

Book reviews: *Interface* volume 6(2)

Reviews editor: Mandisi Majavu

Assistance with editing: Bjarke Skærlund Risager

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Doherty, Brian and Doyle, Timothy. (2014). *Environmentalism, Resistance and Solidarity: The Politics of Friends of the Earth International*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke. Reviewed by Eurig Scandrett.

Dupuis-Déri, Francis. (2013). *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs? Anarchy in Action Around the World*. Toronto: Between the Lines (224 pp; \$22.95). Reviewed by Gary Roth.

Corley Íde, Helen Fallon, and Laurence Cox (Eds). (2013). *Silence would be treason: Last writings of Ken Saro-Wiwa*. Dakar/ Bangalore: Daraja/ CODESRIA/ Books for Change. Reviewed by Amanda Slevin.

Keniston, B. (2013). *Choosing to be Free: The Life Story of Rick Turner*. Johannesburg. Jacana. (276pp.; R220). Reviewed by Richard Pithouse.

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Manfred Steger, James Goodman, and Erin Wilson, 2013. *Justice Globalism: Ideology, Crises, Policy*. London: Sage. Reviewed by Ariel Salleh.

Hall, Gwendolyn. (Ed.). (2012). *A Black Communist in the freedom struggle*. University of Minnesota Press: Minnesota.

Bloom, Joshua & Martin, Waldo, JR. (2013). *Black against empire: The history and politics of the Black Panther Party*. University of California Press: Berkeley. Both reviewed by Mandisi Majavu.

Flesher Fominaya, Cristina. (2014). *Social Movements and Globalization: How Protests and Occupations are Changing the World*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan (230pp; £24.99)

Reviewed by **Catherine Eschle**

This is a timely and useful book, offering an authoritative overview of scholarly literature on globalisation and social movements alongside a near-exhaustive survey of recent examples of activism, ranging from the Global Justice Movement, to the so-called Arab Spring, to Occupy. While there are many other, more detailed, book-length treatments of aspects of this theoretical and empirical terrain (e.g., Della Porta 2014; Della Porta 2007; Macdonald 2006; Guidry et al, 2000), it seems to me that Flesher Fominaya's contribution is unique in both its breadth and in its temporal focus. Her empirical discussion remains particularly fresh while also having sufficient distance to gain some analytical purchase on what now appears, as the book convincingly claims, to be "a global wave of protest". As such, the book will surely be invaluable to undergraduate and postgraduate students seeking to navigate the fast-moving waters of social movement politics. Activists outside the academy may also find the book of interest because of the way it puts recent struggles into a deeper and broader context, highlighting continuities as well as differences with activism in other parts of the world and over the past two decades.

Opening with the claim that "[c]ontemporary social movement politics provide an ideal lens through which to examine some of the central debates about globalization" (p.1), the book proceeds in chapters 2 and 3 to unpack both of its key terms and their interrelationships. Chapter 2 surveys key conceptual issues in ways that are thought-provoking, albeit unavoidably partial and incomplete. Flesher Fominaya does not systematically cover the main approaches to theorising social movements, which is a shame as this would have been useful for those students using the book as an introduction to the field. Rather, her treatment of social movement scholarship prompts readers to take more seriously the "latent" dimensions of movements and the ways activists "prefigure" the world they want to bring into being, as well as urging us to extend our focus beyond social movement organisations (SMOs) and to broaden our understanding of social movement impact and success beyond government policy change – this latter point being one to which Flesher Fominaya returns repeatedly throughout the book.

The subsequent discussion of globalisation literature is organised around key debates, although where Flesher Fominaya sits on some of these is not entirely clear. She certainly seems sceptical about some of the stronger claims made for the emergence of a global civil society or shared values worldwide, and to hint at the need for a more nuanced and empirically-grounded approach to the complexities and contradictions of globalisation. Chapter 3 then surveys the empirical dimensions of globalisation, primarily in economic terms but also

encompassing institutional, environmental, military, cultural and technological developments, with the discussion of each highlighting the ramifications for social movement politics. This chapter closes by helpfully seeking to distinguish transnational networks from global movements (although I, for one, wonder if Flesher Fominaya's definition of the latter is linked too closely to the empirical specificities of the global justice movement), and by drawing attention to the variety of transnational-national-local movement linkages and transborder diffusion processes.

Chapters 4-8 of the book turn to the empirical cases or issues in which Flesher Fominaya is most interested and an expert, and on which non-academics may want to focus their reading. Certainly, for most readers it will be here that the book really takes off, as the insights flow thick and fast. The global justice movement is the subject of chapter 4 and while there are no real surprises here (except, perhaps, in the rather limited coverage of the Zapatistas), the analytical typology of autonomous and institutional branches of the movement is a useful contribution and sure to provoke debate, as is the discussion of the movement's key distinguishing features. Chapter 5 on "cultural resistance" then does an excellent job in highlighting the importance and ubiquity of cultural forms of movement politics without abstracting them from material concerns and contexts. Flesher Fominaya provides many examples of cultural tactics, ranging from lifestyle politics to culture jamming, and also of recent movements around the world that she considers to have linked the local, national and global in their cultural strategies.

If this section (pp. 103-112) could benefit from more analytical clarity in terms of the local/national/global framing, and of exactly how the movements chosen are comparable or divergent, there is no doubting the rich, suggestive empirical detail – on anti-roads protests in the UK, global SlutWalks, YoMango in Spain and Mujeres Creando in Bolivia, among others. I also particularly like the discussion of the literature emphasising the limitations of cultural resistance (pp.99-102). While acknowledging that satire or culture jamming and the like may be restricted in their reception and effect, or become routinised, Flesher Fominaya is pointedly critical of any approach that by "adopting ... an instrumental view of cultural resistance, [and] by focusing exclusively on a narrowly-defined and externally imposed understanding of 'impact', overlooks the much broader importance of cultural resistance for social movements and the importance it has for activists themselves" (p.102).

Chapters 6 and 7 are for me the strongest of the book, providing the most balanced evaluation of different theoretical approaches and the clearest and most original analytical contributions. Turning to social movements and communications technology in chapter 6, Flesher Fominaya examines competing claims about activist use of more conventional mass media, argues that both activists and analysts should move beyond that focus to examine the production and dissemination of counternarratives through ICTs, and provides a fascinating discussion of the opportunities and limitations of the new technologies, and of the strengths and weaknesses of movements focused on

them, such as Indymedia and Anonymous. From my perspective, as someone unfamiliar with such debates and with the newer technologies, this is all very illuminating. I am much more at home with the material covered in chapter 7, which surveys the “global wave of protest” since the global financial crisis of 2007/8. But this chapter too provides some fascinating material and arguments.

I like Flesher Fominaya’s decision to begin her discussion with the little-analysed Iceland case, and the ways in which her subsequent treatment of the northern African uprisings, the Spanish *Indignados* and the Occupy movements brings out the specificity of each as well as some of their commonalities. Flesher Fominaya concludes that these movements, taken together, constitute a global wave of protest - one typified by shared anti-austerity and pro-democracy frames, by the tactic of occupying public space and by the global circulation of information and identities (pp.183-4). Her most important claim, it seems to me, is that this wave differs from the global justice movement which preceded it in terms of its focus on the responsibility of national political classes for the economic crisis and on reclaiming state democracy (p.187). From the perspective of my location in Scotland, less than two months after an independence referendum which mobilised thousands in pursuit of an alternative to austerity politics and greater democracy, Flesher Fominaya’s claim is particularly resonant.

Overall, this book should be required reading for those social movement scholars and students seeking to make sense of recent developments in movement politics within a global frame. It will surely be a useful teaching aid on many courses. It is certainly possible to quibble, as I have above, with some of Flesher Fominaya’s analytical treatments and empirical choices. I also think the book would have benefited from more extended introductory and concluding chapters, as these are rather brief, and from more careful editing at a few points where the writing, and particularly the paragraphing, could be clearer. But it is hard to argue with the breadth of Flesher Fominaya’s ambition or of her knowledge. This book is at its best when Flesher Fominaya is synthesising diverse examples of recent movement activism and when she is staking out her own position on a particular academic bone of contention. There is much here for readers, and particularly students of social movement politics, to get their teeth into, to think about, and to continue debating for many years to come.

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About the reviewer

Catherine Eschle is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Government and Public Policy at the University of Strathclyde, Glasgow. Her research and teaching interests converge on social movements in/and global politics, with particular reference to feminist theory and activism. She is the author, with Bice Manguashca, of the book *Making Feminist Sense of the Global Justice Movement* (Lanham, MA: Rowman and Littlefield, 2010) and she has recently been pursuing several interconnected research projects on anti-austerity, anti-nuclear and pro-independence movements in Scotland. Email: Catherine.eschle AT strath.ac.uk.

Brian Doherty and Timothy Doyle. (2014). *Environmentalism, Resistance and Solidarity: The Politics of Friends of the Earth International*. Palgrave Macmillan: Basingstoke

Reviewed by **Eurig Scandrett**

At the World Social Forum (WSF) in Mumbai in January 2004, there was a breakaway forum called Mumbai Resistance (MR). The reasons for the split were complex, but included MR's accusation that the WSF was too dominated by Northern NGOs as well as front organisations for the Communist Party of India whose Left Front West Bengal government at the time was challenged by grassroots movements for its murderous land grabs and corporate collusion. WSF on the other hand argued for a principled nonviolent, anti-militarist stance, which prevented participation by groups engaged in armed struggle with whom some in MR were allied. The apparent split between social movements / civil society and people's movements / uncivil society perplexed some foreign grassroots movements who found themselves allied to groups on both sides of the rift. At a meeting called by these movements with representatives from both sides, two or three international NGOs were sufficiently trusted to facilitate communication. One of these was Friends of the Earth International.

This gives an indication of the exceptional location of Friends of the Earth International (FoEI) between civil society and people's movements, and which Doherty and Doyle categorise as a Social Movement Organisation. FoEI is a (con)federation of some 70 autonomous national Friends of the Earth (FoE) groups across the world, most of whom existed well before electing to join FoEI. The original four FoE groups in USA, France, Sweden and the UK formed FoEI in 1971, and Doherty and Doyle chart the development of the federation from then to the 74 groups at the time of their research, which was conducted primarily between 2004 and 2008.

The growth in membership, particularly since the 1990s, has come from groups in the Global South who now constitute about half of the members. The relationship between North and South is a major theme in *Environmentalism, Resistance and Solidarity* as the authors explore differences that have largely fallen along North/South lines and how they have been negotiated within the federation. Indeed, their research took place at a crucial time in FoEI, in the aftermath of the resignation from the federation of Acción Ecológica / FoE Ecuador. Acción Ecológica accused FoEI of being too conciliatory towards multinational corporations at the 2002 Johannesburg Earth Summit, and blamed this on the dominance in the federation by groups from the North. Doherty and Doyle were able to witness much of the soul searching that resulted from this resignation, observe the Strategic Vision and Planning Process which sought to build unity of purpose whilst respecting diversity amongst members, and have been able to interrogate the implications of this for multinational social movement organisations.

I was employed by FoE Scotland between 1997 and 2005, thus at the time of the *Acción Ecológica* resignation and during some of the period this research was conducted. A colleague of mine collaborated with *Acción Ecológica* after the resignation. My boss, FoE Scotland's Chief Executive Kevin Dunion, was Chair of FoEI between 1996 and 2000. Despite (or perhaps because of) this I was only distantly aware of the anxious debates going on in FoEI. Nonetheless some of the tensions which Doherty and Doyle analyse through North/South negotiations resonate with those experienced within FoE Scotland and elsewhere.

Doherty and Doyle's particular interest is in the politics of international environmental organisations and especially how the interactions between North and South are played out. In this respect FoEI is an ideal case study, especially during the period of their research. They regularly contrast FoEI with the other major international environmental groups, Greenpeace International and WWF (World Wildlife Fund / Worldwide Fund for Nature), considerably richer organisations which operate with far more centralised and corporate structures, and which are politically reformist. The authors are clearly sympathetic with FoEI's positioning (and this sympathy, as they point out, nearly cost them their research grant) although perhaps understandably reluctant to locate themselves with respect to the controversies within FoEI.

The received wisdom is that groups from the Global North are typically more reformist, technicist or conservation-oriented and operate largely as lobbying organisations within states with liberal democratic governments, seeking concessions within, rather than transformations of political structures. Southern groups are by contrast typically more politically radical, mobilising and providing legal and technical support to indigenous and oppressed communities to enable them to confront the corporations and states that are perpetrating environmentally damaging activities. They often work within less democratic governmental systems and advocate transformations to social, economic and political structures. They are far more at risk from state-sponsored or corporate violence and persecution, and whilst no FoE groups advocate violence, some in the South find themselves on the same side as groups engaged with armed struggle.

This tension between Northern liberal environmental lobbyists versus Southern radical environmental justice movement lies at the heart of the post mortem negotiations following *Acción Ecológica*'s departure. Doherty and Doyle acknowledge that whilst there is some truth to the North-South categorisation, the reality is more complex. Both approaches, and variations on these, can be seen in the North and the South, and even within national groups – as I experienced myself as an environmental justice advocate in FoE Scotland. Doherty and Doyle thus explore the complexities and nuances of the various positions through a series of clear and valuable analyses.

The book charts the history of the federation and the development of what the authors call the FoE Tradition: the range of ideologies within FoEI and the practices through which it negotiates its differences and mobilises its common

identity through collective campaigns. They locate FoEI within the diversity of environmentalist NGOs and other activist movements, and explore the modes of operation within the local, national, regional and international context. The focus is on the relatively small group of internationalist activists that maintain the contact between different national groups within FoEI. They point out that the focus of FoE groups is always primarily national, whether in reforming or implementing national legislature or else challenging national elites or the local impacts of multinational practices. Because of this focus, the international work of the federation tends to be pursued by those groups and individuals who are committed to - and can afford the costs of - such engagement. Drawing on geopolitical and social movement theories, Doherty and Doyle seek to analyse the ways in which the federation manages to hold together not only different ideologies of environmentalism, but also straddles divisions between NGOs and people's movements; professional research-based lobbying and grassroots mobilisation; insider participation in international negotiations and outsider street protests; as well as between Northern lobbyists and Southern environmental justice movements. They therefore categorise FoEI, not entirely convincingly, as a "hybrid network" between a first-generation NGO of professional lobbyists and a second-generation network of direct action anarchists.

This tension is well illustrated in their account of the discussion which took place within FoEI about the economic programme in FoEI strategic plan, where some groups (most notably Latin American) insisted that "resisting neoliberalism" should be included in the wording, whilst others (mainly European) rejected this language as alien to their constituencies. The ultimate title of the programme 'Economic Justice, Resisting Neoliberalism' reflected a clumsy compromise which left some groups in both the North and the South feeling uncomfortable. However, as the authors later suggest, this duplicity over the current neoliberal phase of capitalism and its diverse implications, and whether it can be resisted in some parts of the world and neglected or even accommodated in others, remains an uneasy truce within the federation.

The analytical tools applied in the book are very clearly articulated and useful. Doherty and Doyle explore themes such as the distinction between frame and ideology; the politics of governance versus emancipation; democracy versus community and explore the density of interconnections between groups along linguistic and regional lines. They categorise regional variations between environmentalist discourses using the "three posts": post-material, post-industrial and post-colonial. This is a helpful heuristic for analysing the geography of ideological positions within environmental organisations although it also appears ironically to dehistoricise the relationships between them – most colonialism was, after all, a practice imposed by countries of the North on the South. The authors analyse in some depth two international campaigns: one on food sovereignty and one on climate change as implemented in the different national groups of the North and the South. The authors argue that, to some extent, differences between North and South have been accommodated by

increasing amount of work conducted within regional blocs. In Europe this gives some coherence but risks neglect of the region's colonial legacy.

Some of the book's most significant insights relate to the tensions over neoliberalism, in which the "influence of post-colonial thinking on FoEI's positions has led it to champion the value of a diversity of cultures and the importance of local communities as sites of resistance." (p. 202). Arguably, FoEI is in a position to unite such diverse experiences of neoliberalism as resisting the privatisation of urban space and the market in carbon credits in the North, and of biopiracy and land grabs for mineral extraction in the South. However, a crucial question is missing: to what extent are those FoE groups, predominately in the North, that avoid mobilising against neoliberalism and instead focus on lobbying liberal democratic institutions for reforms towards environmental protection, actually colluding with neoliberalism? At its most recent Biennial General Meeting in Sri Lanka (October 2014), FoEI's debates on 'system change' criteria were grappling with this question.

As political scientists, the authors are interested in political questions of legitimacy, democracy and accountability, cosmopolitanism and solidarity. They pose questions about neoliberalism in terms of its relevance in liberal democracies or more repressive regimes. Starting at the other end of this problematic however begs the question of what contribution FoEI might make to forging a movement with a realistic challenge to neoliberalism (or at the very least the environmental inequalities resulting from it), and which of the multiple modes of protest in the FoEI repertoire is best served to achieve this? Supporting local communities in judicial and extra judicial actions; lobbying parliaments and intergovernmental polities; street protests and nonviolent direct actions; creating alternative structures of production and consumption; alliance building with (which) social movements? Most Southern approaches come closer to such a strategy whilst many Northern groups, benefiting from their (post)colonial ecological-debtor status, are somewhat incorporated by capitalist hegemony.

About the reviewer

Eurig Scandrett is an educator and activist who, after an initial career in environmental research, spent 15 years in community education and campaigning on environmental, peace and gender issues. He was Head of Community Action at Friends of the Earth Scotland. He currently teaches sociology at Queen Margaret University, Edinburgh and researches environmental justice struggles in Scotland, India and Palestine. He is convenor of Scottish Friends of Bhopal and chair of Friends of the Earth Scotland.
escandrett AT qmu.ac.uk

Dupuis-Déri, Francis. (2013). *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs? Anarchy in Action Around the World*. Toronto: Between the Lines (224 pp; \$22.95)

Reviewed by **Gary Roth**

Francis Dupuis-Déri's defense of the Black Bloc is disarming in its subtlety. "The Black Bloc," he tells us, "is not a treatise in political philosophy, let alone a strategy." For Dupuis-Déri, it is simply "a tactic" (p. 3). But tactics too, as John Berger once pointed out, are often wedded to implied philosophies and unarticulated strategies. Besides, the very purpose of *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs?* is to give voice to Black Bloc participants. They explain in their own terms why these "ad hoc assemblages of individuals or affinity groups that last for the duration of a march or rally" have been ever-present during the last few decades (p. 2). They have emerged as something of a cultural icon. Known for their characteristic use of black clothing and face masks, Black Bloc participants tend to be deeply ethical and deliberate in their decision-making, although not usually in ways appreciated by their many critics and opponents. This speaks to the huge gap that exists between the portrayal of the Black Blocs in the media and the self-consciousness of those who take part in them.

Black Blocs have influenced public discourse out of proportion to their actual size, which has ranged anywhere from a few odd individuals to several thousand people who coalesce at demonstrations seemingly from nowhere and then disappear just as anonymously. Dupuis-Déri traces their roots to West Berlin's squatter movement of the early- and mid-1980s. He acknowledges too that they are more properly considered a form of struggle specific to this new century. They are part of the same general trend as the "occupation of squares" that stretches from the Arab Spring to Spain's *Indignados* to Zuccotti Park, the Maidan in the Ukraine, and more (*Endnotes* Collective 2014). Black Blocs have been a feature of the alter-(anti-)globalization protests of the last decade and a half and have now evolved into a regular component of virtually every popular movement in recent years.

The notoriety that accompanies the Black Blocs derives from their deliberate pursuit of "symbolic economic and political targets" (p. 33). Large corporate entities and government buildings are sought out almost exclusively. In the urban areas where the Black Blocs have been active, this means the chain stores, with bank facades and the window fronts of well-known retail outlets such as Starbucks and Gap receiving special attention. In some places, public buildings in central city locations have been preferred instead. In either case, the Black Blocs direct their violence towards inanimate objects, overpriced articles of consumption, and ineffective and corrupt ruling strata, where "the target is the message" (p. 43). As Dupuis-Déri explains, the Black Blocs have modernized and also revitalized the anarchist doctrine of "propaganda of the deed." The Blocs have been rather scrupulous to avoid small businesses, community centers, homes, and libraries, a pattern that itself gives a clue as to the

worldviews that form their political sensibilities. Violence against people is taboo (except when responding to police violence), whereas their critics, as Dupuis-Déri points out with numerous quotes, tend to defend people and things as if these were equivalent categories.

If property damage defines the Black Blocs in the public's eyes, the Blocs regularly assume other functions at demonstrations. This has included the hauling of food and water to the protest sites, arranging transportation and lodging for out-of-town demonstrators, providing medical support, and serving as a protective barrier that shields non-violent protestors from the police and security forces. On some occasions, they have helped divert official attention from protest sites by creating a ruckus in another area. Because the Blocs function as affinity groups, on-the-spot coordination comes easily. The groups are anti-hierarchical, with decisions reached through consensus. They are capable of making tactical choices in conjunction with other groups, even though their ad hoc formations tend to preclude negotiations that get overly complicated.

One doesn't wander into a Black Bloc accidentally. Participants are typically veterans of previous protests and have received training in direct action tactics and ethics, legal issues, and safety measures. Many of them object to individuals ("activism tourists") not already a member of an affinity group, since their exclusion cuts down on provocateurs and other violence-prone individuals (p. 102). Black Bloc participants often come equipped with shields, helmets, gas masks, and anti-tear gas cream in order to protect themselves from police attacks, and with chains, locks, rocks, clubs, slingshots, and Molotov cocktails to counteract police aggression.

The Blocs now come in multiple colors. Besides the Black Blocs who are known primarily for their trashing of downtown areas, Red Blocs are clusters of leftists still supportive of hierarchical organizations and state-dominated social systems. White Blocs refer to the exclusive use of non-violent tactics. Pink Blocs are generally the most colorful, since they combine antics, art, and satire. A "Billionaires for Bush and Gore" contingent protested the 2004 Presidential election campaign in the United States with formal attire and fake banknotes distributed to police officers in thanks for their role in suppressing dissent. At another demonstration, protestors carried fishing poles with donuts as bait in an attempt to lure the police to them. Examples like these offer Dupuis-Déri ample opportunities to discuss the nuances of Black Bloc beliefs and practices.

Symbolism aside, the Black Blocs are demonized by police, political officials, scholars, journalists, and also other leftists, which Dupuis-Déri documents extensively despite the overall brevity of his book. The mis-characterizations projected towards the Black blocs are both crude and predictable, as: thugs, vandals, anarchists, trouble-makers, prone to violence, a mindless minority, soccer rowdies, proto-fascist paramilitaries, and more. The critics from the left are the most difficult to fathom. The Black Blocs tend towards a mixture of "Marxism, radical feminism, environmentalism, anarchism" (p. 24). Despite this, two issues come to the fore repeatedly—violence, whether directed against

property or the police, and the refusal to follow the dictates that government officials and the security forces set down for protestors.

For the Black Blocs, “peaceful methods are too limited and play into the hands of the powers that be” (p. 38). They are anti-establishment and reject a notion of representation which presupposes homogeneous communities. This undercuts other groups by limiting their ability to step forward as “people’s representatives” and thereby influence public policy. The Blocs, on their part, have been accused of hiding amidst non-violent demonstrators, a criticism that hit home. In recent protests, they have been overly conscientious about not letting this occur. Opponents also accuse them of antagonizing the public, even if just the opposite seems to be true. Black Bloc activity tends to boost interest in anarchist ideas and activities. Some Black Blocs have called for a “diversity of tactics,” a matter not well received by these other groups, despite the divide between spokespeople who denounce the Blocs and everyday protestors who want something more than just a peaceful, respectful protest that is easy to ignore.

Dupuis-Déri picks apart just about every negative characterization hurled at the Black Blocs, one of the several strengths of his book. The “propagandhi” of non-violent activists is his special focus. Sometimes, though, he gets lost in arguments not quite germane to contemporary reality. He reaches back to the 1500s, for instance, to show that not just anarchists but also dissenting Christians targeted the royalty for assassinations. Since assassinations haven’t been part of the anarchist tradition for nearly a century already (despite the mythology), the entire discussion becomes a bit unreal. He also relativizes anarchist violence by pointing to the troubled and often bloodied track record of liberalism. His overly brief discussion of the two traditions glosses over significant differences in which the latter’s violence is a product of its use of the state as a means to consolidate and defend its rule, whereas anarchism has rarely ever been tested on that score.

Perhaps most disturbing is Dupuis-Déri’s discussion of the cathartic effects of violence, its psychological benefits. Reminiscent of the pseudo-scientific justifications used by fascists and devotees of brutal sports, violence becomes a form of creative expression. Dupuis-Déri speaks in terms of “restorative violence” (p. 85). These are dangerous ideas, and to say that “emotions are rooted in a social context and a political experience” is only to say the obvious (p. 90). Even overlooking the fact that emotions are also innate, what else could they be except socially-generated and constructed?

What can be said, and which Dupuis-Déri emphasizes with great effect, is that Black Bloc anarchists are much more conscientious about the use of violence than are the many and various security agencies arrayed against them. Police violence is mostly random and unprovoked, directed not only at the Black Blocs but at non-violent demonstrators and bystanders alike. Anarchists are categorized as “pre-terrorists,” subject to intense surveillance, and heavily infiltrated (p. 150). Masking both hides Black Bloc participants and also makes infiltration easy. But also, because they fight back, the police are more hesitant

to abuse and brutalize protestors. The Black Blocs both draw and repel repression.

If Dupuis-Déri pushes his discussion further than necessary, it's because he wants to dissect every possible criticism made of the Black Blocs. Some discussions might have been carried further. Gender dynamics is one such area. Dupuis-Déri is quite conscientious in describing women's roles within the Black Blocs. All the same, the Blocs remain overwhelmingly young and male, precisely the demographic that defines violence in society at large. He mentions that anti-fascist blocs tend to be predominately male, while anti-racist blocs attract a preponderance of females. These are the sorts of differences that he might have pursued in much greater depth.

Dupuis-Déri considers the Black Blocs to be “an image of the future” (160). It's an image, however, that is clad in black and masked. It is an appropriate metaphor as well for Dupuis-Déri's *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs? Anarchy in Action Around the World* – a view of things to come that one can't quite discern clearly but only watch in action. Uneven in parts, it is nonetheless highly informative and provocative throughout.

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About the reviewer

Gary Roth is the author of *Marxism in a Lost Century: A Biography of Paul Mattick* (Brill/Haymarket: 2014/2015) and co-author with Anne Lopes of *Men's Feminism: August Bebel and the German Socialist Movement* (Humanity Books: 2000). garyroth AT andromeda.rutgers.edu.

**Íde Corley, Helen Fallon, and Laurence Cox (Eds). (2013).
Silence would be treason: Last writings of Ken Saro-Wiwa.
Dakar/ Bangalore: Daraja/ CODESRIA/ Books for Change**

Reviewed by **Amanda Slevin**

For Ken Saro-Wiwa, silence would not only be treason – it was simply not an option. In a land devastated by the consequences of badly managed oil exploitation, Saro-Wiwa and his comrades in the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) were not prepared to see people and place continue to suffer. And they paid the ultimate price for their struggles. Despite widespread national and international condemnation, on November 10, 1995, Ken Saro-Wiwa, Saturday Dobee, Nordu Eawo, Daniel Gbooko, Paul Levera, Felix Nuate, Baribor Bera, Barinem Kiobel, and John Kpuine (the Ogoni 9) were hanged by the Nigerian military following a sham trial.

In killing the nine men, the Nigerian government inadvertently focused greater attention on the concerns underpinning the men's activism, namely the environmental, social, and economic destruction wrought through decades of oil production in Ogoniland and the wider Niger Delta region. Oil spills in environmentally sensitive areas impacted on entire communities, destroying livelihoods and traditional ways of life while creating significant health, environmental and social problems. Massive profits created through prolific oil production rarely meant benefits for communities in which operations were based and there was "no discernible trickle down" for around 30 million people living in the Niger Delta, many of whom survive on less than a dollar a day (O'Neill, 2007). The ensuing protests against social and environmental injustices, poor corporate practices, and negligible wealth redistribution were met with state and private actor force, resulting in mass human rights abuses, lasting injuries, and the murder of innocent people.

A renowned author, businessman, and winner of numerous prestigious awards, Ken Saro-Wiwa had been galvanised by these and other issues, becoming a leading figure in MOSOP. In this book edited by Corley, Fallon and Cox, we can read a previously unpublished account of the latter years of Saro-Wiwa's life recorded through his letters and poems to Sr. Majella McCarron, an Irish missionary nun with whom he had become friends. By putting in print this correspondence that Sr. McCarron donated to the National University of Ireland Maynooth (NUIM), Corley, Fallon and Cox bring to light Saro-Wiwa's final years spent in prison on fabricated murder charges.

Contributions by different authors augment a remarkable collection which illuminates various facets of Saro-Wiwa's life and the political and socio-economic climate influencing his activism. A Foreword by Nnimmo Bassey, writer, and co-ordinator of Oilwatch International and director of the Health of Mother Earth Foundation, depicts Saro-Wiwa and his wider social and political environment. Written as someone with firsthand experience acquired through activism and his relationship with Saro-Wiwa and Saro-Wiwa's family, Bassey's

foreword provides a background necessary to better understand Saro-Wiwa's commitment, actions, and the forces against which he struggled.

The first chapter by Helen Fallon paints a picture of the friendship between Sr. Majella McCarron and Ken Saro-Wiwa while outlining how McCarron gifted to NUIM prized resources detailed within the book. Fallon discusses aspects of McCarron's life in Nigeria and gives insights into an extraordinary woman who generously donated treasured possessions, likely due to the significance of these resources for social movements, academia, and other groups.

In his chapter, Laurence Cox extends the multiple levels of essay inherent to this book beyond Nigeria, highlighting how "the curse of oil" is evident in other countries, including Ireland. His comparisons with Norway, "a rare exception" (p.32) to the too-common story of resource mismanagement feeding conflict, corruption, and class inequalities, makes for a helpful contrast to Ireland and Nigeria, while illustrating how resources can be managed for the benefit of wider society, rather than elite groups. The articulation of similarities between Ireland and Nigeria in terms of state-capital relations, and the use of state coercion to repress dissent, is useful for reminding us of the actions powerful and entwined entities can take to protect their interests when confronted by social movements. This chapter does not overwhelm with the enormity of such issues, rather it motivates and inspires the reader, particularly with its emphasis on civil society participation in protest and the differences national and international solidarity can make in changing outcomes for communities and societies.

Cox likens Saro-Wiwa to Antonio Gramsci and there are obvious similarities, including immeasurable political and literary contributions, and wrongful incarceration in appalling prison conditions by dictatorial regimes. The appropriateness of comparing Gramsci and Saro-Wiwa is most apparent when one begins to read Saro-Wiwa's letters and poems. Saro-Wiwa's letters are multifarious – they illuminate his personal hopes and wishes, they contain strategies for MOSOP in tandem with plans for his release from prison, they critique the Nigerian state and its relationship with Shell. Saro-Wiwa's letters to Sr. Majella reveal a special human being, yet one not without flaws. At times, his letters truly move the reader through his reflections and recollections of his family, community and society. His letters also bring hope – hope in human strength, social movements, and humanity itself – while creating awareness of the strength of human spirit in the face of much adversity.

A strength of this book is its ability to illuminate conflicts and complexities within the multiple layers of societies – from the macro level of the Nigerian state and its relations with corporate interests amid a backdrop of environmental devastation inflicted on the Niger Delta, through the meso level of community organising, to the impact on individual's lives as they struggle to affect change. The prominence of the individual is accentuated through Saro-Wiwa's accounts, raising pertinent questions for those of us engaged in and/or studying social movements – how do the individuals who comprise social movements sustain themselves when facing extreme situations which can be

overwhelming to others? How do people maintain hope and inspiration when pitted against powerful structures that conspire to smash opposition? What enables activists to maintain the personal strength and perseverance necessary to affect change?

Saro-Wiwa's letters point to a person with such abilities and strengths, and this is just one of the many reasons why they are motivational. This book offers insights into an inspiring character who, when facing imminent death, remained a committed and passionate activist, displaying humility, love, deep and critical understandings. His letters also illuminate his conscientisation, which Freire describes as "learning to perceive social, political and economic contradictions and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (1996, p. 17).

Taking a broader perspective, the letters elucidate some tactics used in attempts to weaken social movements, for example extreme state coercion, and the removal of MOSOP's leaders through arrests, violence, or being forced into hiding, which impacted on the Ogoni people and the development of MOSOP (letter dated July 13, 1994). Bassey also signposts these matters, emphasising how Saro-Wiwa had regularly lamented that MOSOP had not sufficiently equipped the "generality of the Ogoni people for the struggle. This is a signal for all who are engaged in mass mobilisations and movement building" (p. x).

This book accurately portrays the situation in the Niger Delta in the early 1990s and is valuable for its attention to the emergence of MOSOP and the roles Saro-Wiwa played in its development. It would have been interesting to consider those topics in a modern day context. While Bassey refers to a recent United Nations assessment that emphasised the polluting activities of oil companies and their catastrophic impacts, this book could have benefitted from a chapter detailing the current situation.

Attention to Nigerian political economy, specifically the state-corporate nexus evident in the oil sector, would be useful for illuminating the continuation of questionable practices and serious consequences while further problematizing the activities of the Nigerian state and oil companies. The Ecumenical Council for Corporate Responsibility (ECCR) (2010) describes the Niger Delta as one of the most petroleum polluted environments in the world, a situation relatively unchanged since Saro-Wiwa's time. Given the social pressures generated by MOSOP and groups such as the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), how has this state of affairs continued? Why haven't environmentally damaging deeds, including failures to replace leaking pipes or the continuation of gas flaring, ended? Furthermore, considering the Nigerian state is directly involved in oil production through its national oil company, and receives higher rates of taxation than countries such as Ireland, why hasn't that wealth been distributed?

A 2010 ECCR report emphasised that benefits from oil industry operations in the Niger Delta have been outweighed by "very considerable local human and environmental costs" (p.5). Shell, which remains active in Nigeria and has become the largest international oil company, is heavily involved in generating

these outcomes. But how has Shell continued to wield such power, and create such negative effects, after decades of struggle against its activities? And on the topic of resistance, what is now happening with MOSOP? It would have been interesting to consider how MOSOP developed after the murder of some of its leaders, and examine how it relates to organisations such as MEND, in order to gain insights into the status of movement participation and organising in the region.

Through its careful attention to Ken Saro-Wiwa and the context in which he lived and affected change, Corley, Fallon and Cox's book raises questions like the ones stated above about the modern day situation in Nigeria. Of course, a greater focus on contemporary issues may have distracted from the aim of this book: to bring to public attention for the first time letters and poems created by an astounding activist; thus providing valuable opportunities for reflection and learning.

In conclusion, this is an important book. A fusion of different views and experiences, this book creates insights into Saro-Wiwa as an activist, and as a human being experiencing love, pain, loss, sorrow and hardship during his incarceration away from his family, friends and fellow activists in the MOSOP. It also documents a socially, politically and historically significant era and is a critical reminder of the potency of social movements and the forces against which they struggle.

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About the reviewer

Amanda Slevin is a sociologist who conducted her PhD research on the Irish state and its model of hydrocarbon management. She lectures in the School of Sociology, University College Dublin, and works in the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland as an Assistant Director (Academic Affairs) on the SPHeRE Programme. Email: amanda.slevin AT ucd.ie

Keniston, B. (2013). *Choosing to be Free: The Life Story of Rick Turner*. Johannesburg. Jacana. (276pp.; R220)

Reviewed by **Richard Pithouse**

Rick Turner, a philosopher and a committed and effective radical, was assassinated in Durban, South Africa, in January 1978. Turner had, along with Steve Biko who was murdered in police custody in September 1977, been a leading figure in what came to be known as “the Durban Moment”. The phrase, which was first coined by Tony Morphet (1990), refers to a period in the early 1970s in which Durban became a site of significant political innovation in the struggle against apartheid, innovation that was conceptualised and organised outside of the strictures of the exiled African National Congress (ANC) and South African Communist Party (SACP). Morphet argued that “the Durban Moment” enabled a “structural shift in the received intellectual patterns of the social world” (1990, pp. 92-3). It also had enduring political consequences of real significance (Macqueen, 2014; Webster, 1993).

The Durban Moment had direct links to the student rebellion that had leapt from city to city - from Prague to Paris to Cape Town and Mexico City – in 1968, as well as the black power moment in the United States and anti-colonial struggles elsewhere in Africa. Like the rebellions in 1968 the Durban Moment was closely linked to the university. Biko was a medical student at what was then the University of Natal while Turner was employed in the politics department¹ in the same university. The bulk of the people that cohered around these two charismatic men were students.

Biko and Turner, who had a warm personal relationship, were both animated by the kind of charisma that enables others to come to voice and action as autonomous personalities. Turner is remembered as a gifted teacher who used Socratic methods to encourage his students to come to their own conclusions (Greaves, 1987; Macqueen, 2014).

In striking contrast to modes of leftism in which radical postures are implicitly taken as an end in themselves, even when they are unable to attain any sort of meaningful political efficacy, Biko and Turner were both highly effective political actors. Biko was a key protagonist in the emergence of the black consciousness movement, an event of real political weight and consequence (Gibson 2011; Mangcu, 2012), and Turner was an important protagonist in the alliance between radical students and workers that produced a powerful black

¹ With important exceptions in some of the historically black universities academic philosophy in South African universities has often taken a form that is narrowly analytic and far removed from any concern to advance a philosophy of praxis. Radical ideas have often fared much better in history and sociology departments (and on occasion in anthropology and literature too), and where radical philosophy is engaged in the academy it has and remains more likely to be in a politics department than a philosophy department.

trade union movement that played a central role in bringing down apartheid (Friedman, 2014; Webster, 1993).

Thinkers like W.E.B. du Bois, Aimé Césaire, Julius Nyerere and Frantz Fanon were central to the philosophical foundations of the young black intellectuals that made the black consciousness movement (More, 2014). For the young radicals that cohered around Turner, many although certainly not all of them white, Western Marxism (Gramsci, Marcuse, etc.) was central (Nash, 1990). But there were significant overlaps in the intellectual influences of the circles around Biko and Turner. Jean-Paul Sartre was a primary philosophical influence for Turner (Fluxman & Vale, 2004; Greaves, 1987; Macqueen, 2014) and an important thinker for Biko and other intellectuals in the black consciousness milieu (More, 2014). In a profoundly unfree society the form of radicalism at the heart of the Durban Moment was characterised by a choice, an immediate choice, to assert freedom against oppression. Paulo Freire was another thinker whose work was pivotal to both of the political projects that made the Durban Moment. The Freirean aspect meant that, at least in principle, there was a shared commitment to dialogical modes of engagement with people outside of the university based on an aspiration to mutuality and reciprocity. This was in direct contrast to various forms of leftism that, then as now, were rooted in the idea that an enlightened vanguard would bring politics to the people who, at best, were capable of “spontaneous” protest in an almost biological response to deprivation or repression.

The Durban Moment was a brief opening, a period of just a few years, that was swiftly crushed by state repression following which authoritarianism forms of leftism reclaimed some of the political space that had been opened by more participatory and democratic modes of militancy. Forty years later, with the ANC having turned to outright repression to contain popular dissent and, with the partial exception of Julius Malema’s Economic Freedom Fighters, authoritarian modes of leftism unable to sustain productive connections with escalating popular protest, there is growing interest in the Durban Moment and in Turner’s commitment to participatory democracy (Turner 1972; cf. Fluxman & Vale, 2004).

There are some important academic articles and theses on the Durban Moment and on Turner’s life and thought. But Keniston’s biography of Turner is the first book length examination of the Durban Moment from the vantage point of the present. Xolela Mangcu’s 2012 biography of Biko is largely grounded in Biko’s life in the Eastern Cape and doesn’t offer a full illumination of Biko’s life in Durban. Keniston’s book is also the first book length study of Turner.

Keniston’s book has often been read, and on occasion reviewed (e.g. Egan, 2013), together with Beverley Naidoo’s superb and beautifully written 2012 biography of Neil Aggett, a trade unionist who died in police custody in 1982, as well as, more recently, Glen Moss’s valuable contribution, *The New Radicals* (2013). Naidoo and Moss both offer important accounts of the white left in Johannesburg that, although rooted in the student movement, found its political vocation in the trade union movement. Both books enable us to think the

Durban Moment as an event with national consequences. But the comparisons with the better written and more politically sophisticated books by Naidoo and Moss do not flatter Keniston's work. In Keniston's introduction and conclusion his attempts to reach towards poetic insight fall rather flat. Moreover the author is not able to sustain a consistent fidelity to the democratic radicalism that he wishes to affirm.

Nonetheless a biography of Turner is certainly a welcome event and for those unfamiliar with Turner's life the book does provide a useful account of its subject's life and political work. Keniston does not aim to provide a sustained account or exploration of Turner's philosophical work and so criticism of the book on the grounds of this absence is unfair.

Unusually for a biography much of this book is made up of a collage of interviews, long quotes and documents. This can be a lazy way of working that absolves the writer of taking on the sort of responsibility to his or her subject that Naidoo's recent book on Neil Aggett achieves with luminous grace. But in this case collage seems to work. A clear picture of Turner emerges and as the book reaches its climax the narrative that emerges from the collage of materials attains a real emotional power. Perhaps there is something to be said for a method in which the author edits, or perhaps even curates, more than writes. Certainly this method does allow a variety of voices to emerge.

But of course the editor or curator is not absolved of the political responsibility for making choices about what is included, and how. Keniston's primary political project is to bring out the stakes in the difference between democratic and authoritarian modes of leftism and to place Turner firmly in the democratic camp. Early in the book he quotes Sartre describing the French Communist Party as "putrid" and noting, that "we were never sure that they weren't in the process of slandering us somewhere" (2013, p.31). Keniston develops a sustained critique of what one of his interviewees calls "gutter Marxism" (2013, p.133) and what he calls the "cold", "mechanistic" and "crudely rational" Marxism of Stalinism and Leninism that, in his estimation, is "merely a tool to organise large masses of people – to seize and exercise power" (2013, pp.232-234).

In his generally positive review of Keniston's book Eddie Webster, in his youth a protagonist in "the Durban Moment", offers two critiques. The first is Keniston's claim that Turner's support for the official registration of black trade unions was an instance of clear contradiction between Turner's political ideas and his practices. Webster argues that, on the contrary, this position made perfect strategic sense as "Turner was exploiting the contradictions inherent in the apartheid workplace and, in the process, winning space for democratic worker organisation" (2014, p. 149; cf. Friedman, 1985). Elsewhere in the book Keniston demonstrates some awareness that abstract ideas about radical politics do not always fit well with actually existing political realities, including actually existing forms of solidarity and organisation. He quotes a former student radical explaining that when the idea of setting up a formal organisation was first proposed in a meeting between workers and students it turned out, to

the surprise of the students, that the workers' first priority for the new organisation was that it should provide funeral benefits. But Keniston's position on the registration question seems both ahistorical and to confuse the easy assertion of abstract political principle outside of any historical or organisational context with the altogether more difficult work of making the strategic choices required to sustain actually existing forms of mass mobilisation under a repressive state.

Webster's second critique of Keniston's book is perhaps more interesting. He argues that the new political culture that emerged in Durban around Turner's charisma had a serious weakness, one that Keniston doesn't address – an "ignorance of the existing national political tradition" (2014, p. 150). On two recent occasions Webster, speaking at Rhodes University, has recalled a survey run by white radicals in Durban in the 70s with the aim of determining who black workers considered to be their leaders which threw up a name (Moses Mabhida – a Communist who had been a leading activist in Durban in the 1950s) that was unfamiliar to the white left. Webster recalls that the response of Alec Erwin, once seen as something of a guru in some left circles in Durban, was not to take seriously his alienation from popular politics but, rather, to attempt to reinscribe his authority by declaring that the survey had to be fraudulent. This is a telling anecdote with regard to a city, and indeed a country, where more than forty years later there are still people on the middle class left, often but not always white, in which even rigorously researched accounts of organisational and intellectual political practices in a popular sphere beyond the reach of the middle class left continue to be dismissed, on an *a priori* basis, as romantic or even fraudulent.

Keniston makes an important point when he insists, in the conclusion to his book, that "the ultimate erasure of Turner's ideas is to insist that they have been assimilated into the movements after his death" (2013, p. 234). The same point could be made with regard to Biko. But his concluding remark, that today the problem is that "the organisations of the liberation struggle have gained so much power that nothing much else has room to breathe" (2013, p.234) erases both the real struggles that have been waged from below, and in recent years with enough force to provoke a wave of assassinations of grassroots activists in Durban, and the undeniable fact that the authoritarian left has often been part of, rather than opposed to, the elite power bloc that has sought to expel these struggles from the domain of the political.

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About the reviewer

Richard Pithouse teaches politics at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, South Africa. He can be contacted at indianoocean7 AT gmail.com

Hancox, Dan. (2013). *The village against the world*. Verso Press: London. (pp. 252).

Reviewed by **Kenneth Good**

This review is based on the book by Dan Hancox, *The Village Against the World*, published in 2013 by Verso in London. The village in question is Marinaleda in Southern Andalusia, and its most prominent representative is Juan Manuel Sanchez Gordillo---its elected mayor since 1979. They arose together in the wake of the collapse of Fascism in Spain in the 1970s. Marinaleda is only some 2,700 people, but it is located in a region steeped in socialism and anarchism, with the latter not just a theory but a popular mass movement. Gordillo was 21 when first elected, and has been regularly re-elected competitively. Never a member of the Communist Party, he says that he is “a communist or communitarian” with his political beliefs “drawn from a mixture of Christ, Gandhi, Marx, Lenin and Che [Guevara]” (p. 13). For over three decades, he and the *jornaleros*, or landless day labourers, have struggled to build a veritable socialist utopia in Marinaleda. Such aims and determination placed them in opposition to the liberal capitalism, with its unemployment, homelessness and indebtedness, dominant almost everywhere. How they have done this, and largely succeeded in their aims, is relevant to social movements and protest action elsewhere.

In contrast with protest movements like Occupy Wall Street, the Marinalenos believe in the primacy of organisation: “before utopia,” and the land seizures and other actions that gave birth to this utopia, “came organisation” (p. 73). This organisation combined orthodox electoralism with strong, innovative, direct and participatory, democratic forms and practices. General assemblies, usually attended by 200-400 people, held weekly or more frequently when issues were pressing, debated spending and resource allocation, with simple “hands up” voting. For Hancox, this constitutes “the heart of village life” (p. 77).

The founding organisation, significantly, was a trade union, the *Sindicato de Obreros del Campo* (SOC), established in 1976, to respond directly to the precariousness of Andalusian rural life (p. 75). Three years later, a political party, the Collective for Workers’ Unity (CUT), was founded as a “partner organisation to SOC” by the rising *jornaleros*. Running as an “explicitly anti-capitalist” party, it won 78 per cent of the vote in the first free local elections in 1979, against the then centre-right party of the transition, the Union of the Democratic Centre. CUT has “maintained an absolute majority on the council ever since” (p. 76). The assembly, open to all workers regardless of political affinity, together with SOC and CUT, expressed for Gordillo the “power of poor people against the power of the rich”, popular “counter-power” (p. 76).

Back then, in Andalusia, about 50 per cent of the land was owned by two per cent of families. In August 1980 the village embarked on a “hunger strike against hunger,” to inform the nation of the situation in Andalusia. The tactic and the timing represented for Hancox a “brave and canny choice.” The normal

repression utilised by the Guardia Civil and the government would not work in this situation: nothing could silence, in Gordillo's words, "the voice of hundreds of empty stomachs..." The summer heat was then peaking above 38 degrees every day, and it was a perfect opportunity to win national media attention, as the mayor proclaimed that they had received "neither a telegram, nor a call...from the out-of-touch politicians busy sunning themselves on the beach."

Men, women and children were going without food. With doctors on hand just in case, they met every day at the assembly to decide whether or not to continue, and to discuss the messages that increasingly arrived. Utilising his charisma and growing notoriety, Sanchez Gordillo was "leading the *pueblo*, as much as it was leading him", notes Hancox. As the strike wore on, sympathy strikes occurred in neighbouring *pueblos*, and assemblies elsewhere discussed occupations and demonstrations. Eventually Spain's labour minister, Salvador Sanchez Teran and Seville's civil governor returned from holiday, and announced a payment totalling 253 million pesetas (or some \$1.6 million) for the Andalusian unemployed "to last until the December olive harvest", as Marinaleda had demanded (pp. 80-84).

Ideas and direct action went together, expressing the anarchist tenet of the propaganda of the deed. Marinalenos declared their belief in "the sovereignty of food" as a human right: natural resources, Gordillo stressed, should be at the service of the communities of those who work them, which in turn necessitated substantial land reform. At the front of the mega-estate owning nobility in Andalusia was the Duchess of Alba, said to be worth some 3.2 billion euros, in receipt of 3 million euros a year in EU farm subsidies. Another was the Duke of Infantado, four times over a Spanish grandee, and owner of 17,000 hectares in Andalusia. Sanchez Gordillo proposed the expropriation of 1,200 hectares of his land, an area known as El Humoso. The damming of the Gentil river would irrigate a large area, providing 250 families with jobs. Feasibility studies supported this plan. In 1985, SOC labourers from Marinaleda and two nearby *pueblos*, started to occupy this almost idle land, used then for only wheat and sunflowers, looked after for its absentee owner by a few caretakers (pp. 6, 96).

For Hancox, this was land reform from below, through patient and peaceful direct action. Each morning the people of Marinaleda marched the ten miles from the village to El Humoso and in the evening they walked back, "in a stream four or five people wide and several hundred long." This continued for a month interspersed with "countless lawsuits for trespassing, roadblocks and related incidents". They carried out over 100 occupations of El Humoso during the 1980s, at one point camping there for three months. The approach of the 1992 Seville Universal Exposition intensified the official hype of civic pride, and Marinaleda took their fight to the regional capital, where they were hit by water cannons. But with tens of millions already spent on this high-profile vanity project, with many valuable tourists anticipated, the village finally broke the Andalusian government's resolve. After long negotiations behind closed doors, they were granted the 1,200 hectares in 1991. The Duke was quietly paid off by Seville, and the people of Marinaleda became landlords: for the first time, says

Hancox, Andalusian farm labourers got the land that was rightfully theirs (pp. 96-99).

This was a foundational success, but substantive reform required much more--big changes in farming practices and the development of an extensive democratic cooperative. Marinaleda believed in the unity of work and the autonomy of the pueblo, and land ownership could now make a reality of this idea. The Duke's lands gave employment to a tiny few, when regional unemployment was around 36 per cent, and Marinaleda had a history of 65 per cent of its people being without work: at the time of Franco's death, 90 per cent of *jornaleros* had to feed themselves and their families on only two months of work a year (pp. 11,118). In sharp contrast with the owners of the great estates who planted wheat which was harvested by machine, the Marinaleda cooperative selected crops that needed the greatest amount of human labour to create as much work as possible. "Our aim", said Gordillo, "was not to create profits, but jobs." Any surplus was reinvested to create more jobs. Everyone in the coop earned the same wage: 47 euros a day for six and a half hours of work. This was more than double the Spanish minimum wage. Workers participated in decisions about crop selection and harvest timing. This was not mere subsistence farming--the bulk of El Humoso's produce was sold outside the village. When Sanchez Gordillo visited Venezuela in 2012, he persuaded the government of Hugo Chavez to buy olive oil from Marinaleda, reputedly of high quality (pp. 79, 115, 122).

Private ownership is an accepted part of socialist village life, with some seven privately owned bars and cafes. If anyone wanted to open a little family business of any kind, Hancox was told, no one would stand in their way. The *casitas*, 350 self-built family homes, constitute "one of the village's greatest achievements." Each house normally incorporated three bedrooms, bathroom, living room, kitchen and courtyard. The regional government provides the basic material for the houses and architectural assistance; the villagers build the houses themselves and pay a nominal 15 euros a month as a so-called mortgage. Legally the cooperative owns the houses, but residents were free to renovate as they wished. The main point, Hancox was told, was to ensure that no one had the opportunity to accumulate capital or to speculate on their property. The common facilities were equally good. "We believe that public well-being should never have a limit," Gordillo said in 2012. Private well-being should be limited, but "the well-being of a collectivity should be limitless." Wireless internet was free. Swimming in the public pool costs three euros a year. The child day-care centre costs 12 euros a month, and the children eat there. Evening classes in Spanish were offered to the village's small emigrant population, mostly British. The cooperative had its own TV station, and no police force exists in the village.

Marinaleda's main achievements appear to lie in three interrelated areas: it is not leaderless, it has from the start stressed democratic organisation and specifically the power of organised workers, and it has endured for decades, not just months or years. Edgar (2013) agrees and notes Slavoj Zizek's warning to Wall Street Occupiers in October 2011: "There is a danger. Don't fall in love with

yourselves...carnivals come cheap. What matters is the day after, when we will have to return to normal lives.” He sees too that socialist Marinaleda has “defined the fabric of the normal life of its residents, day after day, for 30 years” and Gordillo has been continuously re-elected as mayor against a functioning opposition. Edgar (2013) stresses that “things don’t have to work completely or forever” in order to have meaning.

Recent studies have recognised the contrasting style and performance of the Occupy movement in the United States. The movement made, notes Sandbu (2013), “a conscious choice to forswear a concrete policy agenda” and the political alignments that would accompany it. It was strong on what it was against, the plutocratic one per cent, but weak on the detail of what it was for, and weaker still on the bridging of the gap. Nonetheless it seems right to say that, in the conservative climate of the United States, no campaign has done more to “thrust inequality on to the political agenda”, turning in the process the “we are the 99% into one of the most resonant slogans in campaigning history” (Chakraborty 2012). After reading this literature, Sandbu is left with the feeling that “Occupy wasted its chance as a political movement.” It could have put its “people power” behind a number of clear and present political issues, such as tax reforms and mortgage debt, but embraced instead supposed procedures of participatory democracy in large open spaces, such as the “people’s microphone” (the crowd repeating speakers’ words). These concerns seem somewhat frivolous compared with the life and death struggles for democratisation and justice in Spain.

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About the reviewer

Kenneth Good is an adjunct professor in global studies RMIT University, Melbourne, and visiting professor in political studies Rhodes University, Grahamstown. He can be contacted at [kenneth.good AT rmit.edu.au](mailto:kenneth.good@rmit.edu.au)

Manfred Steger, James Goodman, and Erin Wilson, 2013.
***Justice Globalism: Ideology, Crises, Policy.* London: Sage.**

Reviewed by **Ariel Salleh**

This slim volume is public sociology at its best. It is empirically grounded, politically astute, and urgent in subject matter - amplifying global justice movement responses to the international crises of finance, food, and climate. The authors are widely recognised for published work in the field of global politics and they now offer an engaging textbook; one that will prove invaluable to courses in Sociology and Anthropology, Political Economy, Human Geography, and Government.

The investigation is framed by the tension between mainstream “market globalism” versus grassroots “justice globalism” tracing the rise and maturation of the global justice movement (GJM) since the early 90s. This political trajectory moved from support for the Zapatistas, through protests against the World Trade Organization and the War on Terror, to birth of the World Social Forum (WSF) in 2001. The WSF was designed to challenge the ruling elite World Economic Forum in Davos and its slogan “Another World is Possible” regularly draws activists together in tens of thousands from every continent. The authors note that while social movement researchers have evolved from the study of local organisations to global politics, their interest has tended to stay with movement dynamics rather than ideology. By contrast, this book looks at how “Political ideologies translate the largely pre-reflexive social imaginary - and their associated social forces - into concrete political agendas” (Steger et al., 2013: 5). Philosopher Michael Freeden's work (2003) is cited as foundational.

A unique contribution of *Justice Globalism* is its approach to mapping the dimensions of ideology by a qualitative method known as morphological discourse analysis. This content analysis of activist texts, websites, political declarations, press releases, and interviews, seeks to distil core ideological concepts. In this case, the concepts are - paradigmatic change, participatory democracy, equal access to resources and opportunities, social justice, universal rights, global solidarity, sustainability. The researchers examine how these concepts inform ideological claims about the social imposts of neoliberal economies, and eventually come to inform policy alternatives and action. The alternative globalisation movement and its ideology of *Justice Globalism* is far from an instrumental alliance of single issue groups, as described by detractors.

The book is not a study of the World Social Forum as such; rather it draws on a selection of 45 politically diverse organizations active within the Forum - among them are the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Friends of the Earth, World March of Women, and Via Campesina. Sample quotes from leading cadres from a number of groups grace the chapters, revealing both the ethical and tactical discernment of individual activists. Thus: “When we say development, we talk about the eradication of poverty, we talk about gender development, equality, food security, food sovereignty ...” (Steger et al., 2013:

20). Or again: "... the financial crisis is about 160 people in a few buildings around the world who made the crisis happen through speculation" (Steger et al., 2013: 93). Or again: "What's difficult about neo-liberalism is that there is no dialogue ..." (Steger et al., 2013: 21).

The textual analysis is complemented by a computer word-count to crosscheck the qualitative study of the justice discourse. Curiously, the authors find that terms relating to racism and sexism rarely occur in these mechanical counts. They interpret these as "recessive themes," indicating a will among global activists to move beyond the divisiveness of "identity politics." The hypothesis is interesting but further research could be worthwhile.

The second part of the book demonstrates how market globalism inevitably leads to crises of finance, food, and climate. Each section has a systematic structure, describing first conditions under the neoliberal hegemony, then the range of innovative activist policy responses to it. These tend to fall under one of three political styles - regulation, autonomy, transformation.

The chapter on the Global Financial Crisis is a powerfully succinct account for the non-economist and it is worth buying the book for this alone. To paraphrase: Cost of the war in Iraq to the USA (2003-2008) - US\$ 3.3 trillion ... Total amount paid by developing countries in debt servicing 1980-2006 - US\$ 7.7 trillion (Steger et al., 2013: 89).

International instability and crisis is inevitable, given a contracting productive economy with speculative finance expanding out of control. Everywhere, governments committed to "open competition" become subject to IMF manouvres, corrupt credit rating agencies, and regional free trade agreements (which by 2010 numbered 2807). An irrational economic regime is made worse by the rise of algorithmic investment strategies or 'so-called "high frequency trading" where financial decision-making is outsourced to supercomputers, which operate on split second margins. "By 2010, high frequency trading had overwhelmed equities markets and was prompting new debates about regulation ... " (Steger et al., 2013: 87).

With ongoing Global Financial Crisis, the use of public moneys for bank bailouts might have prompted the GJM to demand the socialisation of such assets. But as the authors observe, the movements are not sufficiently politicised for this. Certainly, the Indignados and Occupy brought popular attention to the neoliberal hypocrisy of austerity policies for people and welfare for corporations. The World Council of Churches would point out that ideally, finance should be treated as a "public service." The umbrella group known as Focus on the Global South has recommended a levy on goods traded and transported more than 1000 kilometres. Across the board, the principle of subsidiarity prioritising local decision-making is endorsed by GJM activists.

GJM responses to the Global Food Crisis include calls for social and ecological transformation based on alternative forms of property ownership, lifestyle measures, new governance mechanisms, and recognition of Mother Earth rights. But real change will depend on the WSF developing from a dialogical

social movement into an effective form of political organisation. The question of what actually constitutes “political action” might have been considered in more depth here. For instance: does politics inevitably mean engagement with the nation state? Should the prefigurative “horizontalism” of projects among the autonomist Left be identified as political?

The book's taxonomy of GJM organisations adapts sociologist Castells' (1997) tripartite network model of legitimisers, resisters, and project identities. So, in terms of the Global Financial Crisis, groups like ATTAC simply want global financial regulation with a Tobin Tax on transactions; other groups want stronger nationally based initiatives, possibly a basic income scheme; others are described as seeking the “democratisation of finance.” The meaning of the latter is not very clear. Moreover, as each of these policy stands means interaction with global institutions, where does the worldwide interest in establishing local currencies or money-free gift economies fit in?

In the case of the Global Food Crisis, GJM policy responses are characterised as broader market access for the reformers; food security and sufficiency for the delinkers; and food sovereignty for transformers like the World March of Women. The emergent activist profiles for Global Climate Crisis run in parallel to this triad, being - mainstream climate action including market solutions like carbon trading; climate autonomy implying a more vigorous nation-state role; and finally, a comprehensive grassroots push for climate justice.

In selecting a framework for the analysis of GJM policy standpoints, the authors reject the conventional political distinction between liberal, anarchist, and Marxist approaches. They argue that “the process of translating the global imaginary is producing new overarching ideological formations, including justice globalism, that generate substantive and distinct alternatives” (Steger et al., 2013: 151). However, under their three preferred heads - reformers, delinkers, and transformers - use of the “delinking category” seems to pull in two contradictory directions. It may refer either to top-down initiatives by a revitalised nation-state or to bottom-up eco-sufficient grassroots sustainability projects that “resist the network through an alternative ‘communal heaven’” (Steger et al., 2013: 151). In the politics of feminism, New Left culture, and more recent indigenous environmentalism, the word “autonomy” favours the latter communitarian sense. So staying with a Liberal, Anarchist, Marxist, classification might have helped resolve this ambiguity over “delinking.” It would also enable acknowledgment of the immediately “transformative” politics of horizontalism. Another future research area, perhaps?

Justice Globalism is not a book of political theory, but it is conceptually and methodologically innovative. It is also highly recommended for its accessible, thought provoking, and synoptic treatment of a new field.

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About the reviewer:

Prof Dr Ariel Salleh is a Senior Research Fellow, DFG Group Post-Growth Societies, Institute for Sociology, Friedrich Schiller University Jena and Associate in Political Economy, University of Sydney: www.arielsalleh.info

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Reviewed by **Mandisi Majavu**

The political importance of the two books under review lies in how these works illustrate the ways in which two different generations of Black activists in the United States contributed to the Black people's struggle for freedom. *A Black communist* is a political autobiography of Harry Haywood, whereas *Black against empire* is a history of the Black Panther Party. The former is an abridged version of the original seven-hundred-page autobiography, and is edited by historian Gwendolyn Hall who was married to Harry Haywood.

Haywood was a member of the Communist Party of the United States (CPUSA). Prior to becoming a party leader in the CPUSA, Haywood spent four years in Moscow studying at the Lenin School. One of Haywood's greatest achievements was adapting Marxist-Leninist theory to the struggle against racist exploitation of Black people in the U.S. Before Haywood went to study at the Lenin School, the CPUSA regarded the struggle of Black people against racist exploitation "as basically trade union matter, underrating other aspects of the struggle" (p. 143). At the Lenin School, one of the theoretical questions that Haywood grappled with was what he, along with others, termed the "Negro question". It was through grappling with this question that Haywood arrived at the conclusion that looking at every aspect of the struggle against racism "in the light of the trade union question would lead to a denial of the revolutionary potential of the struggles of the whole people for equality" (p. 143).

In other words, Haywood argued that the struggle against racism had to be regarded as a revolutionary movement in its own right, independent of a class struggle for socialism. The Comintern in Moscow supported Haywood's position, and consequently, he convinced reluctant white communists in the U.S. that the "only road to a successful socialist revolution was by uncompromising support for the Black freedom struggle," (p. xiii).

Thus, Haywood and the CPUSA played a vital role in the organisation of the 'Free the Scottsboro Boys March' on Washington in May 1933. The CPUSA chose Birmingham as the centre for its drive into the Deep South and "as the logical jump-off place for the development of a movement among the small Black farm operators" (p. 193). In Chicago, the CPUSA led the National Unemployed Councils. In other words, Haywood's contribution to the struggle for freedom for Black people in the U.S laid a foundation for the civil rights movement in the South. It is this long tradition of protests, marches and civil disobedience that eventually gave birth to Black Power organisations in 1966.

In *Black against empire*, Bloom and Waldo trace the development of the Black Power movement, which the Black Panther Party embodied, to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Huey Newton and Bobby Seale founded the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in 1966. What gave the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BBP) its political edge is that it took the issue of police brutality, which was the major problem facing the Black community at the time, to a broader political level. Newton's and Seale's Black Panther Party identified "the police as representatives of the oppressive imperial power, an occupying force with no legitimate role in the black community" (p. 67).

As a solution, Newton and Seale proposed armed resistance as a strategy to build political power and gain leverage to redress the injustices against Black people. In addition to organising the rage of the Black ghetto into armed resistance, the Party championed "solutions to the pressing needs of the black community: decent housing, employment, education, and freedom" (p. 70). These were articulated in the Black Panther Party's ten-point programme.

What attracted Black people to the BPP was that the Party offered Black people more than a political alternative; "it promised dignity" (p. 146). The BPP dealt with exploitative landlords; the Party ran community programmes that included setting up alternative schools for Black children; it provided Black children with free breakfast and it offered free health care services to the Black community. The breakfast programmes became a cornerstone political activity of the BPP. "The Party claimed to have fed twenty thousand children in the 1968 – 69 school year and said it hoped to feed one hundred thousand in 1969 – 70" (p. 184). Further, the Party launched about nine alternative schools across the U.S, and established a series of free medical clinics throughout the country.

The politics of the Black Power movement taught White leftists in the 1960s that racism had to be fought not after the revolution but as part of "the prerequisite process of creating revolution" (Albert 1974). One of the weaknesses of the BPP, however, is that the Party had sexist and authoritarian tendencies. In *Black Macho*, Michele Wallace (1990: xxi), points out that "a brand of black male chauvinism contributed to the shortsightedness and failure of the Black Power Movement..." According to Bloom and Waldo, the Party never overcame its "masculine public identity."

The most important lesson that the books offer to activists is that it is possible to build effective, radical movements across the colour line in the most racist of places and under the worst of circumstances (Kelley 2013). Another lesson that activists could learn from these works is that although class politics are alive, "any class politics that pretend that race and also gender get in the way of class organising miss the point altogether" (Kelley 2013: 216).

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About the reviewer

Mandisi Majavu is the book reviews editor of *Interface: A journal for and about social movements*. He can be contacted at majavums AT gmail. com