

particularly its exposure of how racial and economic status shapes life and liberty, was a shameful episode in American history. But if the lines of solidarity and mutual recognition were drawn in frighteningly racialized as well as self-defeating ways there, one could hardly imagine they would be drawn in any more enlightened ways in today's Europe. Perhaps natural disasters *are* increasingly recognized as human disasters. Insights have been gleaned from the shortcomings witnessed in New Orleans and comparisons made with Japan in the wake of the earthquakes there. However, wherever pressures towards rampant urban growth accompany the tendency to marry justice to ethnically imagined solidarities, ordeals like Zeitoun's, and the traces of trauma like those it has left on his wife, will continue to happen. These tendencies are strong in contemporary Europe. It would be wonderful if a talented writer could work out a way of telling the story that connects today's European parochialisms to transnational migration and global environmental change in as fluent a way as Eggers tells Zeitoun's important tale.

Eeva Berglund

Valuable tools

Turbulence, *What Would It Mean to Win?* PM Press, Portland OR, 2010. 160 pp., £10.99 pb., 978 1 60486 110 5.

Team Colors, *Uses of a Whirlwind: Movement, Movements, and Contemporary Radical Currents in the United States*, AK Press, Oakland CA and Edinburgh, 2010. 420 pp., £16.00 pb., 978 1 84935 016 7.

The notion of 'inquiry' as a critical practice has its origins in Operaist or more broadly autonomist thought. In arguing that, as opposed to any assumption of a 'timeless' notion of working-class identity, a grasp of the composition of working-class movements was crucial, and that bourgeois sociology should not have a monopoly in this area, both Operaists and French and American council communists published examinations of workers' conditions, such as Daniel Mothe's diary of a French autoworker in *Socialisme ou Barbarie* or the Johnson-Forrest Tendency's *American Worker*. More recently, the notion has become popular among Western scholars, artists and activists engaged with social movements in a rather broader sense, though it has often remained more of a proposition than a developed methodology or practice, something suggested

by the proliferation of initial terms around militant inquiry, militant investigation, militant research and so on; as well as by various attempts to extend this inquiry not only to particular working conditions but also, for example, to the role of affect, or even sound, in the composition of movements (see, for instance, the work of Ultra Red or the Carrot Workers Collective). Reclaim the Streets and other groups immediately prior to the current conjuncture produced a number of *Reflections on...* texts inviting and collecting critiques and evaluations of particular actions, but in the present there have been fewer examples of these broadly autonomist ideas being marshalled directly as part of the self-critique and strategy of movements.

In the UK the Free Association have been a notable exception, with five issues of the irregular publication *Turbulence: Ideas for Movement*, first distributed for free during the mobilization against the G8 in 2007 in Heiligendamm, Germany, and more recently among the UK's Climate Camp mobilizations. The journal builds a kind of accessible toolkit of post-structuralist materialism which uses broad metaphors (Summits and Plateaus, What Would it Mean to Win?) to open up timely, grounded and practical examinations of the ideas and practices of particular movements. Many of these articles have been collected together in the excellent *What Would It Mean to Win?*, published by PM Press. (Recently, something similar was attempted by a different group, in the midst of the UK Student Protests, in two issues of a journal simply titled *The Paper*.) Turbulence's book springs from a particular moment of crisis, critically examining the state of the anti-globalization movement when it seemed to be waning, becoming something else. As such it is far more than a document of the changing ideas, debates and practices of a movement; it offers valuable tools and provocations for the present moment.

In the USA, the collective Team Colors appear to be influenced not just by this current of inquiry, but by the particular example of Turbulence, who have a similar political background in autonomous social movements since the 1990s. Unsurprisingly, they thus attempt a similar publishing strategy, transposed into the context of social struggles in the USA, as the metaphorical extension of the book's subtitle, 'movement, movements...' suggests. Team Colors have produced a number of articles previously, as well as the pocket-book *Winds from Below: Radical Community Organizing to Make a Revolution Possible*, but rather than collecting a cumulative series of critical interventions penned by one group and distributed across the sites of particular mobilizations, their latest book functions

more as a conceptual overview of movements in the USA; a project both more and less ambitious. Less because it functions as only a single publication, but more because it attempts to use an edited collection of diverse writing to survey a vast area across four thematic sections: Organization Case Studies, Movement Strategies, Theoretical Analyses, and Interviews. The text takes to this difficult task admirably, and rather than Turbulence's broader and strategically focused conceptual accounts of movements, offers a fascinating comparative survey including older groups such as Roadblock Earth First! alongside the Starbucks Workers Union, Student/Farmworker Alliance, and Picture the Homeless. Perhaps this approach is also – and this is my own European supposition – because these autonomist tendencies are less widespread among



movements themselves in the USA, or because across the USA such movements are more diffuse in their focus and strategy, and the text functions partly as a conversation between these tendencies. In either case it is a substantial text that still manages to include valuable and timely critical reflections on current movement concerns internationally, such as in Daniel Tucker's account of the work of AREA Chicago on the particular relevance of urban contexts, 'Getting to Know Your City and the Social Movements That Call it Home', or Chris Carlsson's essay on the affects of ageing, tiredness and the life of movements, 'Radical Patience: Feeling Effective Over the Long Haul'.

Both texts, focusing on the current moment of European and American radical social movements, form not only an impressive and useful document of their changing debates, focus and constitution over the last few years, but more importantly – especially given the recent turn to anti-austerity movements on both continents – offer grounded and practical strategic provocations that consider what we've got, and where we go from here.

Gavin Grindon

Served cold

The Occupation Cookbook, or, the Model of the Occupation of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb, trans. Drago Markisa, Minor Compositions, London, New York and Port Watson, 2011. 80 pp., £8.00 pb., £ 978 1 57027 218 9.

'Imagine: in Moscow, a miracle happened. Lenin has risen. Anyone who dreams of a radical change, hurries to hear from Vladimir Ilyich the answer to an old, well known question: What is to be done?' So begins Boris Buden's Foreword to *The Occupation Cookbook*. Lenin answers 'I am hungry', and the radical dreamers serve him a meal from *The Occupation Cookbook*. Apparently satisfied, he settles back into his coffin. We might feel some relief that Lenin has returned to the dead, but making a meal to feed a dead man is hardly a ringing endorsement for a cookbook. What's more, the legacy of Lenin might well make the living suspicious of such recipes for political action, about all such prescriptions concerning what is to be done.

The occupation of Zagreb's Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (FHSS) in the spring of 2009 was an incredible achievement – the numbers of people involved, as well as its length, were impressive. Amongst other things, the occupiers managed to get 800 people to their first meeting, produced a daily newspaper, and continued to be politically active after the occupation was over. Even better, the occupiers rejected the politics of both Croatia's old socialism and its new representative democracy, cutting out all leaders and explicitly avoiding party control. As part of this effort to move towards different ways of organizing, *The Occupation Cookbook* was written by a number of individuals, and amended by the collective. Yet, disappointingly, despite the authors' stated aversion to party politics, *The Occupation Cookbook* itself reproduces the bureaucratic structures of political parties, providing us with page upon page of rules and guidelines. It hence misses the opportunity to tell us what the occupation was really like, to properly discuss its content, conflicts, context and limits, how the occupation changed and developed, and why it took the shape that it did. The authors do warn us that "'revolutionary" atmosphere does not occur spontaneously, it is created – usually by methods that, at first glance, may appear banal'. And, admittedly, recipe books are rarely a great read. Still, we might be happy to trawl through the banalities if there was even a suggestion of the revolutionary atmosphere that did or might result. There is none. Buden's Foreword