Labour Journal of Canadian Labour Studies

Le Travail Revue d'Études Ouvrières Canadiennes

# Eric Tucker and Judy Fudge, eds., The Class Politics of Law: Essays Inspired by Harry Glasbeek (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2019)

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Volume 87, printemps 2021

URI : https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1078657ar DOI : https://doi.org/10.1353/llt.2021.0011

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Éditeur(s)

Canadian Committee on Labour History

ISSN 0700-3862 (imprimé) 1911-4842 (numérique)

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Citer ce compte rendu

Coulter, G. (2021). Compte rendu de [Eric Tucker and Judy Fudge, eds., The Class Politics of Law: Essays Inspired by Harry Glasbeek (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2019)]. *Labour / Le Travail, 87*, 201–203. https://doi.org/10.1353/llt.2021.0011

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could mitigate termination without just cause; for example, assuring that complaint mechanisms can be triggered every time a SAWP employee is fired. Other measures entail institutionalizing safeguards for the re-call of workers based on seniority, such as making public the calls, the LMIA results, and the employer's evaluation of the worker. However, limiting the employers' resort to other poorly regulated TFWPs and the activation of the worker's readmission in case of unjustified terminations are also important measures. Finally, intergovernmental agreements must ensure the adherence of all the involved parties to the labour law and labour protections of the host state. These recommendations align with other studies that suggest that in some cases, intervention into transnational agreements and MOUS could be defined in ways other than simply unionizing to successfully defend migrant workers' rights (Hanley, et al. 2020). Protecting the rights of migrant farmworkers in Ouebec: To what extent can unionization overcome the effects of precarious immigration status? The Journal of Rural and Community Development, 15(2), Rural Development Institute, Brandon University.).

Vosko's book is highly informative and innovative. It contains rich veins of reflection about the meaning of precarious migration status, the scope and limitations of Canadian unions defending migrant workers, and the institutional set-up operating upon this unfree labour. But mainly, it provides new directions for the analysis and actions to defend migrant workers' rights in Canada.

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## Eric Tucker and Judy Fudge, eds., *The Class Politics of Law: Essays Inspired by Harry Glasbeek* (Halifax and Winnipeg: Fernwood Publishing 2019)

Throughout his career, Harry Glasbeek has focused on issues of class and the law, from his early writings on the flaws of tort law and advocacy for no-fault liability insurance, to his recent publications, Capitalism: A Crime Story (2018) and Class Privilege: How the Law Shelters Shareholders and Coddles Capitalism (2017). These take a larger view of the flaws of capitalism as upheld by the law and are the inspiration for this collection of essays. Compiled by Judy Fudge and Eric Tucker, the eleven wideranging essays in The Class Politics of Law embody Glasbeek's broad interest in legal and legislative reform and fundamental questions of economic justice under capitalism. Glasbeek's interests and key passages from his writings are presented in the introduction by Tucker and Fudge, and further biographical detail is provided in the afterword by Ron McCallum. These bookends provide the structure that unites this collection and highlight key themes from Glasbeek's own work that run through many of the essays.

While the book is not divided into sections, the thought that has gone into placement allows certain themes to develop organically. Non-biographical chapters fall into two broad categories. First, the authors explore the use of law as a tool of reform to address specific problems in the style of Glasbeek's early writing. Second, more theoretical chapters use Glasbeek's class-based approach to the law as a way to envision its revolutionary potential and address corporate criminality.

Of the first group, Neil Brooks discusses potential reforms to the tax system to address the increasingly corrosive effects

of income inequality. Keith Ewing's "The Changing Workplace Revisited" discusses problems with the Wagner Act and the bureaucratization of the union movement, and encourages trade unions to refashion themselves as a political force. Finally, in "Regulating to Prevent Workplace Violence," Katherine Lippel argues for a new frontier of workplace health and safety with the recognition of mental health and stress by employers as a legitimate field of government regulation. These chapters may seem less overtly radical than Glasbeek's current thinking; Brooks himself states early in his paper that Glasbeek would "undoubtedly urge something much more transformative." (45) Although perhaps erring on the side of reform rather than revolution, all three of these chapters are firmly in the tradition of Glasbeek's transformative thought. They present material solutions to the failings of the law, which has not kept pace with the changing political realities of neoliberalism. They also envision that redress happening within the realm of law and legislation, which is part of what made Glasbeek's approach so bold - the law contains the tools for its own reform. Fudge and Tucker wisely group these papers in succession (chapters three, four and five), which allows for a clear development of this theme.

If chapters three through five show specific uses for the law as a tool of class empowerment, then chapters six, seven and nine show us why that tool must be used for broader societal transformation. Tucker and Fudge show that Glasbeek recognizes assaults in the form of workplace accidents and deaths as "evidence of war" against workers. (7) Class conflict provides a way to understand Glasbeek's advocacy for the use of the law on a conceptual level as a tool of and for the working class. The second group of essays likewise contain this theoretical struggle for the law. In "Corporate Killing Personified," Steven Bittle, Steve Tombs, and David Whyte recognize that the laws enacted after disasters such as at the Westray mine have by and large left corporations unpunished for their lethal wrongdoings. Nonetheless, like Glasbeek, they refuse to cede the law to its most common use, as a tool of corporate interests and property. And although Bryan Palmer's article on the first Smith Act trial and the rule of law centres on a specific historical moment, focus is also given to how the corporation can be brought to heel. Palmer's comparison of E.P. Thompson's belief in the law as a tool of the masses to Glasbeek's own is one of the highlights of the book, and brings together its essential message: "Law, then, matters, and how and why it matters, for Marxists, involves complex, historicized understandings of contested social relations. These can never really be appreciated analytically if law is simply written off as nothing more than an instrument of class rule." (174)

Laureen Snider's chapter, "How Do I Discipline Thee: Let Me Count the Ways ... " while future-oriented, is markedly less optimistic, which is one of the central aspects of Glasbeek's outlook. Snider ends on a somewhat fatalistic note that things have not progressed, and that resistance is evaporating. Whereas the factory acts provided a modicum of protection for workers in the nineteenth century, increasingly the law, the state and even technology are tools of increasing oppression. The market rules, efficiency is the sole determinant of conditions, and the academy is complicit. The academy is even more the focus of Julian Sempill's article; his argument for demystifying academic language and broader use of vernacular socialism is connected to Glasbeek's recent works, which seeks an audience beyond the academy.

Not all the chapters are as obviously connected thematically to the rest of the book, although they are valuable. "Working Time, Dinner Time, Serving Time: Labour and Law in Industrialization" by Douglas Hay is an interesting work of social history, and is in some ways an effective segue into Palmer's lengthy discussion of E.P. Thompson, but its connection to the law as a remedy is somewhat tenuous. In the same way, Christine Sypnowich's article, "Cultural Heritage, the Right to the City, and the Marxist Critique of Law," although it does attempt to connect to aspects of Glasbeek's thought, feels somewhat tertiary.

What at first glance may seem a disparate collection is in fact a rather elegant representation of Glasbeek's approach to the law. In the first pages of *The Class Politics of Law*, Fudge and Tucker state that this book was meant as a celebration of Glasbeek's career, and this book does that by showing how impactful and indeed revolutionary his way of thinking has been.

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### James Wilt, Do Androids Dream of Electric Cars? Public Transit in the Age of Google, Uber, and Elon Musk (Toronto: Between the Lines Press 2020)

IN DO ANDROIDS DREAM of Electric Cars? Public Transit in the Age of Google, Uber, and Elon Musk, James Wilt cuts through the whiz-bang hype surrounding the tech industry's predatory targeting of transportation services, while consistently pointing the way forward towards a positive vision of well-funded and accessible public transportation services. His argument is divided into three main parts. First, Wilt provides the historical background necessary to understand the crisis facing public transportation, and discusses the political economy of the tech-finance-transportation nexus that makes up the balance of forces today. With this context established, Wilt proceeds to survey a range of topics that directly relate to public transportation: climate, economic and racial inequality, safety and congestion, accessibility, privacy and surveillance, rural and intercity service, as well as labour unions. Wilt concludes by proposing a vision for public transportation that prioritizes people over profit, and offers suggestions for organizing towards this goal.

Wilt's brief history of the advent of car culture in North America is useful in that it denaturalizes the now-ubiquitous role of the automobile, illustrating its present role as the result of a range of industry-led campaigns and public policy decisions. At the turn of the 20th century, the automobile industry had to push out existing transportation systems like streetcars or trains. The dangerous new automobiles also had to tackle the problem of people continuing to walk about city streets (a long-standing human impulse) through the invention of jaywalking, a crime meant to shame pedestrians and blame victims of automobile accidents. By the 1950s mortgage-financing policies pushing suburbanization - combined with enormous public subsidies in the form of the interstate highway system - built the infrastructure that would slice up urban space and dominate transportation for the foreseeable future. Most damaging of all, this infrastructural lock-in of car dependence made public transportation alternatives all the more difficult.

The neoliberal turn meant rolling austerity for cities and their public transportation budgets. While the projects that do eventually succeed in getting built are often subject to the conditions of publicprivate-partnerships, Wilt explains that these P3s employ voodoo economics to initially appear less costly, while the back-loaded long-term financial costs end