and the image of the damaged Black psyche experts used in the case. Todd-Breland also makes a crucial contribution to the literature with her analysis of shift from desegregation to community control as the strategy to advance educational opportunities of Black students in Chicago. The story, with activist Rosie Simpson as one of its protagonists, bridges literatures in the field by linking anti-poverty programs and community control, and is in line with new scholarly work that shows the paramount role that Black women played in these movements.

Todd-Breland breaks new ground with her work on corporate education reform and the push for privatization as well, thus making a major contribution to the ongoing scholarly conversation about the use of neoliberalism as a concept for historical analysis. *A Political Education* teaches us that these strands of reforms can only be fully understood in a historical perspective; the author reminds us that the alignment of multiple actors around “efficiency, accountability, privatization, and corporate models” in the late twentieth century emerged out of “the broken promises of earlier education struggles, including the struggle for community control” (60). The growing role of business in education reform, and the blurring of private and public spheres happened in a moment of national disinvestment in the public sector. Moreover, Todd-Breland demonstrates that it is only through a granular study of the longer history of Black traditions of reform that we can understand specific “Black responses to corporate school reform and privatization measures” (224). *A Political Education* thus highlights the necessity of the historical perspective even for recent developments. The author will now put this rich knowledge into practice in Chicago, and will herself become a decision maker in this history—the new mayor of Chicago, Lori Lightfoot, appointed her to the Chicago Board of Education in June 2019.

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*Just Watch Us: RCMP Surveillance of the Women’s Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada*


The 1964 Bob Dylan song, “The Times They Are a-Changin’,” reflected the hope that social movement activism would usher in a new world. Dylan’s song declares, “The order is rapidly fadin’,” suggesting a new political and economic order were on the horizon. The message resonated positively or negatively, depending on your political viewpoint.

Social movements that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s supported “New Left” political ideologies. They actively formed organizations to mobilize resources outside state systems. Gay rights, Civil Rights, labour, Anti-war, and Women’s rights
movements all gained ground. The Canadian state, concerned with perceived threats from left “revolutionary” protest movements carefully monitored the actions of a wide range of people and organizations.

Christabelle Sethna and Steve Hewitt’s book, *Just watch Us: RCMP Surveillance of the Women’s Liberation Movement in Cold War Canada*, provides a thorough investigation into the RCMP Security Service surveillance of women’s liberation groups; their meetings, marches, and activities in the 1960s and 1970s. The Canadian state, concerned with activists’ links to Communism, Marxism, Trotskyism, and the potential overthrow of the government, initiated a wide range of surveillance to monitor New Left organizations in order to disrupt or shut down potential attacks against the state.

Demands for gender equity were classified along with Anti-war and Civil Rights activism. The RCMP files, now predominantly declassified under the Access to Information Act and the Privacy Act (ATIP), form the basis for the book. The authors, whose careful research to read, catalogue, and analyze the documents note that the thousands of files provide a clear lens into the significant surveillance undertaken by the Canadian state. The RCMP regularly employed informers to infiltrate, document, and report on feminist activism. Security was tied to secrecy as the government used secret surveillance in order to gather information. Combing through the archival files, the authors found extremely covert and invasive surveillance of Canadian citizens.

Information was gathered and interpreted through what the authors call a “red-tinted prism” which dominated the Cold War era (4). Technical and undercover surveillance by the Mounties and their informers peered into the public and private lives of members of feminist organizations such as the Toronto Liberation movement, the Voice of Women, the New Feminists, the Ligue des femmes du Québec and other women’s organizations. The book contains quotes from the files that reflect the lengths informers went to provide hard evidence of “left wing revolutionary activity within women’s liberation groups” (63). Informants were clearly not just observers but were active members of the groups as the files detail what people said, what they wore, and where they went after the meetings. One informant noted that a conference attendee was “approx 40 yrs, 155 lbs, 5’3’. Reddish hair. Employed as a steno with the Provincial government,” (86), clearly more focused on personal details than the action taking place within the meetings. Personal comments are followed by the informer’s observations of public responses, such as the group “failed to generate interest amongst the public. General reaction was one of distaste for the slovenly attire of the members and their accompanying antics while parading downtown” (90). Informers’ written summaries were laced with sexist and racist comments, reflecting the deep stereotypes within the RCMP organization. Sethna and Hewitt note the “gender gap” between a police force “staffed only by men until 1974” (6) and the women’s movement. The performance of masculinity had a clear impact on their perspectives on gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality and class.

Each chapter explores a different focus of surveillance linked to women’s movement activism: the Abortion Caravan, the Indochinese Conference, the peace activism of organizations such as the Voice of Women. In some cases surveillance was international, as in the case of the Indochinese conference in Vancouver, 1972, that saw a
delegation of women from Vietnam attend a women's liberation movement conference in Canada. Sethna and Hewitt note the ways the RCMP shared intelligence with the FBI. The authors speak to the diversity of the moment, of the multiple voices sharing the conference platform and the conflicts that arose between conference planners. They suggest the files reflect the ways the RCMP and FBI were unclear where to place their focus and that concerns about revolution meant police forces underestimated the real work of the women’s movement: to generate public awareness of gender inequality.

The title of the book is a play on the famous statement, “Just Watch Me,” which was a response by Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau to the press on the extent of state surveillance during the 1970 October Crisis and implementation of the War Measures Act. The book adds to recent studies on state surveillance and the impact of state controls in monitoring the activities of Canadian citizens. The work of the RCMP, CSIS, and the FBI is a growing topic of research by a number of scholars, including Greg Kealey, Tarah Brookfield, David Lyon and Ruth Rosen to name a few. Sethna has written on the history of birth control and abortion and its links to feminist activism and Hewitt, on the history of Canadian police and intelligence services. The book draws attention to the need for more scholarship in the policing and surveillance field.

In targeting “women liberationists” the state was targeting women’s issues such as access to daycare, job discrimination, and abortion rights. The authors explore the impact of whether informers also played a role in disrupting the unity of the women's movement—perhaps leaking information to the media to create a particular public response, as in the way the anti-abortion legal focus shifted in the media to a pro-life narrative. These tactics may have played a larger role than previously noted.

This book gives the reader cause for concern over privacy issues. The authors note that many of the “surveillance targets” are “most likely still living” (202). Women were targeted because they protested for social justice causes, a fundamental right in a liberal-democratic society. Intelligence services create fear and distrust, which can negatively impact this right. Sethna and Hewitt suggest the files reveal a history of the RCMP security-services that “runs counter to a treasured nationalist metanarrative” (202); of the RCMP as a defender of Canadian rights. The authors state they hope the book will “prompt those involved in the women’s liberation movement to come forward with individual accounts of the impact of state surveillance on their lives” (203). The book contains a number of personal photos from the period.

While Sethna and Hewitt acknowledge the challenges of working with declassified documents, they also praise the significance of the ATIP to access government information. Their particular sensitivity to these challenges makes this book a valuable addition to Canadian history, women's studies, and surveillance studies. This book also comes at an important time as computer technology has expanded the opportunities for state surveillance of private citizens. It challenges researchers to pay closer attention to how domestic intelligence agencies conduct surveillance within their own countries.

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