303)</sup> Il aborde l'étude des infirmières comme s'il s'agissait d'un ensemble indifférencié dont les objectifs sont convergents. Il ne relève pas les contradictions qui divisent ce groupe, et ne distingue pas suffisamment les desseins de l'élite de ceux de la base. Toute la spécificité de la démarche des infirmières par rapport à d'autres professions féminines ou à l'ensemble des travailleuses n'est pas vraiment relevée. Pourtant, il aurait été nécessaire de documenter davantage le processus qui les a mené à l'obtention de la reconnaissance professionnelle par le biais de leurs associations et le rôle que ces dernières ont joué et jouent encore auprès des instances publiques.

Les études dans le domaine du nursing ont fait l'objet d'un renouvellement important au cours des dernières années dont André Petitat ne rend pas vraiment compte dans son exposé, même si quelques références apparaissent dans sa bibliographie. Il aurait cependant été nécessaire de situer la présente étude par rapport aux nombreux débats concernant le statut de cette profession, sa valorisation, le rôle et le pouvoir des corporations professionnelles, sans compter toute la question de la délimitation de champs de savoirs dans le domaine de la santé. Il n'en demeure pas moins que l'ouvrage d'André Petitat représente un premier effort de synthèse sur l'histoire et la situation de la profession d'infirmière au Québec et il est à souhaiter que d'autres études viendront enrichir les débats et les perspectives sur le sujet.

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Marie-Claire Dumas et Francine Mayer, sous la dir. de, *Les femmes et l'équité salariale, un pouvoir à gagner!* (Montréal: Les Éditions du remue-ménage, 1989).

"PARLER D'ÉQUITÉ SALARIALE, c'est parler de la valeur du travail des femmes; c'est parler du fait que systématiquement les professions féminines sont sous-payées. Une discrimination subtile qui fait que la secrétaire gagne moins que le plombier, la travailleuse de garderie moins que le gardien de zoo"(:15). C'est ainsi que M.C. Dumas et F. Mayer nous convient à prendre connaissance des actes du colloque organisé par le YWCA de Montréal et tenu dans cette même ville les 3,4 et 5 mars 1989. La rencontre visait, entre autres objectifs, à démystifier le dossier de l'équité salariale, malheureusement encore trop souvent laissé aux "experts," afin de permettre au plus grand nombre possible de femmes de se l'approprier, ceci étant la seule manière, somme toute, de mener à bien les luttes des prochaines années dans ce domaine.

Précisons d'entrée de jeu qu'il est difficile de rendre compte d'un tel ouvrage dans la mesure où celui-ci présente la transcription de la quarantaine de communications transmises lors du colloque. Réunis sous onze thématiques, les textes sont, non seulement très courts (souvent à peine quatre pages) mais, de plus, abordent un éventail très large de questions. Impensable dès lors d'examiner séparément chacune des contributions. Aussi nous-est-il uniquement permis ici de camper les termes du débat, ceci sans mention aucune des auteures.

Avant d'identifier les points saillants de cette réflexion d'ensemble, quelques mots cependant sur la structure de l'ouvrage. Le volume est composé de trois parties. Comme l'équité salariale, soit "le principe selon lequel on verse un salaire égal pour un travail de valeur égale ou équivalente sans discrimination,"(:256) est un sujet passablement complexe, on a tenu à en faciliter la compréhension par une mise en perspec-

tive historique. L'évolution de la signification de la mesure, les controverses qu'elle a suscitées, la place du principe "à salaire égal pour un travail équivalent" dans l'ensemble des revendications visant l'égalité des femmes sur le marché du travail, autant de questions donc qui sont abordées en première partie. On a ensuite voulu broser le tableau de la situation actuelle en matière d'équité salariale. En ce sens, on présente, en deuxième partie, les différentes approches et méthodes d'évaluation existantes ainsi que les lois et programmes en vigueur au Québec, au Manitoba, en Ontario, au Minnesota et en Suède. Le processus de plaintes, sur lequel repose l'application de la loi québécoise, y est également examiné au moyen d'exemples afférents à certaines catégories d'emplois de la Fonction publique. Enfin, on y traite des problèmes spécifiques que rencontrent les domestiques, les travailleuses immigrantes et les femmes handicapées. C'est dans la troisième partie, plutôt axée sur les perspectives d'avenir, que l'on examine l'équité salariale au Québec en regard des améliorations applicables aux recours juridiques et législatifs de même que sous l'angle des stratégies mises de l'avant en milieu de travail et des voies à privilégier en matière de formation. L'apport indispensable de l'analyse féministe et de l'implication des groupes de femmes dans la promotion de l'équité salariale est un autre élément qui ressort des dernières discussions.

Tel que le souligne la présidente d'honneur du colloque, Claire Bonenfant, l'équité salariale occupe actuellement une place grandissante dans les débats politiques.(:21) Non pas que le problème soit nouveau. Ainsi, en 1911, le salaire moyen des travailleuses canadiennes équivalait à 53% de celui des hommes.(:22) Ce qui surprend toutefois, c'est la formidable inertie caractérisant l'évolution de cet écart. Ainsi, peut-on lire, "(e)n 1982, on estimait qu'il (salaire moyen) était de 55 à 64% de celui des hommes: autrement dit, une augmentation de 2 à 11% tout au plus

en 70 ans.”(22) A l’heure où la majorité des femmes exercent un travail rémunéré, on comprend que la tolérance ait ses limites. Aussi, après des luttes ardues pour l’implantation de programmes d’accès à l’égalité (PAE), qui visent à faciliter l’accès des travailleuses aux occupations dans lesquelles elles sont sous-représentées, l’enjeu est désormais d’obtenir un salaire équitable pour les emplois où les femmes sont concentrées. C’est dans cette optique que s’inscrivent les revendications en matière d’équité salariale.

Historiquement, la revendication touchant le versement de salaires équitables n’a pas toujours revêtu la forme qu’on lui connaît aujourd’hui ni même toujours, bien que cela puisse surprendre, abrité des meilleurs sentiments. Au départ, en effet, c’est sous l’appellation “à travail égal, salaire égal” que s’élaborent les demandes dont le but est de mettre fin à des situations de discrimination ouverte, situations dans lesquelles des femmes voyaient leur rémunération nettement inférieure à celle des hommes occupant les mêmes postes. A cet égard, on n’a d’ailleurs qu’à se rappeler les échelles salariales sexuées qui, encore dans les années soixante-dix, prévalaient dans de nombreuses conventions collectives. A la fin du siècle dernier toutefois, les groupes portant la revendication d’égalité salariale ne recherchaient pas tous, ce faisant, l’autonomie financière des femmes. En effet, plusieurs syndicats ont alors défendu cette mesure parce qu’ils y voyaient un moyen de diminuer la concurrence de la main-d’oeuvre féminine dont l’utilisation paraissait dépendre des économies de coûts procurées par leurs bas salaires.(38) Dans son acception moderne, la revendication est ensuite apparue comme un outil privilégié pour lutter contre la discrimination. Dans cette optique, on est passé du “travail égal” au “travail substantiellement égal” de manière à couvrir un éventail plus large de cas, pour en arriver enfin à la notion de “travail

équivalent,” laquelle autorise des comparaisons entre des emplois complètement différents. C’est à cette dernière formulation que se rattache le principe d’équité salariale, principe qui permet de combattre les inéquités de salaire s’appuyant sur la ségrégation occupationnelle dont les femmes font les frais. Car s’il est un constat auquel on ne peut plus échapper et que les participantes au colloque ont amplement souligné, c’est bien que la discrimination comprend de multiples facettes qui ne peuvent être comprises qu’en relation les unes aux autres. Aussi, les problèmes de disparités salariales ne prennent leur sens qu’à la lumière des autres sources d’inéquité comme la ségrégation ou encore les responsabilités qu’historiquement la société a dévolues aux femmes dans la sphère privée.(44) Dans cette optique, les solutions prennent la forme d’une stratégie large où s’articulent plusieurs moyens d’action (équité salariale, PAE, garderies, congés parentaux, congés pour obligations familiales, aménagement du temps de travail, politique de plein emploi, etc.). Comme le disait une participante, “(i)l faut choisir les bons outils pour les bonnes tâches et éviter de mettre tous les espoirs d’égalité dans une seule action.”(48)

En matière d’équité salariale, le Québec (tout comme le gouvernement fédéral) aurait avantage, de l’avis de plusieurs personnes, à s’inspirer de l’approche de type pro-actif adoptée par certaines provinces canadiennes (Manitoba, Ontario, Nouvelle-Écosse, Ile du Prince-Édouard). Contrairement au processus basé sur les plaintes individuelles, dont les limites sont illustrées ici par plusieurs exemples, les lois pro-actives contraignent les employeurs à examiner leurs pratiques et à ajuster les salaires des emplois à prédominance féminine à ceux des “emplois masculins” jugés équivalents. Ces lois sont davantage appropriées au contexte de discrimination systémique qui est le nôtre que les recours liés aux plaintes. Ceci dit, pour être tout entières tournées vers l’égalité de résultats, ce qui est le propre d’une

stratégie globale de lutte à la discrimination, les dispositions concernant l'équité salariale doivent incorporer des normes plus larges que celles qu'elles contiennent présentement. Il faudrait pouvoir, par exemple, comparer des postes d'entreprises différentes de sorte qu'aucune catégorie de travailleuses ne soit exclue de l'application de la loi. (:169) Selon certaines personnes cependant, l'atteinte de l'équité passe par le rejet des méthodes d'évaluation des emplois et l'utilisation d'un "modèle du marché du travail." (:225)

En revanche, l'article 19 de la Charte québécoise peut s'appliquer à un plus grand nombre de situations discriminatoires que ce que couvrent les autres lois canadiennes et américaines puisque le principe d'équité salariale y est lié, non seulement au critère de sexe, mais à l'ensemble des motifs de discrimination identifiés par la Charte. Les demandes des femmes des communautés culturelles, à l'effet d'appliquer l'équité salariale en fonction de l'origine ethnique, (:242) pourraient ainsi, en principe, être satisfaites. Des efforts en ce sens renforceraient d'ailleurs la solidarité entre femmes, laquelle a été, au fil des échanges, reconnue comme indispensable à l'avancement de cette cause. De ce point de vue, l'importance d'étendre aussi les acquis de l'équité salariale aux travailleuses non-syndiquées est ressortie des discussions menées en ateliers. (:250) Ces questions (et beaucoup d'autres traitées dans ce livre) nous forcent ainsi à reconnaître que le dossier de l'équité salariale comporte des enjeux d'une ampleur considérable. Ainsi, tel qu'on le souligne en conclusion:

Cette notion nous amène directement au coeur de la valeur du travail des femmes. Non seulement du point de vue du rattrapage salarial dans une échelle donnée mais au sens où il nous faut confronter les valeurs profondes de la société en ce qui concerne tout le travail effectué par les femmes. Qu'il soit rémunéré ou non. (:249)

En définitive, on peut dire que le plus grand mérite de cet ouvrage consiste à présenter, sous une pluralité d'angles, le

dossier de l'équité salariale de sorte que le lecteur ou la lectrice est à même de se faire une bonne idée sur cette question cruciale. Certes un recueil de ce type évite difficilement les nombreuses répétitions tout en nous laissant, en même temps, à bien des endroits sur notre faim. Bien sûr, on doit compter également avec des contributions de caractère inégal et même avec certaines interventions qui brouillent plus qu'elles n'éclairent les débats. Une remarque plus spécifique tient aussi à l'agacement que l'on éprouve à lire un français correspondant au langage parlé, ce qui se produit très souvent. Mais, cela dit, ces critiques pèsent peu en regard de l'apport important de l'ouvrage. Le colloque était un moment marquant, permettant durant trois jours à des femmes aux expériences et de milieux divers de réfléchir en commun. Moment d'autant plus rare qu'il a conduit à la mise sur pied d'une Coalition québécoise sur l'équité salariale (créée officiellement en septembre 1989 et qui travaillera, tout d'abord, à "la question des changements législatifs nécessaires pour protéger toutes les femmes, syndiquées et non syndiquées." (:254) Ce volume permet ainsi à toutes celles et ceux qui n'ont pas eu la chance d'assister à l'événement d'en bénéficier tout de même. Sans compter qu'il ouvre la voie à des options de recherche qui ne pourront laisser indifférentes les personnes s'intéressant aux moyens d'aider les femmes à occuper, dans la société, la place qui leur revient.

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Elizabeth Blackmar, *Manhattan For Rent, 1785-1850* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press 1989).

REAL PROPERTY IS one of a relative handful of items that are required for human existence. In agricultural use it sustains us. We live, love, work, play, and move on public and private parcels of land.

Even in death, most North Americans remain occupiers of real estate! Given this importance of real property, it remains surprising how few historical scholars have focused their research initiatives on land and the myriad topics associated with it, especially in comparison to studies of labour history, women's history, military history, political history and the like. In producing *Manhattan for Rent, 1785-1850*, Elizabeth Blackmar has taken great strides both to fill in some of the lacunae and to direct attention to the scholarly importance of studies of real property. As she correctly notes (2), "in a country [the U.S.] that affirms the sanctity of private property rights as one foundation of democratic freedom, the social history of real property relations has been curiously neglected." Moreover, hers is anything but a parochial book. Above all, the study of real property is the study of relationships — on the land (as in the various roles of family members), to the land (legal obligations, tenure forms, and land-use functions), and between different parcels of land (the journey-to-work and land-use conflicts). Blackmar treats each of these topics. There is plenty here to interest urban historical geographers and students of labour history, legal history, and the history of women.

Blackmar devotes chapters of her book to each of seven major topics: the evolution of Manhattan's rentier (land owning) and landlord (building owning) classes; the formation of a wage-earning tenant class; the changing social geography of the city; the social meanings of housing; the role of municipal government; the operation of the housing market; and landlord-tenant relations. Each rests on extensive research through scattered sources and many contain detailed case studies of particular developers and activists. Her concluding chapter is devoted to a relatively brief analysis of the housing reforms and reform movements that emerged in the years after 1850.

Ideologically, Blackmar tries to stake out a middle ground for the study of shel-

ter. She maintains that it is essential to recognize housing "as a site of work, and that the labor that goes on within households is essential to personal subsistence and to the larger economy," a view that she contends "runs counter to both liberal and Marxist economic theories." (10)

Blackmar's time period, 1785 to 1850, proves to be a fascinating one in the history of housing, at least in New York. In post-Revolutionary Manhattan along with the rest of the new Republic, "proprietary independence ... was understood to be the foundation of national independence." (5) Ironically, in Manhattan land ownership became increasingly concentrated over time, for the "accumulation of property through providence and hard work ... stood outside republican censure." (73) At the beginning of the 18th century 70.5 per cent of New York taxpayers owned land, a commodity then in seemingly endless supply. By 1790, however, only 46.9 per cent of New York's electorate could be classified as freeholders, a figure that dropped to 19.6 per cent by 1821 and to just 11.7 per cent by 1855. Beneath these raw percentages lies an intriguing and complex story of changing attitudes toward land, shifting power relationships between landlords and tenants, and the bifurcation of both New York's housing market and its social geography.

The commodification of land and housing stands out as one of the most important themes in this book. It occurred simultaneously with the emergence of a wage-based economy; "by the late 1790s both were shifting to a cash nexus." (60) One manifestation of the intersection of these changes was a physical and social restructuring of the city. New York, between 1790 and 1820, became a city of "propertied and propertyless" revealing "a new structure of class relations within the city's social landscape. The power to command rents was also the power to reduce the value of wages and of savings." (76) With concentrated landownership, "the essential strategy of securing demand [remained] restricting supply." (253) In the end, "the housing market

organized class divisions as permanent features of the city's social landscape." (250) Well-to-do developers and citizens persuaded the city government to provide elaborate infrastructure systems in certain, but not all, areas. Beginning with property around Bowling Green in the late 1790s, deliberately fashionable areas began to be developed, often with the aid of restrictive covenants in both leases and deeds. By the 1840s purposefully built multifamily housing, in the form of tenements, was being built in less-well-served working-class areas. Crammed onto 25 by 100 foot lots, tenements at first were welcomed as a means to alleviate New York's chronic shortage of accommodation. Time would soon reveal these structures as cheaply and poorly built habitations. Ironically, tenants often opposed early attempts at housing reform because such efforts were perceived to drive up rents.

Space does not permit me to elaborate on all of the themes examined by Blackmar in *Manhattan for Rent*, but I would like to comment in some depth on her treatment of the housing market (ch. 6). Overall this stands as a useful contribution to our understanding of the city-building process. Much is revealed here about the economics of dwelling construction in antebellum New York, especially fluctuations in land prices and the profitability of building various types and densities of housing. Moreover, there is a useful analysis of the relationship between housing construction and the economic cycle, especially the impact of the Panic of 1837. Some sense of the aggregate scale of construction activity also can be found here, along with a general discussion of those who were investing in new residential construction. From my perspective, however, Blackmar has failed to deal adequately with one important aspect of the housing market — the construction industry itself. She correctly points to an increasing institutionalization of the housing market during her study period. More discussion of the

changing organization of New York's construction industry in the face of such modifications would have been helpful.

*Manhattan for Rent* is not without some drawbacks in terms of its use of illustrations and its organization. In spite of her attempts to deal with the changing spatial organization of New York, Blackmar is no geographer. While the book contains four maps, these are merely reproductions of early plans of the city. A few freshly and purposefully drawn maps would have gone a long way to underscore the important changes in geographic patterns (for example, along Chambers Street) that occurred between 1785 and 1850. There is no clear ward map even though various wards are referred to in many places in the text. Apparently historians will only slowly learn about the importance of cartography in explaining past patterns, places, and processes. The seven illustrations selected for inclusion, while probably too few in number, do serve to show changes in the residential fabric of New York. Reproductions of some early documents pertaining to land, such as leases and mortgages, might have also been considered for inclusion. Only seven tables, all based on aggregate statistics and grouped together in an appendix, grace the book. Given the enormous research effort undertaken by Blackmar, a few disaggregated tables showing such things as mortgage, land, and building holdings would have been appreciated.

While the text certainly is readable and remarkably free of typographical errors, it could have used better copy editing. More variety in sentence structure would have improved the flow of the volume. The book is well indexed and fully documented (the end notes occupy 60 pages), but it lacks a centralized discussion of the data sources that Blackmar employed. Since a good deal of innovative detective work was needed to produce this treatise, it seems to me that it would have been very useful to share this effort more openly with readers.



The strengths of *Manhattan for Rent* far outweigh its weakness. It stands as an ambitious and thoughtful piece of scholarship. I heartily recommend it to the readers of this journal and to all who seek a fuller understanding of housing issues. Blackmar suggests that "the role of working-class landlords in New York politics ... remains a critical question for further investigation." (245) I, for one, look forward to her response to this new challenge.

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Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

PLEASURE AND POWER. Danger and Desire. In different combinations these few words make up the titles of many of the new books on the history and theory of sexuality. Add 'Passion' to that list and we have one of the most recent additions to the field — *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*.

The publication of this collection is a welcome event for several reasons. First, it republishes several of the essays from the long out of print 1979 volume of *Radical History Review* on 'Sexuality in History'. Second, it pulls together in a single volume more recent historical work on sexuality from scattered journals and anthologies.

The book begins with an introduction by the editors which briefly answers the question of why, at this historical moment, it has become possible to speak of a history of sexuality. As well, they outline some of the basic tools or concepts necessary to understand sexuality as a historical process.

In many ways the introduction is the least satisfying part of *Passion and Power*. Published exactly ten years after the pathbreaking issue of *Radical History Review*, the editors miss a good opportu-

nity to pause and assess work done in the field thus far. The book moves back and forth between essays published in 1979 and more recent efforts, yet never do the two halves 'speak to each other'. Any insights to be gained by such a comparative assessment are left up to the reader rather than pulled out and developed by the editors. They suggest that recent work is moving in "exciting new directions," but is it all really one forward march? Though not in evidence in this book, essentialist and transhistorical notions of sexuality are far from completely driven from the field. And in the rush to establish sexuality in history under the banner of 'social constructionism,' we have been slow to think critically about problems with this approach. If one is looking for some critical reflection on the field to date, you will not find it here.

Perhaps most disappointing about the introduction is that it offers no new conceptualization of sexuality in history. Admittedly, the many detailed studies of sexuality needed to fill in the gaps in our knowledge still largely remain to be done, yet a gesture in this direction would have been welcome. Estelle Freedman and John D'Emilio did it in their recent monograph suggesting analytical distinctions between "systems of sexual meanings, regulation and politics." In terms of theory, Robert Padgug's 1979 essay, "Sexual Matters: on Conceptualizing Sexuality in History," is reprinted. While still a useful beginning for a historical materialist conception of sexuality, the article is dated. It would have been helpful to read alongside it a more recent piece that incorporates theoretical advances made in the last decade.

What one does find in *Passion and Power* is a rough periodization. 1790 to 1930 is designated "the emergence of modern sexuality," though what exactly is meant by the dubious term 'modern' is never certain. This section includes a good article by Marybeth Hamilton Arnold on sexual assault in New York City. Arnold argues that the central issue in

rape trials was not violence against women, but rather men's property rights over women. Arnold also makes some interesting comments on the role of republican ideology in rape cases involving upper-class men and working-class women. By asserting, in a period still marked by revolutionary fervor, that all men were "equal citizens" republicanism appealed to the supposed common interests of men of all classes and did much therefore to diffuse the potential for working-class community anger over attacks upon working-class women.

In an excellent article Kathy Peiss demonstrates how in a later period sexuality became a central dimension in the culture of working-class women. To compensate for their unequal position within wage labour, women forged a sexual economy in which they exchanged sexual favours in return for leisure activities. Such "cheap amusements" allowed some working-class women to explore sexual independence and pleasure. Always moving nicely back and forth between gender and class analysis, Peiss follows these women from their leisure into their work world, tracing how "the sexual style ... on the dance floor was often reproduced on the shop floor." (61) Peiss also notes the "heterosocial orientation of these amusements," (60) though the issue of heterosexuality *per se* remains largely unexplored.

Jeffrey Weeks' early article on the historical emergence of homosexual identities is reprinted without changes. Ten years later many of Weeks' theoretical assertions still remain empirically unexplored. Thus, we have assumptions, too often uncritically adopted by other writers, such as "the spread of a homosexual consciousness was much less strong among working-class men than middle-class." (81) What was initially meant as a theoretical hypothesis has, over the years, become accepted almost as a fact even though the historical research needed to test this point remains undone.

In "From Sexual Inversion to Homo-

sexuality," George Chauncey Jr. argues the important point that the medical categorization of "inverts" and "homosexuals" did not create same-gender sexual identities. He suggests that Weeks and others have attributed too much power to ideology as an autonomous force and have oversimplified the complex dialectic between ideology, social conditions and consciousness.

Two final pieces in this section cover the Heterodoxy Club of New York through a photo essay and Jessie M. Rodrigue marshals evidence to argue against the belief that a grass-roots birth control movement in the black community did not exist.

The second section — "Sexual Conflicts and Cultural Authority, 1920-1960" — covers the history of struggles over the cultural meanings of venereal disease, John D'Emilio's by now familiar work on the homosexual menace and Cold War politics and an interesting essay by Christina Simmons on how the notion of Victorian sexual repression was a myth manufactured in the early 20th century. Two articles stand out in this section. Estelle Freedman shows how the response to sexual psychopathology served to redefine the boundaries between "normal" and "deviant" sexual behaviour and in "The Reproduction of Butch-Fem Roles," we hear in their own words how lesbians from the 1940s and 50s understood their own experiences. The latter essay in particular is an excellent example of historical experience informing the production of theory and methodology.

A final section — "Private Passions and Public Debates" — brings the reader up to the present by looking at the feminist debates on pornography and the social construction of AIDS.

Covering such a broad period and range of subjects, *Passion and Power* will make a good textbook, particularly as the history of sexuality becomes more established in academia. It should also be clear from even this brief review that a volume like *Passion and Power* will be useful to

working-class historians not only as a foray into another realm of working-class experience, but — and this is a central point in the new history of sexuality — because sexuality is another significant terrain upon which power is wielded and resisted.

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George M. Fredrickson, *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press 1988).

A YOUNGER FRIEND of mine, a bright, ambitious and prolific historian, became quite agitated, not to say disturbed, when he encountered enormous difficulties in finding a publisher for a series of articles and essays he had written over a number of years. "It's not what you know but who you know, and who you are" — he quipped. He might have named names: C. Vann Woodward, Kenneth Stampp, Willie Lee Rose, Eric Foner, and now, George Fredrickson. What my young friend doesn't seem to understand is that he's only got it partly right. Publication of miscellanies such as the one under review has to be earned. As the author of three major scholarly works, editor of several volumes, and author of numerous articles and essays, George Fredrickson has certainly paid his dues.

That is not to say, of course, that the scholarly community greets such volumes with unrestrained enthusiasm. In a cynical world such works are often seen as nothing more than monuments to the vanity of their authors — the tawdry results of much back-scratching as witnessed by gushy testimonials on the back covers. Who, besides the authors' graduate students and relatives, reads these volumes? Of course, there are proverbial exceptions. Vann Woodward's *American Counterpoint* is perhaps the most notable. George Fredrickson's *The Arrogance of*

*Race*, I am happy to report, is a close second. And in one important aspect he should clearly rank first. I do not recall having read another collection of this kind in which the author has gone to such great length to provide unity, focus, and coherence, although it is perhaps ironic that this very effort exposes the weakness of all such miscellanies — that it is in their very nature to lack an overarching theme that has benefited from focused and sustained development. Inevitably, in works such as this one, the sum is less than its parts.

Since this is a "given" it is a point hardly worth making, were it not for the fact that Professor Fredrickson is trying his best to transcend this handicap, is trying to sell us a *BIG IDEA*. The central theme of this work (if there can be such a thing as a central theme in a collection) is that in American culture racism is an autonomous force, that race should be understood as an independent entity capable of taking on a "life of its own" in its profound influence on the course of American history. No wonder Eugene Genovese, in his testimonial on the back cover, coyly states that "one need not agree with everything George Fredrickson writes or, indeed, share his point of view to welcome this collection." Not, indeed! Fredrickson, after all, has launched a frontal attack on Genovese and his "school," whose central premise *vis-à-vis* racism is that it is a byproduct of class conflict and colonialism.

Both the tone and substance of Professor Fredrickson's argument are set in the first chapter, an examination of the role of race in the planter ideology of South Carolina. Not surprisingly, Fredrickson takes issue with Genovese's argument that the planters were motivated by paternalism, and finds racism at the centre of their ideology. "Slavery," he insists, "was at bottom a racial matter and not a system that could be universally applied to any laboring class." (23) In a later essay (ch. 7) on "The Fruits of Merchant Capitalism" (co-authored by Eu-

gene Genovese and Elizabeth Fox-Genovese) Fredrickson seems to grant his adversaries a degree of flexibility and sophistication as they acknowledge that the planters were involved in capitalist market relationships, albeit as premodern merchant capitalists. Yet in the final analysis the Genoveses are said to ignore race. At their deepest dogmatic core, maintains Fredrickson, they keep insisting in their wrongheaded way that "all major historical developments are, at bottom, manifestations of class or class struggle." (132) To Fredrickson, "class is important, very important, but it is not the whole story." He is "dissatisfied with approaches that subordinate the race question to the class question by ignoring or leaving unexamined the intellectual, cultural, and psychological roots of prejudice." (4)

Professor Fredrickson's most direct confrontation of the race/class issue comes in chapter 10 on the history of post-emancipation race relations (published here for the first time), where he acknowledges the need for some theoretical support in his attempt to fend off his marxist adversaries, and turns to Max Weber "as a guide to framing hypotheses or preliminary generalizations" about race relations. In other words, Fredrickson, in his attempt to escape from idealism, finds in Weber a seemingly safe substitute for the apparent hard-core materialism of marxism. He sees himself as seeking "a firm and reasonable middle ground between two dichotomous views." (186) That kind of tactic may perhaps be effective against the work of Barbara Jeanne Fields, who set herself up as an easy target when she wrote, in a much-circulated seminar paper in the early 1980s, that class is an "objective phenomenon," race merely an "ideological notion." I strongly suspect, however, that neither Weber nor Fredrickson will be able to force the Genoveses into a major retreat. In any case, one looks forward to a more sustained and more broadly-gauged argument from Professor Fredrickson on this crucial and contentious debate.

The big idea aside, there is much else in this volume that merits the attention of serious scholars. The book is divided into three sections: "The Debate on Slavery and Race in the Civil War Era," "Historians of the Nineteenth-Century South," and "Slavery and White Supremacy: Comparative Explorations." To repeat Eugene Genovese, one "need not agree with everything George Fredrickson writes" in order to appreciate the richness of his scholarship, the liveliness of the debate, and his felicitous style. I, for one, will make this volume required reading for my graduate students, even though I'm not the author.

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Stephen H. Norwood, *Labor's Flaming Youth: Telephone Operators and Worker Militancy 1878-1923* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press 1990).

THIS IS A FASCINATING story of women's militant labour organizing and leadership. Norwood's study is the first book-length investigation of telephone operators at the turn of the century. These workers were unique among women workers of the period, developing their own union: "The Telephone Workers' Department of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers," with a female leadership and within the often hostile confines of the conservative male labour central, the American Federation of Labor. While there has been much written in recent years about industries with large concentrations of female labour, such as garment and textiles, women in these industries were not successful in developing national or international unions with female leadership.

Telephone operators have long fascinated both the public and scholars alike. Their youth, spontaneity, and militancy combined with a romantic public service image have all contributed to the interest in the "hello girls." Telephone operators

were the first female high technology workers and were among the first service sector workers to organize. They defy traditional categorization. They dressed like "white collar" workers and the telephone companies consciously promoted them as "young ladies of refinement," but the labour process in central offices closely resembled blue collar factory work.

Norwood's unique contribution to the operators' study is his placing of the operators within the larger social context of an emerging women's movement and an exhilarating youth culture. Focusing his study on the Boston telephone operators and their pivotal role in creating the national organization, Norwood shows how the Boston Women's Trade Union League with its "upper- and middle-class reformers" and suffragists nurtured the operators' leadership. In addition to their political wisdom and organizing skills, the WTUL provided the operators with a convenient and "respectable" place for women to meet.

The telephone operators were a remarkably homogeneous group of workers. The company favoured single, Irish-American women, and discriminated against married women, visible minorities and recent immigrants. The shared age, background and experience of this homogeneous group made organization significantly easier for phone workers. Also, the sexual division of telephone work established almost from the inception of the industry assured that the male workers saw little threat to their jobs from the female operators. Norwood concludes that male electrical workers were less hostile to the women organizing than their union brothers in the garment and textile trade where the male workers feared women as low wage competition.

Norwood shows how the telephone companies' strategy of recruiting operators directly from High School was mixed in its effect. The companies training and orientation for its new female work force was designed to emulate the school system and maintain strict discipline and

family dependency among the operators. But as operators gained experience in the workplace, they rebelled against the companies' paternalism which included constant monitoring, with motherly "matrons" supervising their lounges, cafeterias, and inquiring into their after work activities. On the positive side, the earlier high school student council activities of many operators provided initial organizing and group management experience for the young women interested in starting their own worker organization.

Under inspired women's leadership, the telephone operators developed a number of "women-centered" organizing techniques which took into account the social needs of a single, youthful, female membership in a sex segregated work place. Combining parties and socials with organizing, the telephone operators' constructed their union within the energetic and rebellious female image of the "new woman" of the 1910s and the "flappers" of the 1920s. According to Norwood, "seeing no inconsistency between the flapper's fun-loving, exhibitionistic (sic) nature and labor activism and militancy, the Telephone Operators' Department made every effort to draw on her energies as it trained the trade union women."

For a brief period, during the heady days of the post World War I strike wave, the Telephone Operators' were successful in establishing locals in Canada and thirty states in the U.S. But economic downturn, internal divisions, and a concerted anti-union campaign by the telephone companies eventually broke the women's union and, one should add, many of the male IBEW telephone locals.

Norwood is at his best when he is discussing the operators in the rich social and labour culture of Massachusetts and the North East of the United States. He appears less interested in the West Coast, in spite of a chapter devoted to the West. This chapter, alas, deals exclusively with Montana and San Francisco. No mention is made of important telephone operator strikes and organizing in Washington and

British Columbia. The BC and Pacific Northwest efforts are particularly important as much of the West Coast organizing predates the Boston success. As well, unlike the Toronto operators' strike, which Norwood does discuss in some detail, West Coast operators were successful in winning union recognition and a contract as early as 1902.

The Eastern focus probably accounts for Norwood's glossing over as insignificant the split by the Western electricians on the issue of industrial unionism. Yet, one can not help but ask if the relative success of operators in the West in advance of their East Coast sisters did not, at least in part, have something to do with a more supportive industrial union culture in the West. Because Norwood purports to be writing a history of a women's "international union" (international by virtue of a Canadian membership), his lack of familiarity with Canadian sources on telephone operators' history is rather glaring.

Overall, Norwood's study does an excellent job in combining social history with labour history. By drawing the links between women's political groups, youth culture and the labour movement, he has provided us with an integrated view of telephone workers lives. Too often when dealing with women in the work place, the focus has been on comparing and contrasting women's work to men's, and ignoring the wider women's community and culture.

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Ken Fones-Wolf, *Trade Union Gospel: Christianity and Labor in Industrial Philadelphia, 1865-1915* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

MANY OF US LIKE to turn first to an author's acknowledgements to see which scholars rendered assistance and encouragement, and whether an original way was found to express thanks of a more personal nature. In the first instance, Ken

Fones-Wolf offers an impressive list; in the second, he neatly combines a dedication to his children with an insight about the present neglect of the field of religion and labour. He hopes that "their generation does better." In the meantime, his contribution is a case study of the interaction of religion and the labour movement in Philadelphia over a fifty-year period. He confirms that "Christianity was not merely the possession of one social group, but rather was a dynamic social force capable of complementing a wide spectrum of political and class positions." (xix)

An initial overview describes the local economy, varieties of work experience, and the complex and sometimes contradictory working-class cultures represented by "rough defiance," "respectable deference," and a "labor-movement sub-culture." Individual experiences are deftly interwoven so that, for instance, information about Tobias Hall reminds us that "the rough and respectable, the residual and emergent — all were evident in one man, who certainly did not see these tendencies as mutually exclusive." (36) The effort to include information about women's roles is commendable.

Capitalists appear as backers of clergymen and churches in dispensing both benevolence and Christian redemption. Many employers moved beyond paternalistic efforts in the workplace to exert influence in neighborhoods and homes with Sunday observance and child-saving crusades. The social role of religion was, however, far more complex than this sort of class domination suggests.

The foundation for a discussion of working-class religious beliefs and agendas is laid with a description of sub-cultures and popular religions, primarily from the point of view of English and American-born Protestants, Irish Catholics, and German free-thinkers. Fones-Wolf then moves to the Knights of Labor, described as "part fraternal order, part trade union and part radical sect." (65) Its rise was associated with moralistic fervour and the setting aside of ethnic and

religious differences; its decline with the return of factionalism.

The Social Gospel, as it developed in the late 19th century, had among its worthy goals that of winning wage earners to Christianity and ensuring labour peace. Labour activists were willing to cooperate for the legitimation and respect it gave their unions. However, not only did the achievements fail to satisfy those workers excluded from craft unions, but many middle-class Christians continued to feel uncomfortable about any support for union activity, especially where radical socialists were involved. Tensions could arise even in such groups as the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations as they shifted their emphasis from personal piety to broader social concerns and tried to include both social justice and social control.

Religious revivals played a role in an upswing of organized labour in 1904, but by 1908 trade unions retreated to their former defensive, conservative positions as a result of counterattacks launched by employers and their own unwillingness to organize blacks, minorities, and women. For a time the growth of radicalism and surge of "new unionism" deeply divided the labour movement. Then, in the years just before World War I, a more direct alliance between trade unions and Social-Gospel Christianity developed. Craft unions found a new moderate course in the Labor Forward Movement, which borrowed and blended elements from Protestantism and traditional craft culture and proved to be an ideal mechanism for the revitalization of craft unionism. Ironically, it was the Billy Sunday revival campaign, with its conservative attack on the Social Gospel, which contributed to the return of nativism, anti-unionism, and labour movement factionalism. By 1915 the labour movement was once again outside the dominant religious culture.

Fones-Wolf offers some insights about the complex role of Christianity in working-class organizations which others might want to test in different situations:

that religious beliefs preceded political commitments, that the popular Christianity of organized labour interacted with the formal religion of the mainstream churches (they were not simply parallel phenomena), that there were political results of the interaction, and that Protestantism was more important than Catholicism. He concludes his study with a recognition of the parameters within which Christianity could influence the labour movement: on the one side offering comfort and support, and on the other standing for order, continuity and stability.

There are a few very small bones of contention. A recurrent theme is that religion was "contested terrain." One cannot argue with the notion that Christianity was not the possession of any one social group, but perhaps more could have been said about power, authority, and control, since institutional religion was never, to use a similar analogy, an "even playing field." Questions might also be raised by Fones-Wolf's capitalization of Social Gospel, compared with Canadian historian Ramsay Cook's designation of "the so-called social gospel." (*The Regenerators*, 4) Finally, one wonders if more recent studies of sects (than Troeltsch, Pope, and Demerath) might not have enhanced the argument for the sect-like character of the Knights of Labor.

This is a clear and concise account of the intersection of religion and labour in one period and place. And while scholars will not find great depth of analysis in their own field, they will appreciate the lucid explanation of themes in the other. It is a useful and welcome book.

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Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike, 1913* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1988).

David J. Goldberg, *A Tale of Three Cities: Labor Organization and Protest in Paterson, Passaic, and Lawrence, 1916-1921* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press 1989).

THESE TWO BOOKS provide rich evidence of the success of American labour historians in probing working-class culture. For two decades, the study of episodic upheavals has taken a backseat to microcosmic treatments of communities and industries over chunks of time. Labour historians focused their attention on the changing workplace, the recomposed workforce, and the evolving ethnic community. The results have been impressive. We know a great deal about steel, auto, machining, tire-making, textiles, coal mining, shoe-making, and the like; about Pittsburgh, Chicago, Richmond, Lynn, Philadelphia, and other cities; about Poles, Italians, Irish, Germans, Bohemians and dozens more.

But American labour history has been punctuated by gripping mass upheavals. In interesting ways, these two books represent attempts to return to the episodic upheaval and examine it in the context of this rich social history. Both authors have done solid work, but the results are somehow unsatisfying.

Steve Golin opens with a careful analysis of the organization of production in the silk industry and the different work roles and cultures of dyers' helpers, broad-silk weavers, and ribbon weavers. His analysis is sensitive to the different dynamics of each trade, as well as to the dynamics that brought them together in the great conflict of 1913. The explanation is balanced between long-term factors, such as technological change, and more proximate factors, such as the incendiary behavior of the local police chief. Throughout, the rank-and-file silk workers occupy center stage.

Golin's most interesting contribution is to bring to life the "movement culture" that developed around the silk workers, IWW organizers, and New York-based radical intellectuals. The focus of his analysis, and that culture, was the strike pageant put on in Madison Square Garden in June 1913. This culture enabled both intellectuals and rank-and-file workers to see their worlds in new ways, ways that allowed them to imagine a world different from the one they had been part of. It was in this culture that the rupture between mental and manual work articulated by scientific management could be healed. For Golin, this — not the practical issue of how much money the pageant raised — was the central accomplishment of the pageant. He makes his case with rich details that bring the whole dramatic series of events to life.

Yet, the pageant was as much the beginning of the end of the strike as it was its climax. The achilles heel of the strike were the branches of the silk industry which had run away to small communities in Pennsylvania. There, the manufacturers were able to get the production needed to fill their orders. While some of these communities did join in the strike, they were never drawn into the movement culture which linked Paterson and New York City. Even for those most involved, as the strike weakened, their new visions could not find institutional expressions. The intellectuals returned to their intellectual pursuits, the workers to their work, and the organizers to their organizing. The world was changed — but only for a fleeting moment. And as time could pass, that movement would recede further and further into distant memory.

Reading *A Tale of Three Cities* after putting down *The Fragile Bridge* is like receiving a visit from an old friend. The story of the Paterson workers, so well introduced by Golin, is picked up carefully by David Goldberg. His context is different, as they are analyzed along with textile workers in two other communities, Lawrence and Passaic; his time frame is



different, as he is most interested in the upheavals of 1919; and his analytical focus is different, geared to the ethnic cultures of the workers. But there is a real comfort level in reading these two books together that deserves mention.

Goldberg's analysis revolves around two axes: ethnic cultures and the quest to build new union organizations. He provides detailed treatment of the cultures of Polish, Slovak, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Irish, Franco-Belgian, and Italian immigrant workers. Each culture is analyzed for its internal stance towards union organization and its role as a source of inter-ethnic conflict or solidarity. In all three cities, Goldberg finds that ethnicity played a major role in both the upheaval and its ultimate passing.

His work on union organization is equally interesting. While the IWW might be best remembered, other organizations played important roles, from the AFL's United Textile Workers to the One Big Union and the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. Yet none of these organizations was able to keep and hold the loyalties of rank-and-file textile workers. Despite the impressive scale of the upheavals in 1919, by 1921 they had left little more than some fond memories behind.

When all is said and done, and the extensive work undertaken by professors Golin and Goldberg is duly noted, our understanding of the dynamics of mass upheaval and consequent retreat has not much moved beyond the treatment it received at the hands of Jeremy Brecher in his popular study *Strike: The True History of Mass Insurrections in American History*. *Strike* was criticized for being "spontaneist" and for not exploring the culture of American workers between and betwixt the episodic conflicts it chronicled. Ironically, although both Golin and Goldberg have done excellent work in probing culture, we find ourselves left with an overall picture that looks more like Brecher's than it doesn't. That is, at certain points in time, American workers have risen up and shaken the structures of

power, only to fall back soon afterwards into a similar pose as before.

As both *The Fragile Bridge* and *A Tale of Three Cities* show, such upheavals make for riveting historical writing and terrific reading. But for those of us drawn to labour history because of our desire to understand the past in order to change the future, the end result is unfulfilling. We still have a long row to hoe.

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Alan Draper, *A Rope of Sand: The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, 1955-1967* (New York: Praeger 1989).

THE AFL, INSISTED Sam Gompers "was at once a rope of sand and yet the strongest human force — a voluntary association united by common need and held together by mutual self-interest." Seventy years later, the rope of sand is more obvious than the strength. Even Japan has stronger unions. The Democratic party, which union votes helped make the dominant force in United States politics, cringes from contact with organized labour. US labour is a shadow of its former self largely because of its own political impotence.

In what began life as a doctoral dissertation for Columbia, Alan Draper, a professor of government at St. Lawrence University, decided to look at what American unions actually do in politics in contrast to a traditional focus on American "exceptionalism." For his data, Draper has turned to the period between the 1955 merger of the AFL and CIO and the shattering defeat of union-backed candidates in the mid-term backlash against President Johnson's "Great Society."

For legitimate reasons, Draper focuses on COPE, the merger of the CIO's powerful Political Action Committee and the AFL's far feebler Labour League for Political Education (LLPE). Where better could Draper see that "strongest human force" at work than in the over-arching organization that seeks to reconcile the

particularism of affiliates and regions. Moreover, as Draper reminds us, the AFL-CIO merger was greatly accelerated by the need to counter the hostile political climate after 1945 and particularly when Eisenhower appointees began to exercise their influence on NLRB decisions.

While COPE shared in the teething trouble of the AFL-CIO merger, its real problems were systemic and persistent. Instead of being free to mobilize union members for what Draper calls the "social democratic" goals the AFL-CIO officially sponsored, COPE got significant cooperation from affiliates and local unions only when it mobilized labour votes against threats to "institutional" goals such as right-to-work laws and the Landrum-Griffin Act. The people who counted in the union structure wanted political action only when legislation threatened what Draper terms, a little scornfully, their "institutional security." Even then, many affiliates, particularly those from the old AFL, provided minimal funds and denied COPE their membership lists.

While the AFL-CIO lobbied Congress for social legislation, particularly in the Kennedy and Johnson years, COPE faced far more serious institutional resistance in trying to deliver labour votes. Whatever the theoretical merits of better social security or the War on Poverty, leaders of affiliates saw no benefits for their own members. Local union leaders saw political debate as a threat to their own careers. In the highly decentralized labour structure which Draper attributes to US-style market unionism, COPE found very little of Gompers' "mutual self-interest." Affiliates preferred to make their own political deals, local leaders preferred to avoid political divisions and the state federations and local labour councils that might have carried the COPE campaign were hopelessly underfunded and rarely commanded much affiliate loyalty. Meanwhile, COPE's admirable support for civil rights organizations and its efforts at voter registration among minorities alienated a predomi-

nantly white union membership.

Draper blames faint-hearted union leaders as well as US labour ideology for most of COPE's problems, forgetting that leaders' jobs depend on a shrewd understanding of their rank-and-file. In the wake of the 1966 defeats, COPE commissioned a survey of the political desires of union members. Traditional concerns such as the minimum wage and unemployment insurance had been supplanted by concerns about property values, high taxes and crime. The pollster, John Kraft argued that his study demonstrated that "there are serious gaps in the identification of union members with what may be their own interests — and that the communications problem is particularly severe among younger — people under thirty — members." Though it concealed the results and denied the findings, the AFL-CIO had advance notice that unionists were hearing the Nixon and Reagan message. Only an academic could believe that political education could have turned the tide.

Draper's account of US experience invites comparison with the largely unwritten story of Canadian labour's political activity in the same period. Despite such apparent contrasts to American "exceptionalism" as the CLC's commitment to the New Democratic Party and the prevalence of social democratic ideology among middle-rank Canadian union leadership, any of Draper's knowledgeable readers would recognize embarrassing parallels. At the local and affiliate level within the CLC, as Marc Zwelling's latest collection of surveys suggests, commitment to the NDP is almost as exceptional and controversial as backing COPE has become in US labour organizations; the NDP itself has had to wrestle with a powerful hostility to its union links, even among its middle-class and agrarian supporters.

In Canada, as Draper found in the United States, local and provincial central bodies are weakly financed and highly autonomous while most CLC affiliates, with some admirable exceptions, limit

their political activity during election campaigns for the sound democratic reason that, on the whole, the membership is not very supportive. Moreover, unlike the United States, 42 per cent of Canadian union members steer clear of the CLC, in some cases because of its "European-style" political involvement. Drapers' book might encourage someone to write a franker account of Canadian labour's political action than has yet appeared. It also invites a sequel on the lamentable post-1967 political experience of the AFL-CIO.

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Sidney Fine, *Violence In The Model City: The Cavanaugh Administration, Race Relations, and the Detroit Riot of 1967* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1989).

IN THIS BOOK, Sidney Fine has provided a comprehensive, illuminating, and exhaustively-researched account of the racial violence that exploded in Detroit during July 1967. The work examines the origins of the violence, furnishes a detailed narrative of what took place, and considers at length the role in this situation of local, state and federal government. In the assembling and presentation of the relevant evidence *Violence In The Model City* is unequalled by any of the previous studies of 1960s urban racial confrontation. The reader who desires to better understand the American society of the 1960s, who seeks to comprehend the conditions of racism that governed even such a "model" city as Detroit will find this book of great value. In 1967 Detroit the most extensive racial violence of the period occurred and through the lens of this episode there is much to be learned about the factors that brought thousands of African-Americans in numerous American cities to react violently against oppressive conditions.

At the core of explosive material that

generated the Detroit violence was the deplorable state of police-community relations. Based on experience, black Detroiters had good reason to view the police as a hostile force whose perceptions and treatment of African-Americans were shaped by racism. As late as May 1967 only about 5 per cent of the police in the city were black and little was done to instill individual officers with respect for the dignity and constitutional rights of minority persons they encountered. It was in keeping with the racist image of the police force that the triggering incident in the 1967 violence was a police raid on a "blind pig," an after hours drinking establishment located in the city's Twelfth Street ghetto area. In response to the developments on the streets the police lurched from a policy of some restraint to one of indiscriminate terrorization directed at blacks. Once the policy of restraint was set aside white police were able to abandon whatever commitments to police professionalism they had and to indulge in acts of extreme brutality against African-Americans. Fine notes that in the Detroit confrontation, as well as those in Watts and Newark, the conflict becomes transformed into a police riot against blacks. Those who were supposed to uphold the law now appeared as armed and very violent lawbreakers. And if city police permitted themselves to become instruments of violence, the arrival of National Guard troops worsened the situation. The Michigan Guard was essentially lily white and the troops sent to Detroit lacked discipline. Once on the scene they behaved in "trigger happy" fashion. Army Undersecretary McGiffert observed that the Michigan experience showed the Guard could not conduct "civil disturbance" operations without creating the impression that it was a discriminatory organization and in this instance the impression was rooted in solid fact.

As the disorder in Detroit continued President Johnson finally called into action regular United States Army personnel and these integrated units were in

many instances welcomed by black Detroiters. Johnson had delayed sending the troops, influenced by such factors as Governor Romney's vacillation and Johnson's interest in making things difficult for the governor. Fine suggests that had the federal troops appeared on the city's streets earlier at least some of the deaths and destruction could have been averted.

Fine provides a keenly etched portrait of the manner in which most of the Detroit judges, before whom were brought persons allegedly involved in rioting, abandoned judicial standards. Bail was set in many cases with little regard for constitutional guarantees. With the exception of a few judges, such as George Crockett, those sitting on the bench saw themselves as adjuncts to the police, not as impartial officials providing a check on police activities. The attitudes exhibited by judges signalled the police they need not be overly concerned about the rights of people in the riot areas. Blacks were given further reason for the belief that laws in the city of Detroit were not enforced equally.

The book furnishes a chilling portrait of the Algiers Motel incident in which three young blacks were shot to death, and other blacks were beaten and terrorized by law enforcement officers. Fine underscores the particular significance of the horror at Algiers as a symbol of the official lawlessness taking place in the course of the conflict. Constitutional rights were wantonly abused and even subsequent to the incident itself no one was convicted for what took place in the motel on July 26. At the Algiers motel neither local police, state troopers, Guardsmen or Army paratroopers acted to uphold the law.

Concerning the meaning of the 1967 Detroit violence Fine is of the opinion that the riot was a form of protest designed to call attention to the condition of blacks, to extract concessions from the city's authority structure but at the same time rejects the view that the upheaval

had a political dimension. But deprivation of access to political power was one of the conditions that shaped the lives of Detroit blacks, was part of the configuration of circumstances that fueled the anger of black people and had there not been this dimension to the situation it is less likely that blacks would have felt impelled to take to the streets. The events of 1967 certainly were a major factor in securing the future changes in which black Detroiters came to play a much more prominent role in the police force and city government generally.

Fine notes that considerations relating to the war in Vietnam were among the factors leading Lyndon Johnson to delay sending the paratroopers to Detroit. The war was a critically important component of the context in which the Detroit violence and other urban confrontations of the period took place. It would have been useful to examine the extent to which resentment against the illegitimate use of violence by governmental authority in Asia and the distortion of national priorities resulting from the war intensified a sense of alienation from society's official institutions.

This book is a warning against smug self-satisfaction with regard to what progress has been made in overcoming racism. When legitimate human aspirations are stifled and denied, when government retreats from commitments made to uphold equality, the potential for explosive confrontation exists. Detroit may still be the most racially polarized city in the nation and destruction and violence continue, although appearing in slow motion rather than in one spasm. No American city has yet responded adequately to the challenge of racism and this book shows us the terrifying consequences that can result from this failure. *Violence In The City* is an important contribution to the scholarly literature dealing with urban racial violence.

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Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland, eds., *E.P. Thompson: Critical Perspectives* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1990).

E.P. THOMPSON'S CAREER defies pigeon-holing. Peace activist, socialist polemicist, literary critic and historian — all intertwine in a rich and influential life. Kaye and McClelland, respecting Thompson's manifold achievements, have assembled a critical appreciation which addresses his many contributions. In the spirit of Thompson the critic, the ten essays contained in this volume build on contributions and probe inadequacies, while avoiding platitudes.

The collection analyzes Thompson's varied attempts to forge a new path for a democratic socialism. Four analytical and theoretical areas — all hallmarks of Thompson's work — receive special attention from each of the contributors. First, Thompson's reconceptualization of culture is widely lauded. Several authors, including Geoffrey Eley, Renato Resaldo and Ellen Meiksins Wood, note that Thompson's approach to culture as a dynamic arena of popular consent and resistance has widened the analysis of mass politics and collective action. Thompson's insistence that the cultural is imbricated in the political and economic is applauded for vivifying older, more mechanistic Marxist analyses of popular culture.

Second, Thompson is credited for emphasizing class as a fundamentally relational process. His insistence that we focus upon struggle as the heart of class analysis, and his rejection of the base/superstructure metaphor, are highlighted by Robert Gray, Harvey Kaye and others as major contributions. Third, and accompanying Thompson's vision of class, is his emphasis on agency and consciousness. By reclaiming the voice and actions of the "poor stockinger" from the exile of irrelevancy, Thompson set a new course for social history. There is ubiquitous praise for his emphasis on the collective agency

of the working class and his insistence that the masses are active in the forging of their own history.

Finally, Thompson's underlying humanist vision receives praise. Behind the poignancy of his historical writings and the bravado of his more explicitly political prose is an abiding moral spirit. Whether agitating for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, or recounting the civilized brutality of the Black Acts, there is always a sense in which Thompson is piquing our conscience, urging a more humane and egalitarian vision for the world. Admirably, Kate Soper and Martin Shaw centre their discussions on this facet of his work.

While Thompson's achievements are lauded, the difficulties raised by his work are also addressed. The main themes of critique establish little new ground, but they are presented with greater perspective on Thompson's work and without some of the high-minded polemicism of past criticism. Thompson is not a self-proclaimed "theorist" (an epithet he at times has viewed as pejorative), yet his recasting of Marxist historiography has led him to trod frequently on such ground. In his discussions of the dialectical relationship between agency and structure, the role of experience, or the process of class, he sometimes eludes exactitude. Often enough the richness of his work brings his general meaning to fore, though the applicability of his ideas to other cases must be teased out because of this imprecision. Most contributors take Thompson to task for this theoretical ambiguity. By illuminating the fuzzy edges of his key concepts they expose their limits and properly move Thompson and his sympathizers toward greater clarity.

On the historiographical side, Catherine Hall, Eley, Gray and Kaye elaborate on newer strands of critique. Recent work predicated on Thompson's *The Making* has explored in greater detail the variegated nature of the working-class culture that is its subject, revealing it to be less monolithic than he depicted. Drawing on

this new wealth of research Thompson is critiqued for presenting a picture of the working class at once too focused on the struggles of artisans and steeped in androcentricism. The contributors try to distill a more precise understanding of the commonalities and fissures in the working class of this period.

Several contributors pursue more singular critical paths. Through an analytic reading of the classic "Preface" to *The Making*, William Sewell Jr. argues that Thompson relies on a standard base/superstructure model of society and is too dismissive of structural analyses of class. From an ethnographer's perspective, Resaldo argues that Thompson tends to conflate his melodramatic narratives with his subjects' own understandings of their lives. On the political side, Martin Shaw, in a critique of Thompson's concept of "exterminism," suggests that despite its virtues the concept falls short of recognizing warfare as a total social system with its own effects upon society.

Generally, the contributors are most divergent in their additions and amendments. Eley, for example, suggests that Thompson's cultural analysis of politics can be enhanced by incorporating the concept of the public sphere (developed by Habermas and given a proletarian identity by Kluge and Negt). Alternatively, Sewell seeks to enrich and extend Thompson's class analysis with Giddens's structuration theory. He also urges a more explicit analysis of the transformation of working-class discourse as a marker of class struggle. Others, including Hall, Gray, and Kaye, explore how social dimensions such as gender and ethnicity can be more systematically incorporated into Thompson's framework.

Readers versed in Thompson's work likely will agree with the praise, generally concur with the criticisms, and eclectically digest the additions and amendments. They doubtlessly will find some of the critiques and revisions to be idiosyncratic. Nonetheless, the volume as a whole is an informed and encompassing

expose on Thompson's work, surpassing most past critiques.

Those who are eager to glean new angles on historiographical debates revolving around Thompson's work, however, will be disappointed. The contributors generally avoid resuscitating old controversies as well as textual exegesis. This is largely to their credit, since this emphasis allows them to present fresh viewpoints and avoid tiresome rehashes.

While informed and stimulating the volume does have its weaknesses, not the least of which is the time it has been in "the making." Kaye and McClelland acknowledge delays in publication, and this is evident by the absence of some topics in the volumes. Recent post-structuralist critiques of Thompson receive at best passing mention, and some of the newer work from the past decade, which adds new dimensions to Thompson's analyses, are largely absent from discussion. Eley and Kaye do fill some of the gap in their footnotes, but they cannot entirely close it. The essays on Thompson's politics seem dated by the events of the last couple of years. With the exception of an apologetic footnote by Shaw, readers will be left to ponder how Thompson's analyses speak to the new course of events.

In addition, some readers may find this volume too focused on Thompson's writing and the particular agenda that it charts. With the notable exception of *Whigs and Hunters*, much of Thompson's historical work dwells in the thick of plebeian and working-class life. Yet his perspective is explicitly relational, and no doubt many have paused to consider how his approach could be used to reconstruct the histories of the middle and upper classes, and the interclass dynamics that are at the core of his approach. Little is said in this volume on such extensions. Moreover, Thompson's work is only placed tangentially within the larger worlds of historiography and politics. His impact on the British Left over the past four decades, the reformation his writing has wrought in non-Marxist schools of

historiography, and his relationship to the "new social movements" largely enter on the margins of discussion (with the pieces by Gray and Kaye being notable exceptions). These are unfortunate omissions, because Thompson's influence on the non-Marxist world is in some senses his most remarkable achievement.

Despite these shortcomings the volume is well worth reading. Thompson aficionados will relish the informed writing and sympathetic criticism. Initiates to his work will find it a useful reference to his ideas. Overall, it is the single best source to the remarkable intellectual path which Edward Palmer Thompson — historian, activist, and humanist critic — has generously laid for us.

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Alex Owen, *The Darkened Room. Women, Power and Spiritualism in Late Victorian England* (London: Virago Press 1989).

IN RECENT YEARS, perhaps beginning with Lawrence R. Moore's *In Search of White Crows* (1977), something of a revolution has taken place in the study and assessment of spiritualism and other "occult" religious and healing movements in the late 19th century. Up to that time the verdict of Harry Houdini, the prince of conjurers, that spiritualism was a fraudulent hoax played on the naive and vulnerable was almost universally accepted — though the creator of Sherlock Holmes always demurred. As recently as 1983 Ruth Brandon, in *The Spiritualist: The Passion for the Occult in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, went to great lengths to expose again these wild and wily goings-on. And in Canada, of course, journalists and undergraduate teachers knew that a few references to W.L.M. King's little tapping table could do more damage to our longest reigning spiritualist than hours of analysis of the King-Byng crisis or the Beauharnois scandal.

But the tide has turned. First there was Moore's book, then Janet Oppenheim's superb, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychic Research in England 1850-1914*, combining to reveal a serious and important subject. Instead of debunking, these scholars recognized that explaining the wide following of spiritualism even among respectable scientists and other intellectuals, could reveal important aspects of late Victorian life. To simplify, what these scholars argued was that the thin, rational, liberal Christianity, and its social gospel offshoot, that remained after the assaults of Darwinism and the Higher Criticism simply failed to fill the void once occupied by orthodox Christian teachings, especially about death and immortality. For those unwilling to surrender to the materialism of scientific naturalism, spiritualism and other occult beliefs provided an alternative, one that seemed to have both scientific and Biblical support. These new accounts of spiritualist belief and practice noted the connection with the early history of psychoanalysis, remarked upon the fanatical opposition of both orthodox medicine and establishment religion to the claims of spiritualism, and observed the prominent part played by women, especially as mediums, in the new religion. (Both William James and his younger brother Henry, had already noted most of these things, William sympathetically, in an essay read and underlined by W.L.M. King, and Henry in his wonderful novel, *The Bostonians*).

Alex Owen, in her brilliant, stimulating and occasionally infuriating book, *The Darkened Room*, picks up and develops fully the theme of women's prominence in spiritualism touched upon in earlier works. And with Owen the revolution in attitudes has come full circle. In her detailed portrayal of the role of spiritualism in the liberation of women Owen offers an account of spiritualism and allied activities that verges on the apologetic.

The argument of the book is advanced in several different ways, sometimes in sparkling prose, sometimes in the termi-

nology that parades as modern literary theory — what David Lodge calls “semiotic materialism” — spiced with a dash of Freud seasoned by Lacan. In its straightforward form the argument goes like this: “... it is no accident that spiritualism, a movement which privileged women and took them seriously, attracted so many female believers during a period of gender disjunction between aspiration and reality. Spiritualist culture held possibilities for attention, opportunity and status denied elsewhere. In certain circumstances it could also provide a means of circumventing rigid nineteenth century class and gender norms. More importantly, it did so without mounting a direct attack on the status quo. Spiritualism had the potential, not always consciously realized, for subversion.” (4)

After a heavy opening chapter on “Power and Gender,” Owen presents a series of carefully researched studies of public and private spiritualist activities, two chapters discussing healing and the conflict between spiritualists and the medical profession, especially over the matter of defining insanity, a lengthy case study of Louisa Lowe, a spiritualist whose husband had her locked up for insanity, and finally an interpretive chapter and epilogue. Through each of these chapters runs a perceptive discussion of women and spiritualism and a sometimes muted, sometimes explicit, concern with contemporary feminist outlooks and theories — what Ms. Owen calls “discourse,” a word that comes second only to “problematic” in her vocabulary of currently fashionable jargon.

Fortunately, Owen usually keeps her theoretical passion under control and sticks to presenting a new and persuasive analysis of her subject. The chapters on “private spiritualism” — seances confined to the family circle — and the accounts of the Theobald family and Louisa Howe take readers to the very heart of both the disintegration of late Victorian religious belief and the changing aspirations of women. Her contention that class

relations were also subverted — based on the single case of a maid who moved into, even manipulated, a spiritualist family circle, seems much more tenuous. So, too, her discussion of the conflict between spiritualists and doctors throws valuable light on both gender relations and professionalism. Had she considered S.E.D. Shortt’s fine article on “Physicians and Psychics” (*Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Science*, July 1984), she might have stressed professionalization more, feminism less and, perhaps, been a little more skeptical of the healing claims of spiritualists.

Indeed, the main weakness of *The Darkened Room* drives from its essential strength — the concentration on women. Though the role of women in spiritualism should be emphasized and analyzed, spiritualism was not a women’s movement. It was, primarily, a religious movement, a peculiar and unorthodox one which, for that very reason, encouraged women to participate fully and play leadership roles. Though Owen sometimes hints at the movement’s wider context she rarely explores it, preferring to get on with her chosen “discourse.” Perhaps she concluded that Janet Oppenheim had said all that was necessary about the general intellectual framework of spiritualism, and to an extent she was right. Yet reading about the extraordinary life of Louisa Lowe one wishes that the religious evolution she passed through had been given more attention than the few snippets on pages 171 and 172. Like Annie Besant, Lowe experienced intellectual problems with orthodox Christianity, problems that each of their husbands may have symbolized, but certainly did not create. Our understanding of both the “woman question” and the “religious question” would have been further deepened if Owen had looked at the two together.

Still, even if Ms. Owen sometimes seems bent upon raising spiritualists from the depths of fraudulence to heights of feminist martyrdom, her book is nevertheless an absorbing one that adds a new



dimension to our understanding of Victorian women, religion and society. And that is a real achievement.

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Tony Cliff and Donny Gluckstein, *The Labour Party A Marxist History* (London: Bookmarks 1988).

THE PURPOSE OF THIS BOOK is self-consciously doctrinal and didactic. The authors identify themselves as members of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain. They are assisted by the Bookmarks Publishing Cooperative, a "socialist venture to further the struggle for socialism." Their trek through the past is designed to serve larger objectives: "The struggle for socialism can be fought and won only by the working class. This will only happen if guided by a revolutionary party, an alternative to Labour's reformism. Hopefully this book can help those who want to build such a party." (4) The British Labour Party is a 'capitalist workers' party' whose parliamentary 'reformism', preference for 'nation' over 'class', and alliance with the trade union bureaucracy, make it a bulwark against revolution and hence the enemy of socialism.

What follows is a fairly standard narrative of Labour's development, augmented by illustrative quotations and instructional commentary. Lenin and Trotsky are repeatedly drummed into service, and key words and phrases are placed in italics, just in case the reader may have failed to grasp the 'correct' interpretation. The Labour Party was reformist even during its origins. Yet this did not mean it was just another capitalist party. The reformist view, as 'false consciousness', was 'wrong' but 'sincerely held'. (31) Labour could never deliver on its promise for change, yet its message and ethos appealed to working-class aspirations just as surely as it contained them. The 'conversion' to socialism in 1918 was simply the most promi-

nent example of the Labour leadership staving off revolution by a shift to the left. Whenever extra-parliamentary activity posed a threat — the key periods of 'class warfare' are identified as 1910-14, 1919-26, 1968-74 and 1976-87 — the leadership, with the help of activists and the trade union bureaucracy, ensured that 'electoralism' was given a fresh lease of life. According to this analysis, the debates between the left and the moderates over policy and Labour's constitution were never fundamental. For example, the ILP's supposedly radical alternative strategy for 'Socialism in Our Time' was flawed by a failure to recognize that "the only socialist solution to crisis was to smash the system based on capital accumulation." (156)

For Tony Cliff and Donny Gluckstein, the differences between MacDonald, Attlee, Gaitskell, Wilson and Kinnock on the one hand, and Hardie, Maxton, Cripps, Bevan and Benn on the other, are more apparent than real. Indeed the authors take particular pleasure in showing how inconsistent, misguided and woolly-minded were attempts by the Labour left to make the party into a vehicle for the achievement of socialism. Praise is reserved for those who maintained close links with the workers' struggle and who were prepared to challenge reformism and labourism: notably, the British Communist Party, before it was 'distorted by Stalin' (140); the leaders of Poplarism; shop-stewards (though they too can be susceptible to 'do-it-yourself reformism') and, of course, the Socialist Workers Party.

This book does not represent a significant addition to Labour Party history in the conventional sense. It relies largely on secondary sources, and contains little new information. The organization is often chaotic, and the flow is repeatedly broken by undigested material in long explanatory notes. There is not much interest in exploring the broader political context in which Labour operated. Thus the discussion of the critical period during and just after World War I takes virtually no ac-

count of Liberal Party turmoil, electoral reform, reconstruction planning, or the policies of the postwar Lloyd George Coalition government. The chapter on the 1924 Labour government never mentions its minority position. The role of the TUC General Council in the 1930s and of participation in the Churchill Coalition in the 1940s are similarly ignored. Nor will the reader learn very much about the economic and international pressures faced by Attlee and Wilson. None of this should be surprising, since Cliff and Gluckstein are primarily concerned with showing how detached Labour was from what really mattered — the struggle on the workshop floor. Yet even within its own terms, the analysis is deficient. No evidence is provided to support the claim that revolutionary opportunities were there for the taking. While strike statistics are cited frequently and reference is made to the periodic upsurge of the class struggle, there is no detailed examination of what was actually at issue. We are told that mass support for Labour “arises from the nature of working-class consciousness in Britain.” (2) But throughout the book the relationship between the two remains very fuzzy. The issue of democracy is simply avoided. Nor is there any real attempt to explain why the appeal of ‘nation’ and the tendency to isolate political from economic issues was so deep-seated. The authors criticize Ralph Miliband and Geoffrey Foote for ignoring the role of ‘the actual class struggle’ (90) in their analysis, yet the treatment of the question by Cliff and Gluckstein amounts largely to a series of assertions.

This is not to suggest that the book is without value or interest. The authors provide a number of sharp observations to leaven the polemic, as when they note that “Kinnock had the ideal left credentials necessary to lead the Labour party to the right.” (368) Perhaps most useful of all is what the book reveals about the outlook of the revolutionary left in late 1980s. For all its recent trials and setbacks, the Labour Party still presents as formidable an

obstacle as ever. Neither the industrial struggles of the late 60s and 70s, nor the Bennite challenge a decade later succeeded in undermining ‘labourism’ and its hold over the bulk of the working class. The swing to the left has been followed by the New Realism of the Kinnock era, and with the Bennites, Militant and all other challengers effectively disposed of Cliff and Gluckstein are not nearly so ready to write off Labour as many of their capitalist opponents. Demographic changes and Thatcherism notwithstanding, Labour’s ability to adapt to the changing needs of capitalism, while retaining the workers’ loyalty, cannot be denied: “The death of social reform, electoral defeat, and the destruction of labour activists has in every case strengthened the hold of the party over the movement,” demonstrating that “Labour can survive *as reformism without reforms.*” (390) This would seem to be the main lesson of Labour Party history. On the last page, the authors try to rally the troops with a long quotation by Trotsky on the virtues of the united front approach. Reformists must somehow be weaned away from ‘the Labour party road’. On the evidence provided by this book, it will be heavy going.

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John Kelly, *Trade Unions and Socialist Politics* (London: Verso 1988).

IT HAS BEEN A COMMONPLACE over the last decade for the politics of ‘class’ to be questioned by intellectuals. Quite diverse theoretical tendencies have argued that the concept of class, and its associated organizations of parties and unions, has lost its ability to explain the current pattern of politics in the advanced capitalist countries. Moreover, on the Left, it frequently is contended that workers have ceded their capacity to transform social relations to a plurality of social agents organized in resistance to the oppression of women, environmental degradation,

and others. It is suggested by this politics of diversity that trade unions, as an organizational expression of class identities, are a historical legacy of an earlier period when political identities were more homogeneous and less fragmented. Trade unions represent the old terrain of politics when collective struggles around wages and work promoted egalitarian relations. In the new times, unions have become a sectional obstacle to developing a progressive political agenda.

This 'new revisionism' position has not been without stiff opposition. Indeed, while pluralism has again become fashionable, it can be argued, paradoxically, that 'class' has had increased salience in explaining the major social trends that have dominated the 1980s: rising absolute poverty, unprecedented levels of open unemployment, skill and income polarization, sharp attacks on trade union freedoms, and widespread fears about the future of work as new technologies overturn employment security. At least in these senses, the politics of class still 'matter', and trade unions have not an insignificant role to play.

This is the political context in which John Kelly's book, *Trade Unions and Socialist Politics*, can be appreciated best. His thesis is traditional, but not without controversy: unions are not in a state of terminal decline and, moreover, a bout of economic militancy leading to a mass strike wave remains the surest way to raise the political consciousness of workers, overturn neoconservatism and put trade unions back on the offensive. In arguing this position, Kelly's attention is focussed on the British situation, where the attack on trade unions by the New Right has been especially wicked, and the Left most divided on the role of trade unions in building an opposition. Kelly observes that unions in Britain (and elsewhere), despite major setbacks such as the 1984 Miners' strike, have weathered the neo-conservative storm quite well. Union organization levels have not collapsed, and unions remain a major factor

in workplace politics. Moreover, while new forms of occupational fragmentation of workers are important, there is no reason to suggest that it is a more serious trend than in the past. Unions continue to make an important contribution to political life.

To make his case, Kelly takes a broad perspective, of interest to observers of trade union politics everywhere. Four chapters perceptively survey the ambiguity in which the classic Marxist texts — from Marx and Engels to Luxemburg and Gramsci — discuss the role of trade unions in forging working class consciousness. In a series of empirical chapters, Kelly takes aim at a range of contentious issues: trade union leaders cannot be viewed as simply conservative bureaucrats; unions remain a crucial representation of working class interests; the sectionalism between unions is overstated; industrial democracy is at a dead-end; wage militancy is still important; and strikes remain a vital mechanism for the politicization of workers. Here resides the strength of Kelly's book. By a wealth of theoretical and empirical material, Kelly vigorously defends the crucial link between trade unions and socialist politics. We cannot yet bid adieu to unions as pivotal social agents: conflicts over the distribution of output and control of the labour process are as much as ever social struggles of the present. No political advance is possible, Kelly concludes, that does not concede a major role to the trade union movement. In these times, that is an argument still worth hearing.

Despite these salutary observations, three glaring shortcomings arise out of Kelly's analysis — all linked to the same failure to take the contemporary dilemmas of socialist politics seriously enough. First, Kelly underestimates the changes to industrial relations and work that the 1980s have wrought, and not just in Britain. The New Right has massively rolled back the various tripartite bodies of the postwar 'bargain' between management and labour. Legal restrictions on collective action in terms of both strikes and

representation have been a feature of the decade. Notably in Britain, a series of comprehensive industrial relations acts introduced by Thatcher have strengthened individual rights to challenge unions but weakened collective rights of workers against corporations. Moreover, the new 'flexible automation' strategies of management are permanently altering the labour process. The multi-tasking, multi-skilling of core workers is coupled with efforts to mould company identities within new forms of enterprise unionism. It is quite clear that 'stay-the-course' wage and task bargaining is incapable of responding to this new situation.

These pressures pose starkly Kelly's neglect of issues of internal union democracy. His case is limited to defending the role of unions in representing working class interests; how this representation occurs is ignored. Yet, the new challenges facing unions and workers puts in doubt whether either the responsible trade unionism of the postwar period, where union leaderships simply bargained and policed collective agreements, or even a renewed wage militancy, is adequate. Indeed, opposition to enterprise unionism will depend upon unions actively transforming their relationship to their members. This means not simply better services to recruit members, but active promotion of rank and file direction over union affairs. Unions must become again centres for working class life at work and in the community. In other words, strike action may mean little for progressive politics if it is not sustained by a 'union culture' which expands worker capacities to collectively shape their own futures.

It is this failure to fully address the 'culture' which forms the complexity of working class interests seriously enough which leads Kelly to overlook several crucial issues to building a new social unionism. For example, the role of the social movements, particularly of feminism, in reshaping trade union politics is distressingly passed over. Yet surely any trade union movement which does not

incorporate the needs of working class women for equal pay, reproductive rights and day-care is doomed. In this sense, the level of 'class consciousness' means something quite different than the number of workers voting Labour or buying socialist newspapers. It means workers moving from a purely corporate consciousness of immediate work demands to the type of cultural and political practices capable of pushing ahead a radical, democratic agenda that actively transforms the visions of workers themselves. The outlines of this new political field are clear: new forms of democratic administration at the level of the state, popular planning at the industry level, and extension of workers' control over the labour process.

This brings us to our final criticism. Having discounted the accumulation of 'power resources' by workers as being specific to the 'Swedish road to socialism', Kelly tactically endorses a Luxemburgist mass strike wave to break the present political impasse and again place socialist politics on the agenda. This is itself a remarkably optimistic scenario. But more importantly, it is wildly in error on the tasks involved in reconstructing the socialist project. The mobilization of workers will be a necessary but not sufficient condition for transforming social relations. The need for a 'consciousness' in workers which incorporates ecological, feminist, and other demands will obviously be much wider than can be delivered by either a strike wave or trade unions. Strikes, while no doubt an essential right for workers, only raise indirectly the need to radically extend popular forms of democracy. These are important limitations on what strikes can accomplish, and no political strategy which moves to a frontal assault, as mass strike waves do, is up to the demands of rebuilding the socialist movement in either Britain or across the advanced capitalist bloc.

These are, indeed, serious flaws in Kelly's analysis. They are not difficulties unique to this text, however. They reflect

the larger impasse of trade union strategic thinking: how to address both the shifting economic terrain and the immediate pressures on work, and the increasing complexity of political identities forming social agents. Despite the rich texture of recent socialist theory and analysis, the Left has yet to find a bridge between the insurrectionary movement of 1968, when workers' self management seemed possible, and the starkness of the 'new realism' of the current political conjuncture, when even limited reforms seem difficult to achieve. Kelly's intervention into this debate is to re-assert the necessary collective power of the workers' movement — its trade unions and socialist parties — to advancing the socialist project. More simply, Kelly serves to underline the continued importance of trade unions, and particularly the associational rights of workers, for the democratizing of work. Collective bargaining institutions remain a critical anchor for democratic politics.

This is not to say that Kelly adequately addresses the means by which a new collective project will be pieced together. And pinning hopes to a mass strike wave as the means to break the present political impasse seems particularly inappropriate for developing the kind of creative capacities and collective vision necessary for a radical democratization of the state and production. Such a project will entail a much deeper cultural and educational process than a spontaneous strike movement can deliver. But this is all to say that this is a serious book which re-poses the difficult questions of the links between class consciousness, trade unions, and socialist politics. For this reason alone it should be read widely.

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Jacques Rancière, *The Nights of Labor: The Workers' Dream in Nineteenth-Century France* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1989).

THIS IS A BOOK that is conceived as a labyrinth. Those venturing into it are assured that "no answers will be provided." (xii) It is, for Rancière, the questions that count: "My little story of odd proletarian nights would like to question precisely this jealous concern to preserve popular, plebeian, or proletarian purity .... What new forms of misreading will affect this contradiction when the discourse of laborers in love with the night of intellectuals encounters the discourse of intellectuals in love with the toilsome and glorious days of the laboring people?" (x-xi) Of course there are answers, and each question asked has a relationship, however tenuous, to sets of answers, whatever the level of their conscious formulation. I happen to disagree with Rancière's answers; that those answers are "hidden" is but part of why I stand opposed to them. But in spite of this, Rancière's book is an important statement, an imaginative and creative attempt to defy convention and challenge the routinization of working-class history.

Donald Reid's introduction to this English translation of Rancière's *La nuit des prolétaires* (1981) provides a useful overview of Rancière's political and intellectual development. It quite correctly situates this text within a poststructuralist moment attentive to the contradictions that arise out of conceptualizations meant to capture a historical "reality" that is always more varied and questioning than "Knowledge" presupposed. For Rancière, attempts to construct workers' lives out of their conformity to the necessities of wage labour always fail precisely because so much of working-class experience actually turns on rejection of and a break from such imposed constraints. In this questioning of conventional interpretation Rancière turns against any notion of a singular working-class solidarity, mis-

sion, or essence at the same time as he questions, if not pillories, the categories, methods, and purposes of "analysis" that rest on such patently false assumptions.

The result is a book that leaves the traditional focus of labour history very much behind. Strikes, unionization, political mobilization, workplace relations — these are shunted aside in the quest to locate and decipher workers' dreams. So, too, are the piles of books and scholarly articles that touch directly on the material, political, and socio-cultural context in which these visions and hopes took challenging aim at the blinding, misleading obviousness of proletarian days at the toil all, apparently, longed to escape. Rancière cites, virtually without exception, only writers' words. And he allows them to speak in voices remarkably different than those we are accustomed to hear from the working-class quarter usually depicted in studies of the artisanal origins of the French labour movement. Replacing declarative calls to the barricades are lines of verse etched in metaphors of ambiguity and possibility:

Day sinks, soon a misty night  
will cover with regrets the dream I dig  
in the forest again, with an enchanted gaze  
I see liberty advancing as I leave.  
She has turned back and her adieu is an  
indication  
of the mistakes I must abandon.  
I will find her again, her breastplate larger  
on a fine day gilded with the exertion of  
work.(420)

Rancière takes such ambiguity and possibility as his own conceptual foundation. Chapters are characteristically opened with paradoxes dressed in opaque skepticism: "One divides into two. But how are we to understand this division of day and night, this split affecting the image of the robust workers?" (24) ... "The difficulty is not the encamping. It is knowing where one camps and where the Promised Land is. Because there is and there isn't a road." (349) ... "Evening of lost battles, dawn of the new age? Fantasies that have vanquished in the sunlight

of science, or a once-solitary utterance that has become the flesh and blood of a socialist movement dovetailing with the law governing the universal evolution of beings?" (419)

It is not possible to read passages such as these and fail to appreciate how much self-indulgence there is in Rancière's account; perhaps even how much self-indulgence there was in the worker intellectuals he has exposed to our view in ways that highlight only their nights of understandable egotism, a problem that, as Rancière shows, was of particular concern to Cabet and the Icarians. At every moment — interpretive and empirical — this text gravitates inward on this egotism, isolating it in refusals and dismissals of other questions, other relations. So many inquiries are "simply pointless." (257) The end result is categorical denial: "As we range from those waiting only for retirement to this proletarian who yearns only for the infinite, with those dreaming of the march of peoples somewhere in between, we are forced to see one and the same thing: the worker of the new world is nowhere to be found." (214) And that is an answer, however open-ended.

The problem lies in how Rancière has constructed it. His "histories" of the joiner/floor-layer Gabriel Gauny, Saint-Simonian tailors and typographers, and the Christian Socialist/Icarian co-operative and communitarian experiments of the post-1848 years are so resolutely one-sided in their production as *discourses*, so ironically built out of blunt oppositions that dichotomize day and night/toil and life, that they cannot but fail to produce answers of like-minded opposition. Workers are persons adrift in the seas of individuality; collectivity dies on the cross all bear, that of egotism.

This is one part of one part of the history of the working class. The value of Rancière's book is that it tells us this and alerts us to what we have too easily avoided, dismissed, or ignored because of lack of sources (which are not as accessible or as abundant in many 'national' con-

texts as they are in France) and sensitivities. The problem with this treatment is that its insights have been reified and hardened into an interpretive closure that, in its one-sided reading of ambiguity and possibility, refuses connections and leaves the circle of working-class life halved into separate spheres. For too long, it is true, the hours workers spent on the job or relating to their work have received all of the scrutiny of historians. This, only this, has been the history of labour. Rancière shows us that this was not so. There is a darker, more obscured, more complex history of workers, one that often unfolds in the recesses of consciousness, under the covers of evening's anonymity, encased in the private writings and thoughts of individuals. Rancière takes us into that history, but then he does what he is tilting against: he claims for the night the privileges long appropriated by the day. He wants to turn private lives and public lives upside down, locating the real essence, as non-essence, of labouring people here rather than there. Odd that with all the debate feminism has given rise to concerning public/private, it is still possible for a working-class historian of such imagination to embrace these distinctions in the name of breaking innovatively from all traditionalism.

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Michael Hanagan, *Nascent Proletarians: Class Formation in Post-Revolutionary France* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Basil Blackwell 1989).

IN HIS WELL-RECEIVED *The Logic of Solidarity* (1980), Michael Hanagan examined three industrial towns in the Loire in the decades before World War I — Le Chambon-Feugerolles, Rive-de-Gier, and Saint-Chamond — in which skilled industrial workers faced with threats to their control of the workplace adopted the tactic of providing assistance and guidance

to movements of semi-skilled industrial workers. Hanagan addresses a different aspect of class formation in these same towns in *Nascent Proletarians*: the emergence of a permanent, year-round, male hereditary industrial proletariat in mining and metallurgy between 1840 and 1880.

The heart of *Nascent Proletarians* is a detailed quantitative analysis of changes in the demographic composition and family structure of this population. Hanagan interprets these findings in light of managerial practices and the workings of the family economy. Industrialists recruited workers, oversaw their training, and then used benefit programs to discourage them from leaving the firm's employ. As adult male workers became rooted in industrial towns and their families became more dependent on their income, these workers embraced a politics which responded to their changing family economies. Hanagan explains the particular militancy of Le Chambon-Feugerolles miners, for instance, in terms of the decline in family income caused by reduced chances for female employment and increased opportunities which mine work offered young male wage earners to leave the family and to form their own households. (167)

Managerial practices often conflicted with workers' familial strategies. Hanagan argues that metalworkers resented the limitations on their sons' futures created by the incompetence of clerical teaching staffs and especially by the firm-specific job training metallurgical companies provided. (102) Miners, whose high earnings early in their careers encouraged them to have large families, daily faced dangers which made them anxious to wrest control of benefits and pension funds from their employers. Hanagan points to these factors in the metalworkers' support for republican candidates in the 1869 elections and in the miners' strike which culminated in the bloody "La Ricamarie" massacre that same year. He asserts that despite differences between miners and metalworkers,

"a recurrent similarity of problems ... also created bases for joint organization and action against industrial capitalism," (96) although he gives no examples of such unity in the period under examination. If the Stephanois workers did not yet form a class by 1880 — Hanagan uses the implantation of socialist ideas as his criterion (211) — he sees them as well on their way.

*Nascent Proletarians* is a fine book.

Like Elinor Accampo's revealing study of Saint-Chamond, *Industrialization, Family Life, and Class Relations* (1989), it suggests how fruitful the coming together of family, demographic, and labour history can be. To take one example, Hanagan carefully reconstructs the relationship between individual sending communities and industrial centers to reveal the shift from temporary to permanent emigration after 1860. The one critique which can be made of *Nascent Proletarians* is that in his eagerness to reveal the demographic and familial bases of collective action, Hanagan obscures other explanatory mechanisms, including even that of the workplace which informed *The Logic of Solidarity*.

In *Nascent Proletarians*, Hanagan defines "semi-skilled" not in reference to the exercise of "skills" *per se*, but in terms of workers' lack of control over entry into a trade or over acquisition of skills. (Thus Hanagan would presumably label the nailmakers of early 19th-century Saint-Chamond as "highly skilled artisans," (46) while Accampo notes that "their work required little skill." (Accampo, 40)) Hanagan groups miners and steelworkers under the rubric of semi-skilled and then explains their actions largely in terms of family structures and economies. This leads him to make too little of differences between occupational groups which are not explicable with direct reference to the family. In the period under examination, the majority of miners were semi-skilled, (48) but semi-skilled workers accounted for half or less of the three towns' more diverse metallurgical laborforce. (46) And working under-

ground, miners had different relations with management than metal workers. What effects might such factors have had? In the 1869 election, "republican metal employers rallied their workers behind" the republican candidate, while leaders of the miners' mutual aid fund are credited with getting out the miners' vote for the Imperial candidate. (192) To what extent can the metalworkers' greater allegiance to non-workers — often their bosses — be attributed to differences in culture, organization and aspirations?

Pondering the political mobilization of metalworkers leads to questions about Hanagan's analysis of their republicanism. He contends that the metal workers resented the company schooling which limited them to firm-specific skills and were therefore attracted to republican programs for the establishment of trade schools. "Republicans condemned the large metalworks that monopolized technical education." (190) Hanagan's argument is plausible (and contemporaries like the Le Creusotin worker-turned-socialist J.-B. Dumay made precisely this point), but he presents little evidence that metalworkers from his towns embraced republicanism for this reason in 1869. (The closest Hanagan comes are statements by Saint-Etienne worker spokesmen a decade later.) And if an alternative to company schooling was such an important appeal of republicanism to metalworkers, why did they follow a metallurgical company owner like Dorian who trained his workers in the same fashion as other owners? (98) Rather than limiting ourselves to assessing political activity in terms of a logic of familial concerns, we need to take into account other elements, including the nature of managerial authority in metallurgical firms (discursively constructed in some cases in explicitly familial (paternalist) terms).

Hanagan adds that metalworkers were "vulnerable" to attacks on clerical education by anticlerical republican newspapers (103), but once again presents no direct evidence that the



metalworkers in the three towns under examination turned to republicanism for this reason. (However, we do learn of a "voluntary society of alumni of a number of religious schools in Rive-de-Gier in 1895" which was disproportionately composed of metalworkers, mostly semi-skilled. (101) In the absence of further information, one is reminded of Accampo's identification of an anti-clerical republicanism in Saint-Chamond and her insistence that the political cultures of individual towns be given their due.

Hanagan's analyses of the changing family situations of 19th-century miners and metalworkers and his effort to relate these to workers' activism pose an important challenge to most studies of French labour history done in the past two decades (including my own book on Decazeville). These works have generally deployed histories of wage levels, work organization, community and workplace culture, and ideology and ideological commitment, to account for the presence or absence of worker militancy. What Hanagan's important book shows is the need to integrate such explanatory mechanisms with those derived from family history.

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Stephen Crawford, *Technical Workers in an Advanced Society: The Work, Careers and Politics of French Engineers* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1989).

ENGINEERS OCCUPY a peculiar position in the industrial workforce. Neither owners of productive property, nor wage-labourers, they are mainly salaried employees of large corporations. Torn by the conflicting demands of science and business, some observers foresee growing resistance to bureaucratic authority. Thorstein Veblen predicted that engineers would lead a social revolution; professionalization theorists contemplate an occupationally-based challenge to

capitalism, marxists envision a class-based one. Stephen Crawford, however, in his book on French engineers, finds no evidence to support such notions.

Crawford, an American sociologist, examined the work, careers and ideologies of French engineers in an "old" and a "new" industry. During 1977 and 1978, he interviewed 129 engineers from a traditional metal-working firm, and an advanced telecommunications company, pseudonymously named PAMPCO and TELECO. His sample included only practicing engineers (with, or without a diploma), not engineering executives. Building on Robert Zussman's 1985 book on American engineers and Peter Whalley's 1986 volume on British Engineers, Crawford tests several theories of social change — professionalization, proletarianization and new working-class theory — and advocates a new approach to class theory.

Crawford believes that employee-engineers in France do not constitute an occupational, or class, threat to bureaucratic authority. Carefully selected from elite engineering schools that foster business, not professional values, French firms appoint engineers as *cadres*, or managers (a unique French practice) and promote them to top management, the career goal of most engineers. Engineers view capitalism as "neither heroic nor exploitative;" simply a "rational and efficient mode of organizing production." (130, 128) Unable to monopolize professional practice like doctors and lawyers (only the title *ingénieur diplômé* is protected), and lacking occupational solidarity, they identify instead with bureaucracy. As trusted workers enjoying salaries and status denied others, they seek success as individuals, not collectively through licensing, or collective bargaining.

Crawford admits that French engineers do not enjoy quite the same high status they once did. But, he denies this decline amounts to proletarianization, because there is no evidence of deskilling. New technology and changing markets

mitigate this. Deskilled work is handed down to an emerging stratum of technical workers, freeing engineers for new work. As a result, the number of engineers is growing faster than the number of technicians. Thus, far from being an alienated new working-class, engineers are generally satisfied with their lot. Crawford's main point is that actual career situations, shaped by distinctive national institutions, such as education, not technology and the division of labour is the key to understanding class structure in advanced societies.

This is an important study, full of provocative arguments and ideas. However, by limiting it to two anonymous companies, Crawford has restricted its scope, sacrificing breadth for depth. Readers must rely on his judgment that the sample is representative. And while an attempt is made to place the study in historical context, it is largely frozen in time: 1977-78. More concerned with testing theory than studying social processes over time, this book will disappoint many historians and new working-class theorists. Also, by concentrating so much adverse criticism on liberal and marxist theories, Crawford fails to clarify many of his own ideas which are often shrouded by a complicated analytical structure.

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Edmund F. Byrne, *Work, Inc. A Philosophical Enquiry* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press 1990).

EDMUND BYRNE'S HEART is in the right place. He is concerned about the sometimes devastating effects of unregulated capitalism on the lives of communities and individuals. He aims to puncture the myths of national sovereignty and the neutrality of the state, and to show that *de facto* sovereignty around the world is exercised less by national governments than by transnational corporations — to the disadvantage of everyone else. The gen-

eral 'factual conclusion' which he arrives at is that, "the social contract involving business, labour and government is no longer tenable 'as written', because business now exercises *de facto* sovereignty over the other two parties to the contract." (277)

But what is supposed to follow from this observation? Byrne's suggestion is, in effect, that the 'balance' be restored. On his view, the interests of transnational corporations should be given "no greater weight than those of local workers and communities." (8) What this reveals is that though Byrne's heart is in the right place, his head is not. Byrne's theory of social justice, such as it is, is what has come to be known as 'contractarianism' — the idea that a just distribution of resources will be attained if the various conflicting interests in society can freely agree, through a bargaining process, about a distribution which is mutually advantageous. Byrne writes that, "because the concept of a social contract is so familiar to people interested in the labour movement, I will address questions regarding corporate/community justice as problems to be solved by the terms of a social contract." (10)

The trouble is that bargaining and contracts have been involved in getting us to where we are today, and the interests of the rich and powerful have a tendency to override the interests of the relatively disadvantaged groups. Of course, bargaining is sometimes forced or constrained; "many workers are manoeuvred into a situation that requires them to choose between taking a particular job and starving." (41) Agreements need to be voluntary in a more substantial sense than this. Nonetheless, Byrne's head is planted in the soil of markets, and his idea of justice owes more to capitalism than he may realize. Even agreements which are freely entered into between unequal parties do not necessarily remove initial inequalities.

It is not that Byrne is unaware of this; for him, it is crucial that the power of workers organised collectively should be capable of offsetting that of the corpora-

tion, otherwise the 'voluntary' contract may be less than fully free; and Byrne sees himself as theoretically articulating the interests of the workers and the role of the workers' representative. The pursuit of justice demands that in negotiating a 'social contract,' the workers' representative will have "the interests of workers, all workers, in mind and will be responsible for defending these interest;" he or she will seek "the best possible benefits for workers." (11)

But if this is all there is to justice, then in the last resort it reduces to the interests of the strongest, or at least to a balancing of the interests of the equally strong. What then becomes of the interests of groups whose muscle gives them little clout — children, the infirm, the physically or mentally disabled, native minorities and so on? Byrne fudges the issue, for he says that in seeking the best possible benefits for workers, the workers' representative will also "take into account the interests of others as articulated and defended by their representatives." (11) This seems like a tacit way of saying that the workers' representative must have some sense of justice which goes beyond the self-interest of the particular group he or she represents; but if it is, it undermines the contract-oriented approach to justice Byrne wants to advocate.

The basic weakness of Byrnes' approach is precisely that it is not sufficiently philosophical, and it is a confession of weakness, rather than a strength, that (as he puts it) "philosophy is too serious to leave to philosophers." (41) (Since Byrne is himself a professor of philosophy, one wonders how he expects this remark to be construed.) The weakness is there throughout the book, overlaid though it is by the weight of sociological observations and insights. His definition of forced labour is a case in point: "forced labour by definition takes without giving anything in return." (41) It is surely a *reduction ad absurdum* of this definition to notice (as Byrne does) that even in the Nazi death-camps, people

were, after a fashion, housed and fed, so that their labour was not 'in an absolute sense' forced.

I am afraid that well-meaning though Byrne is, his book cannot be recommended to those who wish to become clearer about the place of worker's interests in an account of justice in society.

Henry Laycock  
Queen's University

Heather Menzies, *Fast Forward and Out of Control: How Technology is Changing Your Life* (Toronto: Macmillan 1989).

**MOST PEOPLE ARE** anxious today about the pace of change brought about by new technology, or so we are told by pundits, journalists and other doomsayers who have a stake in playing upon our anxieties. They have created a mental soup of pop sociology, instant analysis and quack remedies to flatter our minds, capture our hearts and loosen our purses. If this book were to be judged by its title, it would deserve to be included in that soup kitchen, but it has something more: it offers hope of coming to terms with technology.

An introductory section provides an overview of the social and economic changes that are producing a crisis in society today. A historical sketch then takes us through centuries of technological change. Together, these chapters set out the broad social, economic and philosophical framework of the book. The next three chapters describe contemporary developments using new technology — the information-based economy, global manufacturing and biotechnology. The treatment of the first topic is more thorough than the other two, because it is based on the author's direct knowledge of the uses of computers in workplaces. Here, in chapter 4, the description of how computers are altering work in offices and banks or jobs in stores and schools (areas in which technology opened the world of white-collar work to women a century ago, but are now being demoted also by

technology) has the ring of experience and observation. In the closing section, examination of present trends to show what might happen if we continue to remain passive is followed by recommendation of what we should do if we want the future to be more to our liking.

My initial reaction to *Fast Forward* was one of frustration, as I could not grasp clearly what the book was about. I overcame that reaction only after I realised that the book is composed of two interleaved parts, written in different ways and at war with each other. One part is a vigorous, common-sense interpretation of current events, the other is served from the kitchen of soupy techno-thought; the first relies on knowledge earned at first hand and tells it in brisk prose, the second parrots dogmas in all their jargon. For brevity, I shall refer to the author of the first kind of writing as Heather and to the second as Menzies.

It is Heather who tells us in the introduction how she came to reject the jargon of "technological-change discourse" and how clearly she was then able to detect the ways in which its jargon numbed her thought. We expect, therefore, that the liberating effect of rejecting poor ideas might be evident in the substance of the book, but the following three chapters are bad history, by Menzies from the technosoup kitchen. None of this material connects with the next chapter (4), in which Heather examines the working world where computerization is being used to displace or disorient low- and middle-level employees, generally women. It is Heather speaking when the concept of the "information economy" is derided on the ground that "it doesn't represent new work, but traditional goods- and services-producing work transformed into information symbols about the work to be done, which are set down in operations manuals and information-gathering procedures." In other words, computers are not all they are cracked up to be, and the prophets were not on the right track at all with claims that new "services" would be

based on knowledge. In that case, why is "postindustrial" the most overworked adjective in this book? The "information economy" was to be the core of "postindustrialism" as it was described by Daniel Bell and other postindustrial prophets. To reject the one implies that the other must also be rejected; otherwise the results are absurd, and some absurdity is what we get. Phrases such as "postindustrial manufacture" show that Menzies is still hostage to the discourse from which she thought she had emancipated herself.

The problem of contradiction goes beyond language into conclusions about what our predicament is, who to blame for it and what we should do to rescue ourselves from it. The title of the book pictures a runaway machine which has enslaved us, but we are told to see "technological change and economic restructuring as processes that are shaped by and serve the values and priorities of whoever controls them." The machine metaphor — in or out of control — seems wrong. Although Heather acknowledges the failure of postindustrial doctrine in that the "service economy" turned out to be composed of fast-food operations and the like, rather than the knowledge-enriched ones it was supposed to supply, Menzies clings to the faculty doctrine in blaming technology for the impoverishment of work and loss of jobs. The postindustrial prophets had absolved practices such as offshore production and massive importing of material goods on the grounds that removal of smokestacks made room for services; when that scenario flopped, a scapegoat had to be found and the obvious one was technology. Menzies accepts this explanation uncritically. Yet Heather implicitly rejects it in the context of a discussion of free trade with the US. "In order to trade as an equal," she writes, "Canada must have a strong industrial base from which to produce the goods and services it will trade." A strong industrial base means first industry, not postindustry (whatever that might

be) and second more, not less, technology. Finally, Heather exhorts us to think about and take charge of technology in ways which "match personal values, social justice and the common good." That's good advice.

Was it Menzies, or a bad editor, that chose the title of *Fast Forward and Out of Control*? The book is worth reading: despite its sensational title and resort to stale ideas, its author does have some worthwhile ideas of her own of how to stand up to seemingly overwhelming forces.

Mario Creet  
Queen's University

Peter S. Li, *Ethnic Inequality in a Class Society* (Toronto: Wall & Thompson 1988).

PETER LI'S INTENTION is to investigate the role played by ethnic origin, as against other causal factors, in the determination of income differentials in Canada. The information used derives from the two per cent representative sample of the Canadian population included in the *Public Use Sample Tapes* and based on the 1981 Census. The analysis relates to the 263,273 individuals in the sample who were active in the labour force. These individuals are classified into 17 single ethnic origins and 5 multiple origins, given the fact that in 1981, for the first time, respondents were able to give a multiple origin in response to the ethnic origin question.

Starting out from a straightforward correlation between average income and ethnic origin — in which those of West and East European origin (excluding the French) tend to have higher than average incomes, while French, South Europeans, Chinese and Blacks (among others) are below the average — Li proceeds to isolate the impact of different variables in the determination of unequal incomes. The upshot of the analysis is that there remains what he describes as "net ethnic differences" when all other selected vari-

ables are controlled for, including the fact of being born within or outside Canada, gender, age, schooling, social class, employment sector and number of weeks worked.

These net ethnic differences are highly positive in the case of Canadians of Jewish and Portuguese origin, very negative in the case of Blacks, Chinese and Italians, less negative for the French, and relatively neutral for the British, just to take these examples. What this means, in Li's words, is that "Jews have the most economic advantage due to their origin, whereas blacks, Chinese and Greeks face the most discrimination because of their origin. Other groups which are discriminated against are the French, Hungarians and Poles. The British ... do not gain or lose from their origin, as their income, after controlling for other differences, is about the national average." (127)

The conclusions of the analysis are thus far-reaching. What is more, Li quantifies these net ethnic differences in terms of income advantage or disadvantage for the different categories — \$4,230.61 above the average for those of Jewish origin, \$1,626.81 below for Blacks, \$112.87 below for French, and \$20.40 below for British. (116) He arrives at these net differences after finding that social class, schooling and gender have an even greater impact on income, the most significant single variable being social class. In conclusion he suggests that Porter's vertical mosaic model is oversimplified. Ethnicity remains an important factor, but the different ethnic groups are not concentrated within class brackets in the way that the model suggests. At the same time, sufficient ethnic differences remain to demonstrate that we do not live in the open competitive system that the human capital and structural-functional models claim we do.

Arguably the most interesting aspect of Li's analysis is the application of Erik Olin Wright's version of the Marxian class model to the census data. The argument for adopting the more relational

Marxian concept of class instead of the standard gradational class categories is well made, and the results are particularly interesting, some ethnic groups — notably those of Jewish and Portuguese origin — being heavily concentrated within particular class brackets, while others, such as the British, have a spread across classes which corresponds closely to the overall distribution of the sample.

The analysis raises a number of questions, however. It is firstly unclear as to what significance we can really give to the ranking in terms of advantage and disadvantage that Li provides us with. Even if the Portuguese emerge as the second most advantaged group in terms of net ethnic difference, in terms of mean income by ethnic origin, they had the lowest income of all groups listed in 1982, \$2,000 below the average. (84) What the net difference means in their case is that — given their low level of educational attainment, and given the fact that they are heavily concentrated in the working class (90 per cent) — then as compared with other ethnic groups at similar class and educational levels they have an income advantage which can only be conferred by their ethnicity. The same is true of those of Jewish origin, at a different educational and class level, 46.5 per cent working as employers, managers or professionals as against 8.2 per cent of Portuguese. (90)

What is not clear from the analysis, however, is whether the position of the British is really as neutral as Li suggests as far as ethnic benefit is concerned. Nor is it clear as to how those of Jewish origin somehow come to be those who benefit most from “ethnic inequality,” given the discrimination to which they have always been subject. My own suspicion is that Li has not gone far enough in his application of the class model. Of all the groups, those of “British” origin (whatever that means) have the distribution across all class brackets that corresponds most closely to the distribution of all groups. They also constitute by far the largest single group,

41 per cent of the sample, while those of Jewish origin constitute only one per cent. To conclude that the British as a whole do not derive ethnic benefit does not allow us to know whether the British within particular class brackets derive such benefit, since the existence of positive and negative benefit within different classes would presumably cancel each other out. The same does not hold true of those of Jewish or of Portuguese origin, since both these groups are heavily over-concentrated in one or two class brackets.

We would need to have Li’s full model broken down by social class, in order to know the extent to which there really is an absence of British ethnic advantage among those of similar class position to Canadians of “Jewish” origin (whatever that means as a category isolated from other European origins). There is something counter-intuitive about Li’s conclusions, in so far as one can presume that ethnicity plays a different role for different groups in different class brackets and in different social contexts. That there is no ethnic advantage conferred by being of British origin in Montreal or Toronto, for example, would be somewhat surprising. This suggests that not only would it be preferable to look more closely at differences within classes, but also within different areas of Canada. Such nuances are particularly important, given the ethical implications of ranking groups with respect to degree of ethnic advantage.

The other problem I have with the book relates to the concept of ethnicity itself. Li’s conceptualization remains unclear. He successfully demonstrates that the notion of ethnicity based on cultural content is fairly meaningless under advanced capitalism, given that capitalism has long since succeeded in wiping out most alternative cultures. He does not, however, go far enough in setting up an alternative conceptualization, not even as far as Weber — whose thought, it seems to me, is slightly misrepresented — and who makes a clear link between ethnicity

and exclusion, with the former playing an instrumental role in allowing the latter to happen.

Li does not go the full length of seeing ethnicity and "race" as social constructs. To have done so, in the former case, would have allowed him to set up a more satisfactory relationship between ethnicity and class. As it is, he comes to the conclusion that there can be such a thing as "ethnic inequality" apart from class, stating, among other things, that "it should be noted that although class and ethnicity produce inequality in the capitalist system, they tend to operate differently." (51, my italics) There would seem to be an important distinction to be made between ethnicity as structuring inequality, and ethnicity as producing it, a distinction that is not present in Li's conceptualization. In fact Li comes up with a number of ambiguous statements, and in the end it is difficult to know what he means by ethnicity.

At one point he opens a paragraph with the words: "Race and ethnicity are not social classes *per se* ...," (48) to which one could reply that they are not social classes at all, while at the end of the book he writes that it is the "social evaluations of ethnicity and race, and not ethnicity and race themselves, which are the grounds for different rewards." (134) This latter statement continues the theme, which is present throughout the book, that there are such things as "racial" groups and "races" in Canada — in spite of what Robert Miles and Colette Guillaumin would have to say on the subject — but also sets up the notions of ethnicity and race as being apart from processes of "social evaluation." Both these notions, in so far as they mean anything, would seem to be the very stuff of social evaluation and the allocation of rewards: it is they, in part, that allow class to happen, both in colonial and non-colonial contexts.

In sum we have here a stimulating book in its application of Wright's class mode to the census data, a timely book in its critique of culturalist approaches to

ethnicity and structural functionalist understandings of social inequality, but also a book that leaves the reader confused as to the precise conceptual relation that is being proposed between "race," "ethnicity" and class, and a little worried as to whether the groups targeted as benefiting from ethnic advantage the most, are really the ones that do.

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David Gordon, *Green Cities: Ecologically Sound Approaches to Urban Space* (Montreal: Black Rose 1989).

THIS IS A TRANSCRIPT of speeches delivered at a conference that took place in Toronto in 1987. The editor, David Gordon, seems to have made a conscious attempt to refrain from massaging his raw material: he makes no attempt to guide or prune (or even correct) the text and forgoes the normal custom of providing an introductory essay offering a framework for interpreting disparate works. The result is an intriguing but ultimately unsatisfying collection of insights that lacks a clear focus.

The first section of the book attempts to define the notion of a green city. Approaches vary from the pedestrian idea that a green city is a city with wild things growing in it to the more bracing notion that a green city is a social/political project requiring revolutionary changes in the way we organize production and make social decisions. On a more mystical level, one author proposes that creating a green city may require that we as a species "reenter" and "repossess" nature by reconstructing natural landscapes. Another author sees green when looking at the adaptive responses of the world's poorest people, while yet another focuses on functional principles such as diversity, productivity, and economy.

The various formulations seem to arise from two competing senses of what constitutes the green city project. To

some of the book's contributors, the project is to literally green the city by restoring nature or wilderness to urban settings. This project would be in the hands of urban design professionals with the local community playing a supportive role as a political lobby and a source of volunteer labour in carrying projects out. Pollution Probe's Ecology Park in Toronto is a good example of this type of green vision.

To a second group of contributors, the main project is to render the city ecologically efficient through basic changes in its organization and administration. Here concepts such as local self-reliance, local control of social resources and production decisions, and economic miniaturization are key in realizing a green city. In this model, the relationship between urban design professionals and the local community would be reversed: the community would be empowered to a much greater degree and the professionals would play the supporting role.

Of course, the two visions are not without overlap. Diversity is a factor in both equations: urban green spaces could contribute to the local self-reliance if put to use as community food gardens. Livability is another bridging notion: a green city is above all a livable city, whether that be because of the congenial presence of nature in harmony with society or because economic and ecological processes are brought down to a human scale and co-operation replaces exploitation as the governing principle of social life. Finally, the two projects share the idea of "sense-of-place," the phrase having just the right ambiguity: community control gives its members a sense of place just as biotic diversity can distinguish one neighbourhood from another.

But in the second part of the book, which deals with instruments available in realizing a green city, we see just how different these two approaches are in practice. In introducing this section, the editor seems to make a conscious attempt to unite the two projects into a single mission. In the accounts that follow, how-

ever, ecological restoration or naturalization becomes almost the sole concern and technical solutions crowd out political experiments.

[A]t many times a new item on the political agenda arises, including the recognition of a problem such as the ecology of cities. You will find technical solutions, then manpower, and then come to a maintaining phase to keep the environment healthy, sustainable, and fit to live for a long period of time. (90-91)

The issue of community control is ignored in most of the eleven essays in the section or reduced to heart-warming participation programs such as tree planting exercises among students or patronizing public meetings in order to "tell people what is going on." (97) One essay "defends" community involvement on the grounds that it will decrease vandalism and in another essay on naturalizing the urban environment, the author actually treats the affected community as a potential obstacle to change:

One of the problems of naturalization, in terms of its public acceptance, is the fact that it is not seen in design terms .... I think many municipalities have this problem with naturalization, because the best way of naturalizing is to leave a place alone in many cases, and it looks as if you have abandoned your responsibilities to the public. (96)

In a third and final section, the editor tries once again to evoke a sense of the political project at hand by claiming to offer us essays that show "how local organizations have overcome institutional and social barriers to their attempts to realize visions of the green city." (233) But far from realizing visions, the essays concentrate on defensive actions to preserve the last vestiges of urban wilderness or on the attempt to restore the tradition of urban agriculture. There is no discussion whatsoever of a campaign designed to challenge the overall pattern of urban development, the concentration of power in elite hands, the gigantist economy, or the social inequities that are the root of many environmental problems and force



the poor to bear a disproportionate amount of the burden of a decayed environment.

Green is both the colour of chlorophyll and a revolutionary movement that would question the very basis of our environmentally disastrous society. While the book claims to be about both, it clearly is not. Its use lies more in spreading the news about urban wilderness techniques and programs than in stimulating debate about what a green city is all about. Admittedly, the book will fulfil an important purpose as urban design professionals cast about for the technical means with which to respond to rising demands for livable cities. Environmental consultants, scientists, government officials, urban planners and landscape architects not only wrote most of the essays collected in *Green Cities*, but form the natural audience for such a book.

Beyond its value to environmental professionals, the book may have some merit as a stimulus to citizen involvement in city greening projects. However, those looking for guideposts to a radical overhaul of the urban structure will be tantalized by intriguing possibilities only to be disappointed. In this sense, *Green Cities* is a book that has yet to be written.

Ray Tomalty  
University of Waterloo

Ken Post and Phil Wright, *Socialism and Underdevelopment* (London: Routledge 1989).

IN THE FACE of the radical restructuring of the socialist heartland in eastern Europe and Russia, much of Western capitalism has taken the so-called failure of socialism as evidence of the moral legitimacy of capitalism and the obvious inadequacy of socialist ideology. It is against such a facile critique of socialism that Ken Post and Phil Wright react in their book *Socialism and Underdevelopment*. As the title suggests, the authors attempt to connect the current problems of socialist states

with the inheritance of underdevelopment. They point out that all twentieth century socialist revolutions have occurred in underdeveloped peripheral capitalist countries. Hence, they attempt to theorize how the 'objective' conditions of underdevelopment have interacted with the nature of the seizure of power in socialist revolutions and the 'received' ideas of socialism (essentially the 1917 Russian experience of revolution and the adaptations of Lenin and Stalin) to create the problems presently experienced by state socialist societies.

Post and Wright first analyze how the historical expansion of capitalism has affected the opportunity for socialist revolution in areas of peripheral (or underdeveloped) capitalism. Capitalistic expansion has created a complex and fluid class structure in the periphery where classes and strata are internally divided and class contradictions are supplemented by sexual, ethnic, and religious contradictions. Therefore, class struggle will be equally complex and qualitatively distinct from Marx's proletariat/bourgeois divide. As a result, the 'received' Leninist ideas of a broad-based, cross-class revolutionary coalition with a vanguard party in the lead finds easy applicability in a situation of complex class formation and contradiction (the result of underdevelopment). Ironically, however, the multiple-class character of the revolutionary bloc ultimately represents a major obstacle to socialist transformation.

The authors next analyze the interplay of the three variables by assuming that a Marxist-Leninist force has seized power and examining what the leaders are likely to do in that context. Here the conjunctural forces stemming from the seizure of power (often civil war damage and/or a hostile international environment) impel the leaders towards centralized control. This tendency is reinforced by the interaction of the material conditions of underdevelopment and the 'received' idea that socialism requires the rapid development of productive forces.

The combination generates a drive, not only to industrialize, but to do so using centrally planned economic activity. Coupled with industrialization, the leaders establish a "resource-constrained economy" (72) in which control over the distribution of resources, as opposed to the control over production, is most important. However, the conditions of underdevelopment hobble this economy and create a number of macro- and micro-economic contradictions. These contradictions act to restrict the choices and ultimately the performance of such an economy. Its weak performance then impels the state to gradually swallow up civil society as it attempts to control the economic problems generated by these contradictions and as it seeks to engineer a social transformation.

The writers judge that, on balance, the resource-constrained economy has performed badly and that most Marxist-Leninist regimes fare poorly on the democratic nature of government. While the application of socialist ideas of nationalization and central planning must share part of the blame, these problems stem primarily from the fact that socialist experiments have all occurred under conditions of underdevelopment — conditions which have placed real constraints on the working out of socialist ideas probably to the point of making impossible their implementation.

Throughout their study, Post and Wright attempt to demonstrate the effect conditions of underdevelopment have on the opportunity for socialist revolution and economic development in a post-revolutionary society. While they explain why conditions in peripheral capital areas lead to the option of a socialist revolution and why conjunctural forces lead to an immediate need for central control, the authors assert rather than demonstrate that structural factors lead to the need for a resource-constrained economy. Their explanation of this particular point derives more from the 'received' ideas of socialism argument (ie. that the model of the Russian revolution has so influenced

other revolutionary leaderships that they feel obliged to institute a resource-constrained economy) than from a demonstration that certain structures of underdevelopment directly influence the establishing of such an economy.

Post and Wright also explicitly state that "the condition of underdevelopment clearly imposes the objective necessity of industrialization." (7) While the writers do skirt the pitfall of claiming that a socialist revolution must, of historical necessity, complete a national democratic revolution or build capitalism before making the socialist transformation, their emphasis on the need to industrialize before socialism can be built evokes images of a liberal modernizationist view. The point seems to be that industrialization is the only way to raise the standard of living to acceptable levels. However, such a Euro-centric view of development ignores the possibility of alternative roads to economic development.

A further problem readers should be aware of is that the conditions of underdevelopment which Post and Wright assume lead them to pursue a certain type of analysis closely allied with modernizationist themes. The authors conclude that industrialization is necessary for socialism and that this has been blocked by conditions of underdevelopment. These conditions lead to a certain type of class structure and seizure of power that has caused socialist revolutions problems. However, by making these assumptions, the authors ignore both the Warrenite critique of underdevelopment and the more recent attempt by discussants of the development of capitalism to incorporate the concept of 'indigenous resistance' in their analyses.

Post and Wright hit on a number of other themes including: the laws of motion of state socialist societies, the process and fundamentally different nature of class formation and economic contradictions in such societies, and the possibility of movement in socialist states towards democratization and deconcentra-

tion. All of these themes are well integrated into the analysis of the three variables (underdevelopment, the seizure of power, and the 'received' ideas) but could each benefit from a book review of its own. This bears some witness to the theoretical complexity of the volume that cannot be demonstrated in a short review.

This volume is not part of the mainline debate over problems of underdevelopment. Rather, it takes the concept of underdevelopment as a given (a problematic assumption in and of itself) and uses it to analyze the obstacles that state socialist societies are so obviously experiencing worldwide by theorizing the historical experience of these states. The authors go a long way to countering the New Right's superficial assessment of socialist ideology as inherently flawed because of the present problems. As such, this is an important and worthwhile book.

Glenn H. McKnight  
Queen's University

Gavin Smith, *Livelihood and Resistance: Peasants and the Politics of Land in Peru* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Oxford: University of California Press 1989).

ANTHROPOLOGISTS HAVE BEEN STUDYING peasants for sixty years, and we are still not certain who they are or how to do it. A well-known, but persistent, difficulty which plagues modern anthropological studies of the peasantry is where to focus critical analysis, a problem which has expressed itself in different ways. First, there was the difficulty of distinguishing who was a peasant and who was not. Second, anthropologists trained to study supposedly discrete, small-scale societies could not always distinguish the peasant community from the multi-layered network of economic and social relationships with other non-peasant sectors. In short, it is hard to decide whether to examine the peasantry, in Teodor Shanin's classic formulation, "as an economy," "as a class," "as a culture" or as "an object of

policies of the modern state."

For better or worse, any number of anthropologists have examined some of these issues while holding others constant, at least for the purposes of scholarly analysis. But such analytical conventions are untenable when one attempts to understand peasant resistance. In times of conflict, all problems of understanding peasantries demand equal attention. To his credit, Gavin Smith has tried to address directly these issues in his recent work.

Smith's study examines conflict over land and herding rights in the Andean highland community of Huasicancha, located in the Department of Junin, Peru. His research was conducted in 1972-1973 in Huasicancha and among Huasicanchinos who had migrated to Lima, to Huancayo (the departmental capital), and to the mining center of La Oroya, located on the highway which links Lima and Huancayo. Smith supplemented his ethnographic fieldwork with archival research and a 1981 follow-up study in Huasicancha and Lima.

The primary scope of Smith's study is the four decades preceding Huasicancha's successful 1972 recuperation of land taken by neighboring haciendas. Although the author attempts to extend his research to the pre-Inca past, the most self-assured and convincing portions of the book draw on Smith's personal knowledge of Huasicachinos.

The first three chapters set the theoretical and historical context of the investigation. Smith's primary concern is to outline the major social institutions of Huasicancha and to show how these community institutions were usurped and modified by non-community political entities: the indigenous Huanca, the Inca Empire, Spanish colonial authorities, and Peruvian hacendados.

Smith's theoretical contribution derives directly from his intimate and detailed knowledge of Huasicachino lives, data which he shares in Chapters 4 and 5. The author revels in the messy reality of daily life, following selected individuals

as they become — in turn — highland farmers, tenant herders, wage workers, and petty entrepreneurs all in the course of a life-time. Such a range of activities defies neat classifications and that, Smith argues, is as it should be.

In Chapter 6, Smith claims it is incorrect "... to disaggregate social relations of production in a very strict sense from the entire process of social reproduction because such reproduction requires investment on the part of members in political and cultural resources for the maintenance (or expansion) of those conditions." Livelihood and community, therefore, are indivisible, and particularly so during times of conflict. Thus "... a political struggle ... becomes as much a part of social reproduction as does the more daily struggle for livelihood. And people can be expected to mobilize around such issues." In the remainder of the book, Smith describes the Huasicachinos' efforts to recover land from neighboring haciendas, arguing that understanding the culture of opposition must be grounded on specific, local events and circumstances. Smith contends, in the same vein as the recent work of Eric Wolf, that, "Lack of sensitivity about historical and local specificity make global theories of underdevelopment and schematic theories of class analysis as unsubstantial as they are glamorous."

Drawing from his fieldwork, Smith has done a superb job of conveying the complexities of Huasicashino livelihood. His descriptions of how families co-ordinate economic activities in confederations of household, of the details of squatter invasions, and of the struggle between comunero and hacendado for grazing lands are informative, crisp, and engaging.

Placing these social dynamics in a historical context, however, requires more than just sensitivity; it also requires careful attention to historical methods, documentation, and comprehensiveness. If the strongest sections of Smith's study draw on his ethnographic fieldwork, the weakest result from his poor historical research. Historians criticize anthropolo-

gist repeatedly on this count, and rightfully so. Once Smith chose to extend his diachronic scope back to prehistory (and there was no inherent reason he had to), it became his job to be thorough.

The sections on the pre-Conquest Mantaro Valley ignore the results of a major research project which has produced important and readily available information on the pre-Inca Huanca and the Inca presence in the Mantaro Valley (D'Altroy 1981; D'Altroy and Earle 1985; Earle et al. 1980; Hastorf 1983; La Lone 1978). There are fine pieces of scholarship — such as the writings of Guillermo Lohman Villanueva, Luis Miguel Glave, John Murra, Florencia Mallon, Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, Karen Spalding, Nathan Wachtel, and many others — which serve as both models and standards for the pursuit of Andean social history. Smith clearly is aware of such approaches, but instead chose to draw on generalized, secondary sources, thus producing a simple silhouette of Colonial society which lacks the rich detail of the ethnographic discussions.

Consequently, Smith falls into his own trap: in overlooking more recent and more detailed ethnohistoric and historic materials, Smith relies on generalized reconstructions about key aspects of the Andean household, the corporate group (ayullu), and traditional leadership (kurakas), and thus lacks the very historical and local specificity which he claims is essential.

Smith's use of more recent documentary materials is often weak and occasionally flawed. The discussion of Karen Spalding's 1973 article is really based on her 1975 article. It seems odd that Smith should ignore Thomas Davies Jr.'s (1974) *Indian Integration in Peru 1900-1948* and Steve Stein's (1980) *Populism in Peru* since both of these books are directly relevant to Smith's research. It is curious that Smith refers to Juan Martinez-Alier's work only in passing, since Martinez-Alier has written about herders' conflicts

in the same area at the same time as Smith's study. Most disturbing of all, however, is Smith's tendency to provide incomplete and virtually useless references to archival materials. Individual documents are not specified, but only identified as to which archive they are from. It is impossible to know which document Smith is referring to unless one is willing to completely redo his historical research. It is also surprising that the University of California Press did not insist on full references for the historical materials. Accurate references are more than an academic nicety: they are the first step to independent verification.

Gavin Smith's fine ethnographic study is marred by the weakness of the historical research. This is unfortunate because Smith's basic point is sound: studies of resistance must achieve a balance between broad sweep and microscopic detail. Gavin Smith has written an important study of the recent dynamics of economy and society in Huasicancha, but we still lack a comprehensive historical view of work and struggle in the lives of Huasicachinos.

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Baruch Hirson, *Yours for the Union: Class and Community Struggles in South Africa, 1930-1947* (London and New Jersey: Zed Press 1989).

COMMUNITY STRUGGLE has often been central to the history of South Africa in the twentieth century but not often to the writing of it. Until very recently 'labour' and 'community' seemed as though they had been excised from the body politic because scholars viewed them as separate spheres, with 'labour' imprisoned in trade unions, and 'community' counting for little beyond township limits. The real issue of South Africa was the apartheid state. Radical scholars analyzed changes in racial policy as balancing the interests of

state, capital and white labour; all these adjustments were the product of white consensus, easily translated into a new policy initiative. Such adaptations were responses to changing economic conditions (note also Gorbachev's initiatives in the U.S.S.R.) not to what the people were doing. African resistance was considered irrelevant, or marginal, because organizations like the African National Congress (ANC) and the CPSA (Communist Party of South Africa) were proscribed, crushed and rendered impotent. They forgot 'labour' and the 'community'.

Since the Soweto riots of 1976, the subject of Hirson's first book in 1979 (again with Zed Press), the South African government has had to make adjustments in the face of grass-roots resistance. When Piet Botha proclaimed 'we must adapt or die', he was not responding to G.N.P. figures or international pressure, or uttering mere rhetoric. He was responding to the protest of black trade unions, to bus boycotts, to stay-at-homes and various other manifestations of peoples' resistance. This resistance has been a common feature of community life in South Africa since the Great Depression; Hirson, political activist and prison graduate, now makes it visible in this book, one which covers the most intensive period of urbanization and migration in the subcontinent's recent past. He has uncovered a wealth of previously inaccessible material and married it with the secondary literature to produce a study of what he calls "the making of the African working class in South Africa ...." (ix)

With such an introduction it is not surprising that he very quickly invokes the name of E.P. Thompson, and shortly after that the word "consciousness" enters the text — "consciousness" being created in community struggle, in "the yard, the street and the neighbourhood, as well as the workplace." (x) But the entire epistemological and methodological edifice comes crashing down at the end of the Foreword when he states "I have avoided extensive polemic in the belief that the

facts speak for themselves." (xii) There the comparison with Thompson ends!

What follows is a narrative of the struggle and a study in failure. The CPSA is criticised for its missed opportunities: "passivity in the face of popular action had become part of its hallmark." (161) The ANC is berated for being a tool of the petty bourgeois "torn between their liberal mentors and their anger at the inferior position to which they were relegated" (6) and unable to identify with, or really interest itself in, the plight of the proletarian masses. (When Hirson introduces us to the details of the Alexandra township bus boycotts at the end of World War II, he reminds us of the absence of ANC President Xuma — a potential buyer of the bus company? — and the presence of white liberal academic Hilda Kuper.) The black trade unions are not spared either, although the author acknowledges the almost insuperable problems they faced in this period, stemming from the conundrum, "They had no legal standing, although they were not illegal." (37)

This is not a romantic view of the struggle, as one of the last chapters on the 1946 Mineworkers' strike testifies. Facing the full brutality of the South African state and Chamber of Mines, the African Mine Workers Union was "shattered" and other black unions were eclipsed. While other scholars have seen the strike as the end of workerism and the beginning of working-class politicisation (ANC working class alliance) Hirson sees no such thing (although he makes no mention of the historiography): after 1946 "the workers would play only a subordinate role in the struggle against the state, and the political initiative would be grasped by the petty bourgeoisie inside the ANC." (183) This seems much closer to the truth.

The title of the book comes from a letter written by an irrigation worker in the northern Cape in 1944. His words are on the book's sleeve: "We are thirty-one workers; we want to form a union." Willie Bosiambe and his co-workers never did form their union because of the bureau-

cracy and internecine wrangling of CNETU (the Council of Non-European Trade Unions). It is this story which captures the essence of Hirson's account: how the enthusiasm and potential of 'labour' and 'community' resistance were not tapped by the leaders. Part of the problem, though, was the failure to bring together the two arenas of resistance — the township and the factory. Small victories occurred, but they were rare.

*Your's for the Union* does not attempt to glorify the South African struggle but it does show the dynamism of the shantytowns and the reserves, a dynamism untapped by the organizations that were meant to channel such energies. Hirson, in his closing sentence, blames the "failure of leadership." While this is undoubtedly the case, it is also true that the options of the "leadership" were severely circumscribed by the pernicious nature of the South African state. While the author endeavours in a couple of chapters to integrate class struggle and political economy, for the most part 'labour' and 'community' are separated or abstracted from wider social relations. This is still, however, a very rich book for labour historians, with much new material and cogent historical reconstructions.

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David H. Plowman, *Holding the Line: Compulsory arbitration and national employer co-ordination in Australia* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989).

ONE OF THE MAJOR LIMITATIONS of traditional industrial relations study has been its neglect of employers, both at the individual and collective level. In Australia this trend has been particularly apparent, with the vast majority of industrial relations research concentrating upon trade unions and compulsory arbitration. This book goes part of the way in filling this gap. Based on the author's Ph.D. thesis,

the book examines the factors that led Australian employers to form national co-ordinating organizations, and the reasons for the adoption of different forms of co-ordination over time.

Organized chronologically, the book analyzes the development of national employer co-ordination over eight distinct periods. The book begins with an examination of the formation of employer associations during the late nineteenth century (1890-1906). While established initially to counter union organization, the author points out that such associations gained permanence following the introduction of compulsory arbitration, which they successfully limited through parliamentary and industrial action. In contrast, the second chapter analyzes the period 1907 to 1920, in which the Central Council of Employers Associations (CCEA) failed to limit the expansion of federal arbitration under the leadership of Justice Higgins, and sectional associations undertook their own industrial work. In the third section (1921-1929), the author examines attempts by the CCEA to improve employer co-ordination in the face of union exploitation of the dual state-federal arbitration system, and the growing centralization of wage determination under national test-cases. The fourth chapter (1930-1939) deals with the Depression years and their aftermath, highlighting changes in employer attitudes to arbitration based on fluctuations in the labour market. Chapter Five covers the War and post-War periods (1940-1949), in which suspicion of government Wartime intervention and the perceived threat of socialization under a Labor administration aided employer unity and led to increased political lobbying by the Australian Council of Employers' Federations (formerly the CCEA). During the 1950s (Chapter Six), attempts to form a central Confederation of Employers failed, and with the rise of a conservative government much of the impetus towards centralised co-ordination was lost. In Chapter Seven, the author analyzes movements towards greater

unity during the 1960s, including the formation of the National Employers' Associations (NEA), the first continuing body for employer co-ordination. The author argues that because of the successes of this machinery in containing wages costs through arbitration, unions were forced to pursue wage increases outside the system. In the final period (1973-1988), the author analyzes the formation of the Confederation of Australian Industry, formed in part by the recentralization of wage determination and also in response to the rise of national industry associations. Employer divisions continued through the formation of rival organizations.

There is little doubt that this work makes a major contribution in documenting the development of national employer organization in Australia. Further, its analysis of the development of the arbitration system from the perspective of such organization is both original and informative. However, the book does have a number of limitations.

Perhaps the most apparent, is the lack of theoretical analysis of employer organization and behaviour. There is no mention of the broader overseas literature on employer organization, and by the end of the book readers are left to draw their own conclusions about what this history implies about employer behaviour generally. For example, throughout the book the author touches upon the reactive and divided approach employers adopted to industrial relations policy and practice. In particular, united action was commonly limited by fundamental intra-employer divisions. One measure of this was the way differences in tariff policy between manufacturing and commercial and rural employer interests undermined co-ordinated action. Similarly, the author demonstrates the way in which employer attitudes to state intervention, particularly compulsory arbitration, varied over time according to changes in the labour market and the relative bargaining power of labour and capital. While such research goes a long way to refute determinist interpre-

tations of employer behaviour and provides a more complex picture, these issues are never explicitly analyzed outside of their impact at particular points in time.

What is emphasized is the analysis of structure. This is dealt with in the concluding chapter, "Models of National Employer Organisation," which seeks to categorize the various structural types of employer organization that developed over time. While this is helpful in comprehending the frequent changes that occurred, it also emphasizes the essentially institutional nature of the book. The impact of labour and the state upon employer behaviour are reduced to exogenous factors affecting particular forms of employer organization. A more integrated analysis of these relationships would have been more enlightening.

Overall, this book makes a valuable contribution to an understanding of the development of Australian employer organization. While it reinforces the traditional emphasis in this country towards the study of centralized industrial relations institutions, it does so in a well-written and thoroughly researched manner. An analysis of the literature on employer organization, and perhaps some comparison with overseas experience, might have given the book a broader appeal.

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Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *A History of Japanese Economic Thought* (London: Routledge and Nissan Institute for Japanese Studies 1989).

NOW THAT JAPAN has achieved the unquestionable status of world economic player, if not leader, its economic policies and thought must be paid attention to. To monitor and understand one's own national economy must now mean to pay attention to what Japan is up to. The Japanese have proven they have something to contribute to the world's discourse on economics. So Tessa Morris-Suzuki con-

cludes in her text, a book designed to introduce the Western reader to the historical lineage and substantive contributions of Japanese economic thought.

The merit of this book is that it is a solid comprehensive introduction to the major economic thinkers in Japan from the Tokugawa period (seventeenth century) up to the present. Short biographical sketches and outlines of material conditions and political policy situate individual thinkers in a historical narrative. For a beginner this is a helpful, well-organized introduction; the text draws the historical contours of economic debate around those who contributed to those debates. Citing directly from these thinkers, Morris-Suzuki offers the English reader rare glimpses into Japanese texts and wets one's appetite for more. She makes these economic theorists, by and large absent from Western knowledge, heard and proves that they do have something to contribute to a global discussion of economics.

But as text-book, Morris-Suzuki's work suffers from reductive simplification, teleological positioning and an absence of contentiousness. The story is too developmental, too linear and too easy. Beginning with Tokugawa Japan, Morris-Suzuki's story charts the early thinkers on economy — Keisai Saimin — during the period when Japan purposefully cut itself off from international interaction. Morris-Suzuki draws her first reductive and teleological link by immediately connecting the harmonious natural order of Chu Hsi Confucianism to the future self-regulating order of neo-classical economics. The structure of Tokugawa Japan, challenged by the unintended consequences of the system designed to preserve the political community, was forced to contend with an increasingly capitalized money economy and impoverished rural economy. The economic thought of this period was defined by contemporaries as Keisai Saimin which Morris-Suzuki translates as "administering the nation and relieving the suffering of the people." (13) Eco-



nomics was from its inception therefore "inescapably bound up with questions of justice, law and morality." (12) But Morris-Suzuki leaves the discussion there. Throughout the rest of the text as she draws out the economic issues and thinkers from the Meiji Restoration through post World War I Marxian economics, the ascendancy of militaristic nationalism, post World War II recapitalization and the current 'economic miracle' of extraordinary growth, she centers the presentation on the twin peaks of Marxian economics and neo-classical capitalism. The overarching issue is state control and government intervention versus a free, self-regulating market — the Western divide of economic thought and policy. If Morris-Suzuki is intent on revealing Japan's unique contribution she could have served her objective better by returning to the project Japanese economics defined for itself at the outset. Keisai Saimin is a particularly unique position of economic thinking, quite different from Western equivalents. If Morris-Suzuki had focused on the moral imperatives and nationalistic dimension of this paradigm she might well have escaped the Western divide of economic thinking. This would have served to explain the presence of Marxian economics in the 1920s and 1930s alongside militarized nationalism, controlled capitalism, family controlled zaibatsu and contemporary mega-companies.

As it stands, Morris-Suzuki's historical narrative reduces the complexity of Japanese thought to what it seems she wants to redress; that is, she offers the story of Japanese economic thought as an adaptive gloss to Western dualisms rather than exploring how, from its inception, Japanese economic thought was posed in a particularly different direction. From the beginning Japanese economic thinking was defined in terms of a tension between protective guardianship and productive progress and this tension is manifested in Japan embracing both state directed industrialization, Marxian opposi-

tional positions, new corporate structure of Keiretsu (large firms allied with large banks) and environmental economics. Dissolving this Japanese tension into the Western rubric may make Japanese economic thinking more accessible to a Western audience, but it does so at the expense of revealing what may indeed be the unique contribution of Japan's economic history.

This text is constantly looking forward; every writer establishes the foundation of the next, every idea is the precursor of the next. Every chapter or section ends with a teleological connection. The thinkers of the inter war years laid the foundation "for a renaissance of economic thought in the years following Japan's defeat in 1945," (102) while the post World War II "occupation reforms proved unwittingly to have laid the basis for the phenomenal economic expansion of the 1960s." (106) Given this seamless web it is difficult to account for the presence of conflict, particularly of the type that threatened the neo-classical model that Japan has so clearly adopted. Morris-Suzuki's presentation of contestation is cursory and insufficient. The persecution of the political left beginning in 1938, the student riots of the 1960s and the suppression of worker militancy and trade union activity are mentioned alongside Marxist economic theorists; indeed an entire chapter is devoted to Marxian economic theory. But there is no sense of profound or actual contestation — the sources of critique are blips in the larger story of capitalist development in Japan. This historical inevitability provides the type of thread that makes this a text book.

As the text develops it becomes more list-like and somewhat less historical. The chapters offer a series of sketches of significant thinkers and their significant contributions. The historical context gets lost and that means the reader loses sight of the issues at stake as neo-classical economic theory appears to gain ascendancy. Morris-Suzuki assumes the success of modern capitalism in Japan and does not

explore how Japan appropriated capitalist enterprise. That story is complete with deep intellectual turmoil that in this presentation does not exist. How Japan reconciled its nationalism, its ethnocentrism and exclusionary position to participate in a Western-defined trading system is not part of the history of economic thought here. Again, this would have aided Morris-Suzuki's project of exposing Japan's world contribution.

Morris-Suzuki does conclude the text with a discussion of two particularly innovative thinkers. From the crisis in economic thought of the late 1970s have emerged Imai Kenichi (1931) and Sawa Takamitsu (1942). Imai Kenichi argues that the contemporary condition is an economy of information; this commodity demands small-scale production and new non-market links which will forge an information network that will serve to better integrate the community. Against this optimistic picture is the pessimistic picture of Sawa Takamitsu who argues that this

information economy is too transient to be real. This egoistic economy is the creation of a new selfishness that has supplanted individualism; the result has been a "hollowing of the economy." (194) Only global cooperation can remedy this hollow system. These examples of critical thinking are the contemporary evidence that Japan does have something worth listening to in the field that is world economics. But there is more evidence than that.

Japan's contribution is the story of its economic development — how it arrived, seemingly late in the game, to a world trading network and mastered it so successfully that now it rivals the country responsible for its forced entry. How Japan balanced private interests and the profit motive with the imperative of *Keisai Saimin* is a story and a contribution that, in this text book, is absent.

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