



BOOK REVIEWS

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Shon Faye - *The Transgender Issue: An Argument for Justice*

(Allen Lane, 2021) €25.00

Mike Lovett

In her bestselling new book, Shon Faye has presented a deeply necessary, crystal-clear examination of the actual contemporary issues faced by transgender people, which also debunks the idea of “the transgender issue” as purely a political football. Although it focusses mostly on the UK, the book has a certain universal appeal and would provide an excellent (and accessible) introduction to anyone unfamiliar with the politics of trans liberation. Faye makes the explicit decision to speak about liberation rather than just equality because “trans people should not aspire to be equals in a world that remains both capitalist and patriarchal and which exploits and degrades those who live in it. Rather, we ought to seek justice—for ourselves and others alike.”

The facts presented in the book aren’t any great surprise—especially for any trans person—but the arguments and the politics are nonetheless valuable. This is especially true when many of the arguments commonly heard for LGBTQ rights come from NGOs who are reticent to appear in any way radical. In deconstructing the current debate in Britain, Faye provides a subtle but incisive critique of how generalised phrases such as “trans rights,” “gay rights,” “women’s rights,” etc., can muddy the waters, leaving room for absurd assertions about how trans rights are in conflict with women’s rights. If we are to be explicit about what we mean—bodily autonomy, sexual freedom, financial independence and security, secure and affordable housing, and robust workers’ rights—it becomes clear that all of these rights are in fact the same human rights to which we are all entitled but which not all of us can access. For any serious socialist trying to build movements for these rights, this is a useful reminder.

Faye examines the lived reality of trans people now and in the past, the role of the state and the media, and the position of trans people within feminist and queer movements. She also dedicates a chapter to matters of class and employment, centring social relations at the root of trans oppression, refuting the liberal idea that it is just bigoted ideas in the heads of powerful people that cause the difficulties in our lives. Though others may either avoid the subject of sex work or treat it with a hysterical tone, Faye leaves moralising at the door, and in the chapter “Sex Sells”, examines how the criminalisation of sex work provides the

state and the police with an excuse to further marginalise people who have to turn to that sector for survival.

In her examination of the role of the state, Faye puts forward a very convincing argument for the necessity of prison abolition, highlighting the danger and violence inherent in the prison system. Instead of answering the perennial debate over which prison trans people should be housed in, she uses the conundrum that trans people throw up for the carceral system to question its very purpose. Unfortunately, given that the author views the Labour Party as the only viable road to socialism, she doesn’t tackle how prison abolition could be achieved as part of a working-class revolution and how the backlash of the bourgeoisie would complicate such an effort.

The book lacks an analysis of how the extra-parliamentary left in Britain treat issues of trans rights and how this contributes to the grim political landscape, which I saw as a disappointing omission. An illuminating example is an incident when Len McCluskey, Mark Serwotka, Lindsey German, and Steve Turner were among those who signed a letter to the editor of the *Morning Star* presenting trans activists as violent extremists putting women at risk.¹ If there is to be a serious attempt to build a coalition to challenge the state’s neglect of trans people in terms of healthcare or expensive, bureaucratic gender-recognition processes, or even if unions are to support trans people dealing with workplace discrimination, surely their fudging of the issue must be challenged.

Although I have offered some criticisms here of *The Transgender Issue*, I nevertheless feel that it may be an invaluable addition to the bookshelf of any activist who wants to learn about trans liberation without having to wade through pages of detached academic writing, which still makes up the majority of literature on the subject.

¹ <https://morningstaronline.co.uk/article/improving-climate-debate-around-proposed-changes-gender-recognition-act>

Matt Collins - *Internment 50 Years On*, (Rebel, 2021)

Download for free from <http://www.rebelnews.ie/2021/08/25/internment-50-years-on-pamphlet/>

Jerry Maguire

Operation Demetrius, otherwise known as internment, took effect in the early hours of August 9th 1971. This operation saw the systematic targeting of mainly working-class Catholic communities in Belfast and Derry. Planned by the Unionist government in Stormont and carried out by the British Army, hundreds were snatched from their families

and falsely imprisoned without trial. While detained, mistreatment and abuse were rife—with some detainees subject to traumatic torture techniques, such as the infamous fourteen “hooded men.”

This year, 2021, has seen five decades passed since the failed policy was imposed with dire consequences on the North. The new pamphlet by Matt Collins marks this passage with a contemporary analysis of internment’s origins as a policy used by the Northern state and the disastrous reverberations of its execution.

Unlike much of the academic work around internment, Collins blows apart the arguments that internment was simply a solution to counter the threat of physical force from republicanism. Collins correctly distinguishes that the strategy of internment was in direct response to the mass mobilisations of the civil rights movement, while also looking at the conditions destabilising the state.

The pamphlet takes the reader through an in-depth look at the build-up to internment, the context of its immediate implementation, as well as the corresponding aftermath in the days, weeks, and months following its repressive effects. Collins goes into detail about how state repression laid the basis for violence unseen in the three years previous, as well as direct correlation of widespread protest and popular resistance to internment.

The pamphlet’s refreshing perspective takes its lens to the civil resistance campaign, examining the mass mobilisations, strikes, walkouts, and acts of civil disobedience, particularly giving insight into the rent and rates strike that was estimated to have cost the state over seven million pounds by today’s value.

While looking at the role of armed struggle in response to internment, Collins argues that the implementation of internment was “the chief precipitating factor in the foreclosing of peaceful options and the acceleration towards violence.” While doing so, he also illustrates the failings of the left and trade union leadership at the time—this provides a very clear picture of how the left today must learn from such failed mistakes if we are to make any inroads in overcoming sectarian division.

This pamphlet is an excellent contribution to the topic, providing a framework for materialist understanding of the origins and results of internment in the North of Ireland, one which squarely leaves the reader coming away with a more thorough comprehension of this tragic period in history. But Collins also underscores that any gains of the period were a result of mass struggle and not that of the armed few. It is this mass struggle which is the vehicle for change. He makes the case that today we are tasked to reforge the politics of James Connolly and use this vision to build a new Ireland: a socialist Ireland rooted in the unity of the working class.

Cathy Porter - *Alexandra Kollontai. Writings from the Struggle*

(Bookmarks, 2020) £12.00

Adrienne Wallace

Alexandra Kollontai: Writings from the Struggle offers a deeper insight into the reality of the Russian Revolution; the writings are selected and translated by Cathy Porter. Alexandra Kollontai was a major figure in the Russian Revolution. She was the only woman commissar in the first Bolshevik government and one of the few revolutionaries who survived in the aftermath of Stalin’s reign of terror.

She wrote prolifically in her years as an activist, publishing seven books as well as hundreds of articles, essays, and pamphlets that covered everything from sex and marriage to anti-war agitation. Cathy Porter is also the author of *Alexandra Kollontai: A Biography*. In this book she selects some of Kollontai’s most interesting experiences that draw out the political lessons borne out on the front line of agitation and revolution—many of which still bear a valuable message for both the young and the hardened revolutionary of today.

Kollontai is probably best known for her works on women and the family. She first joined the Bolsheviks in December 1904, and during the first revolution of 1905 she helped to smuggle leaflets into the factories. She spoke at meetings at the factory gates, and organised women’s meetings where she began to develop the tactics needed to draw women into the struggle to make them a powerful force for political change. She understood that the boss was nothing without workers and that the fight against them will be nothing without women. She was steadfast in her commitment to overcoming the many barriers that excluded women from political life: illiteracy, the “terrible working conditions [that] drained them of their energy,” and the burden of domestic life. Not only did Kollontai have to overcome these extremely difficult obstacles to organising but she also had to lead the fight for women’s rights on two fronts.

She led an internal battle which challenged the male chauvinism within the revolutionary movement that fudged the women’s question and wanted to “put aside the interests of one section of the proletariat...to win practical gains for another.” She successfully argued that “proletarian class

consciousness is still clouded by ideological survivals of the past, which have blurred the outlines of a truth that should be indisputable: that equal political rights for all members of the socialist proletariat family are in the interests of the working class as a whole,” a healthy reminder that socialists, too, are not always immune to the muck of ages and that women are best placed to fight the fetters that bind them. One of her most important lasting legacies in the movement is the message that the fight for women’s rights is not a “woman’s issue” but a socialist one.

At the same time Kollontai also had to bat off the liberal feminist movement that wanted to turn working women away from class politics. Kollontai recruited a group of energetic young women from the textile workers union to heckle at these meetings, appealing to workers not to be duped by the feminists’ talk of an all-class alliance of women and to join the party of their class. However, she was banned from these meetings after an organiser tried to strangle her for one of her interventions—a reminder to today’s elected revolutionaries fighting in local councils and parliaments that it could be worse! Perhaps even more impressive is that she was often agitating like this without her party’s support. Her unwavering dedication to women’s rights and her blistering ability to lead when it was unpopular but necessary were perhaps key to the success of the proceeding years. At the time, women made up almost 40 per cent of the workforce and would go on to light the first flames of the Russian Revolution in 1917.

Kollontai’s writing style is easily digestible, and it is permeated with passion and often satire, which makes her one of the most accessible and interesting writers of the period. Cathy Porter paints the broader political context before and after each of Kollontai’s texts. This makes for a wonderful read, littered with interesting tidbits that bring the revolution to life again. We meet Kollontai as a bright-eyed revolutionary led by her dreams, get to know her as a political exile in Europe where she campaigns against war and imperialism, and we witness her inner turmoil, hopes, and aspirations as the Bolsheviks take power and try to keep it. Not only do we learn real-world organising lessons, we also see the difficulties that come with the practical building of a new world, insights from which can be observed in her articles “The Palace of Motherhood Burns Down” and “God’s Business with the Monks”. Kollontai was a trailblazer whose unwavering belief in the spirit of the working woman and the proletariat at large can offer hope and solidarity to even the most burnt out of activists today.

Harsha Walia - *Border and Rule. Global Migration, Capitalism and the Rise of Racist Nationalism*

(Haymarket, 2021) €15.50

Joe Moore

Harsha Walia makes her position crystal clear when she states, “A no borders politics is more expansive than an open borders one; it calls on us to transform the underlying social, political and economic conditions giving rise to what we know as the migration crisis.” Walia’s book is a lethal weapon in the hands of all who are fighting for the overthrow of capitalism and its replacement by a world without nation states, where the wealth of the planet is distributed to all in accordance with our needs.

The book looks in detail at all aspects of modern migration, from migrant labour to people fleeing from war, poverty, oppression, and climate change. It deals with the history of border creation, especially in settler colonial states such as the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and Israel. Walia also examines in detail the right-wing nationalist policies of Trump in the US, Bolsonaro in Brazil, Duterte in the Philippines, and Modi in India. Borders exist to restrict the movements of people, particularly black- and brown-skinned people, and to facilitate the movement of capital globally.

Walia discusses in detail both the externalisation and internalisation of borders. She references the fact that the southern border of the US is now Chiapas in southern Mexico. It is evident in Europe how externalisation operates. Fortress Europe is now the official policy of the EU. Hundreds of millions of euros are poured into Frontex, the EU border agency that controls the Schengen area, to both prevent people entering the EU and to deport them if they succeed in doing so.

The externalisation of the EU borders is reflected in the agreements made with Turkey and a number of African countries, including Libya. I single out Libya as these arrangements were in place both during and after the rule of Gaddafi. Many on the left still believe that Gaddafi was an anti-imperialist. Walia’s research gives the lie to this misconception. Details of the EU agreement with Turkey are well known, not so the agreements with African states. For example, through the African Peace Facility programme, the EU is training new anti-migration forces in Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger. Aid to these and other African countries is contingent on their being, in effect, border guards on behalf of the EU.

Walia is also scathing in her analysis of NGOs, both in the non-profit area as well as international intergovernmental agencies such as the International Organisation of Migration (IOM). Established in 1951 the IOM, according to Walia, is one of the primary facilitators of “assisted voluntary returns”: in other words, they pressure people to “self-deport”. People who have gone through the direct provision system in Ireland are all too familiar with the regular clinics held by IOM where people are induced, with promises of money, to self-deport. IOM also operates camps in Sub-Saharan Africa where people are discouraged from travelling onwards to Europe. In his book *Fortress Europe: Dispatches from a Gated Continent*, Mathew Carr reports on two EU-funded migration transit centres in Agadez in northern Niger where migrants are counselled on the dangers of “irregular migration” by the IOM.

While the externalisation of borders can be fairly obvious, their internalisation is not so easy to see. Examining the situation in Ireland, people claiming asylum here are not regarded as being legal in the state although they are living here. They do not have access to housing, and they are warehoused in institutional accommodation (the direct provision system), where their movements are constantly monitored. They live with the threat of deportation hanging over them like the sword of Damocles. They are paid a weekly allowance of €38.80, in contrast to the €203 given to unemployed citizens. A minority have a limited right to work through a work-permit system, renewable every six months, conditional on the status of their asylum claim. They are not allowed to apply for a driving license, and find it almost impossible to open a bank account. They are the only group of people living in the state who can be arrested and imprisoned for up to eight weeks without charge under immigration legislation, a form of internment without trial. Over the past number of years, I have been present when asylum seekers were denied basic services by state and non-state bodies: a Somali woman who could not register the birth of her child because the registrar would not believe she was the mother; a Nigerian woman denied access to the Family Law Court; and two people refused bank accounts, one by Bank of Ireland the other by AIB. For asylum seekers in Ireland, the gate of the direct provision centre is the Irish border.

The call to end the direct provision system is gaining support on a daily basis. This now includes the current right-wing government. However, when the government proposals, as well as ideas put forward by NGOs, are examined, we easily realise that what is being offered is in fact the continuation of institutional accommodation for those seeking protection. True, conditions being proposed offer improvements, but this new accommodation will still act as a deportation holding pen. According to Walia, every deportation is “an act of state violence.” Her views on

NGOs mirror those of the South African revolutionary socialist Vashna Jagarnath, who refers to them as “the soft cop” of neoliberalism. Jagarnath outlines how the NGO sector deflects discontent into “the realm of workshops, petitions and technical sets of demands on the state.” How true that is in Ireland.

Border and Rule is one of a growing number of recently published books calling for open borders. I would also recommend Leah Cowan’s recently published *Border Nation: A Story of Migration*, which reinforces the case against borders. Walia arms us both with the facts and with political arguments to campaign for a world without borders, a world where people are free to travel and live where they wish without having to encounter racist immigration controls. As the blurb on the cover states “*Border and Rule* is a stirring call for revolution.”

Susan McKay - *Northern Protestants: On Shifting ground*

(Blackstaff Press, 2021) £16.99/€20.00

Jim Larmour

Twenty years on from her fascinating and critically acclaimed book *Northern Protestants: An Unsettled People*, journalist Susan McKay talks again to the people she refers to as “uneasily, her own”—those from a Protestant background in Northern Ireland.

Given the backdrop of Brexit, the subsequent Irish Sea trade border, the Democratic Unionist Party’s disastrous strategy of constantly campaigning for the hardest of Tory Brexits and a hard border in Ireland (which now appears to have further weakened the union with Britain and brought the prospect of a poll on Irish unity to the agenda), the centenary of the Northern Irish state, the global COVID-19 pandemic, and the growing social justice movements in Ireland North and South, *On Shifting Ground* is certainly the most apt of titles, and it makes compelling and essential reading.

The book comprises dozens of short interviews with people of a Protestant background. There’s no set agenda, the author simply lets the people do the talking. Given that her interviews range from hard-line Loyalists and former paramilitaries, Unionist politicians, religious leaders, ex-security force members, victims, and survivors of violence right through to business people, community workers, writers, workers, students, and activists from the LGBT+, women’s, and climate change movements, as well as many

other radical individuals, there are of course many diverse views and opinions. Plenty of space is given to the “Lundies,” or traitors, the turncoats and defectors, the “rotten Prods” who dare to question and stand outside the mainstream of political Unionism and Loyalism. Susan McKay stands proudly in that tradition. I sit writing this review feeling the same, an unashamed dissenter.

In a state where everyone is rather conveniently seen as either Unionist or nationalist, and seen as belonging to one community or another, with a rather peculiar category designed as a catch-all designation (“Other”) left for those who do not fit the narrative, we can find both hope for the future and a basis on which to build meaningful change in this ever-growing group, especially among the young who proudly sit outside the sectarian camps assigned for them in advance.

One of the main weaknesses of political Unionism/Loyalism/Orangeism is that it has no space for debate or question; the mentality of “You are either with us or against us, loyal or a traitor, no surrender!”, etc., stifles any meaningful debate as to what Unionism means or what place it holds in the twenty-first century? What exactly are Loyalists loyal to? The language, the politics, the religious views, the stubborn lack of change on shifting social issues all hark back to an era long gone and never returning.

Important also is the economic change in the North; long gone is the old Orange capital or “big house Unionism,” the wealthy business owners who owned factories, mills, and newspapers and thus held economic power and influence within the state, wielding ideological influence over a large section of the Protestant working class through institutions like the Orange Order and Unionist parties. Four decades of neoliberalism and the globalisation of capital has massively shifted that dynamic. A working-class Protestant in 2021 is more likely to be working for a multinational chain that benefits, certainly, from a cheaper labour source (wages in NI are around 18 per cent less in the private sector compared to the rest of the UK) but with no ideological need for sectarian division in the workplace.

Almost all of those who classed themselves as business people, and certainly many middle-class Protestants interviewed, thought the DUPs Brexit position was nonsensical, and most if not all were anti-Brexit, with many holding little allegiance either way to Britain.

One common thread that struck me was that even the most hard-line Loyalists and Unionists had a massive sense of insecurity and betrayal at the heart of everything they did.

In the firm tradition of the Rev. Ian Paisley, the British government and their own political representatives were seen as traitors and Lundies. There was a common acceptance that, despite their unwavering loyalty, the English political classes didn’t really want them. The DUP were good only to put their hands out to the British treasury to feather their own nests and that of their friends. The old slogans of superiority over Catholics, “We are the people” and “For God and Ulster,” have long since been superseded by claims of a people and a supposed separate culture and identity under threat from both outside and within. Indeed, when Loyalists threaten a return to violence to get their grievances heard, it’s hard to work out who or what exactly would be the enemy and who would be the focus. Certainly the last few decades of protests—whether against the Anglo-Irish Agreement, the flag protests, or more recently the Irish Sea Border/Brexit deal—have seen Loyalists do little more than riot and destroy already impoverished communities that deserve so much better.

It was hard not to feel empathy for all those interviewed who have lost relatives to violence. The frustration and the knowledge that understanding, let alone closure or justice, will likely be unattainable, and that the state and the establishment have a vested interest in keeping things that way, means they can never move on. A state where sectarian politicians perpetuate division by constantly casting up yet another event in an attempt to defend the indefensible hardly sets the tone for healing. It will take a much more progressive society to take the right steps in that direction.

A few pages set in the town of Ballymena really sum up the bizarre world we live in. The author, along with a friend, was invited to attend the Green Pastures evangelical church, which stands next to the site of the Wrightbus company. The church pastor, self-styled “Pastor Jeff,” was making a return to preaching after his church had been picketed by angry workers from Wrightbus. Pastor Jeff is Jeff Wright, owner of the factory, who had moved millions of pounds from the business into his vanity project of building a megachurch and business complex, bankrupting the business and throwing 1,200 workers on the dole. Angry workers had held placards stating, “For the love of money is the root of all evil—1st Timothy, 6:10.” Thankfully, through protests led by Unite the Union, they at least forced Wright to negotiate with a new buyer and some of the workforce got their jobs back. Pastor Jeff stood, as ever, unrepentant and babbling incoherently before a bordering-on-fanatical crowd of the converted about how he was only doing God’s work and the good lord had spoken to him and chosen him to do exactly as he did, like some televangelist or huckster

from the USA. While few attend mainstream churches in NI, and we have a much more secular society, evangelical churches report growth.

But enough of the division, the sectarianism, the dead ends and despair. The real hope of a positive future lies in the dozens interviewed in this book who are part of a bigger group of thousands who reject division and care little for national identities. One can't feel anything but pride when one reads of the experiences of women community leaders from the Shankill Road in Belfast taking a stand against rioting Loyalist youths and trying to funnel their frustrations at the real enemy—those who decimate their communities through political choice; or those young women in the North and the South who fight for the right to control the reproductive rights of their own bodies; the LGBT+ community who are no longer prepared to let bigots and religious dinosaurs ridicule and threaten them with violence and discrimination; the trade unionists, the socialists, the progressives, even the liberals, and the non-aligned; the growing movement of the young people fighting climate change; the many interviewed who spoke of defending the NHS and who supported the successful six-week strike for pay parity in 2019–20; the anti-racists; the anti-capitalists—the list is endless and ever growing. These people will shape the future. What we need is a period of working-class struggle and an anti-sectarian organisation that seeks to link all these struggles in the fight for a better world. Only then can we begin to get rid of what Karl Marx called “the muck of ages.”

This book makes for essential reading; I thoroughly recommend it.

Jane Hardy - *Nothing to Lose but Our Chains: Work and Resistance in Twenty-First-Century Britain*

(Pluto Press, 2021) £19.99

John Whipple

This thirteen-chapter book portrays exemplary cases of workers uniting, fighting, and winning in Britain over the last few years. Like Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States*, it details struggles just outside the official narratives of the trade union movement. The sheer number

and variety of twenty-first century victories she piles before the reader is the real surprise. Although the cases presented may be British, the experiences are of direct relevance to us in Ireland. Perhaps this is why it is so welcome. After Debenhams, a readable collection of practical successes and hard-won lessons is welcome, timely, and absolutely necessary.

It is written for all who work and need to make sense of their world of work and how our shrinking trade unions fit in today. Hardy understands the frustrations of discovering the contradictory nature of trade unions under capitalism. She demonstrates how to understand the contradiction without falling into pessimism or inaction. But she doesn't oversimplify or skim over incongruities or the details of how workers won despite the contradictions.

The insights she shares come from hundreds of hours of one-to-one conversation with the workers themselves. Story after story shows “un-organisable” or unlikely workers doing exactly the opposite of the hand-wringing inaction we often witness in discussions about trade unions. A wall of nerves (or self-preserving detachment) can often come between people and involvement in twenty-first-century trade union activity. This book is a great hammer to break through that wall so we can become as actively and politically involved as we must be to win.

Hardy's findings are a bright light in one dark room many would prefer to avoid exploring. It's a lighthouse of clear examples showing what we should demand from our own trade unions. Like the pickets at Debenhams, these are exceptional struggles. The numerous recent victories she has collected here are the kind that don't fit the typical narratives about resistance at work. Some have been studiously avoided by the trade union movement itself. Perhaps this is because they show workers' resistance and success despite one trade union machine's purposeful neglect or another's outright opposition.

Another key understanding Hardy presents concerns the anti-organising “scarewords” the left has allowed itself to believe are trade union kryptonite. Precarious work, zero-hour contracts, the partnership-obsessed, unelected trade union bureaucracy, or even “anti-trade-union legislation” are presented by the trade union movement, the media, and often the left itself as challenges too big for the working class. If we know these terms we probably know that we are supposed to think that organising at work is harder now than ever before. Hardy rightly points out that these were always with us, especially in regard to the work many women and migrant workers do. They have never gone away. And yet she points out in detail how workers have successfully won despite each in the twenty-first century.

The initial chapter's portrait of the industrialisation and deindustrialisation of the Hertfordshire area, where Hardy worked, reminds us of her background and contains a very helpful history of the changes in British industry and trade unionism over the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The chapters which follow succinctly describe and give examples of workers winning despite automation, the gig economy, zero-hours contracts, agency workers, precarity, etc. The book sets out clear examples of positions on each.

In the middle chapters, Hardy takes on the more familiar bogeymen of the jaded trade union bureaucrats, treacherous politicians, and bigotry against migrants and women in the workplace and the world. Each section gives the reader positive examples of real successes to share, but prescribes no mechanical path to worker success. She acknowledges each success is different, as is each strike, as is each organising campaign.

Near the end she goes into the case studies at the heart of her work. One of the best chapters details organising and fighting in education during the recent UCU and NEU struggles. She notes that the central thing is to keep organising from below, democratically and collectively, just as younger workers have begun to do in jobs without strong organisation and which use the same old tricks (e.g. tech work, platform-based delivery work, sex work). Success is more likely with good communication, solidarity, a willingness to break some rules, and through learning that a worker's politics that may go beyond the workplace but never avoids it.

The book could be seen as a course in how and why workers win despite the "scarewords" and known issues that come up in every conversation around trade unions. Each chapter can stand alone as an excellent introduction for discussions on why and how our trade unions need revitalising and how to resist in our world of work. Additionally, the people we meet in the book, more often than not female, demonstrate an active solidarity and persistence in their fights that we need to see more of—whether we are in a job or not. Each chapter has clear and helpful strategic and legal tactical analyses.

This is the year's most helpful book about workplace resistance and confronting trade union bureaucracy from below for both socialists and workplace activists. And it's also an enjoyable read.