

-as a leftwing political philosophy that is not only *against* the state and government, but *for* the freedom of individuals who in turn respect the freedom of others; not only *against* hierarchy and capitalism, but for a society of free producers- there would have been no need to include such questionable figures and tendencies. It might have made more sense for Marshall to write two books — one on anarchism proper, and another on libertarianism, in all its left- and right-wing permutations and combinations.

A second problem with *Demanding the Impossible*, and this is a problem of most general histories of anarchism, is its focus on Europe and the United States. In a book of over 700 pages of text, there are roughly thirty pages dedicated to regions outside of Europe and America, those being Latin America and Asia. Part of this problem is due to a lack of English-language sources on the anarchists and their movements in China, Korea, Argentina, and Brazil. In light of the ever increasing number of studies on anarchism and its importance in these typically ignored regions, Marshall could have struck a better balance between Europe and the United States on the one hand and the rest of the world on the other.

As a history of anarchism, *Demanding the Impossible* is, in many ways, a great improvement over previous works by James Joll and George Woodcock because it treats anarchism as much more than an old millenarian movement that died in Spain in 1939. However, Marshall's broad definition of anarchism, which leads to the inclusion of many individuals who were not anarchists, and his narrow focus on Europe and the United States, will leave many readers scratching their heads — and waiting a far more coherent and international history of the movement.

Travis Tomchuk
Queen's University

Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy, *Opium: Uncovering the Politics of the Poppy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

Despite almost 100 years of US-led opium prohibitionist policies, the poppy plant and its drug derivatives have witnessed an explosion of growth. The political and economic factors that led to this increase is the subject of Pierre-Arnaud Chouvy's *Opium: Uncovering the Politics of Poppy*. He answers important questions about the efficacy of the last 40 years of the War on Drugs. He provides compelling evidence on the failings of policies that are implemented on drug-producing nations. His most convincing arguments detail why programs currently in place (primarily poppy eradication and crop substitution) have proven counter-effective.

Chouvy presents a coherent and detailed narrative on the evolution of *Papaver somniferum*, the poppy. Before discovery of its soporific effects became apparent, its flower attracted early agriculturalists. The plant thrived for thousands

of years with Europeans, Africans (particular Egypt), and Asians who encouraged its production and trade. Opium production in Asia soared once the Europeans, primarily the British, begun their quest for overseas empires as the trade developed “in the context of colonialism and globalization.”

With poppy cultivation mostly confined in India and China, however, the West remained unconcerned about other opium-producing regions. In 1898, that would change once the US took possession of the Philippine Islands and its licensed and legal opium economy. American leaders began a global campaign to eradicate non-medicinal opium. Eventually, the US would lead a War on Drugs, a tragically failed policy that continues to the present.

In addition to his informative descriptions of current drug trafficking networks, Chouvy impressively details the failures of the various strategies, whether draconian or not, to end drug production globally. Wilfully ignorant of its complex relationships with drug traffickers in the pursuit of national security goals, the US backed destroying opium supplies at their source. This policy came in two forms. The first, decades of attempts at opium bans notes Chouvy, “have demonstrated that drug supply reduction is very rarely effective and...is most often counterproductive.” (156) The second form proved even more futile: forced eradication, whether done manually, chemically (herbicides like glyphosate), or biologically (including the use of fungi). Although results are generated to make splashy headlines, Chouvy demonstrates its ineffectiveness and counterproductive nature, with drug traffickers being “the first to benefit from eradication since it raises opium prices and their profit margins.” (160) Even more unfortunate for the disadvantaged and marginalized opium farmers, eradication led to “poverty and inequality.” (165)

Although the punitive approach still reigns supreme in the current anti-drug strategy, more humane policies to end drug production, such as crop substitution, gained traction as a longer-term solution to illicit opium harvests. Chouvy critically notes that attempting to replace opium with legal agricultural products did not succeed because the underlying reasons behind poppy production were ignored. Newer adaptations of the crop substitution model, integrated rural development, alternative development, and alternative approach had more of a holistic philosophy, but in the end the results were mixed. Although limited reduction of drug use has been noted in some areas, the author demonstrates that all of the previous methods had “failed to significantly decrease the illicit cultivation of plant-based drugs in the world.” (182)

Even with this pessimistic analysis, Chouvy held out hope for the alternative development model. Unlike the repressive forced eradication method which gets the predominate amount of funding for counter-narcotics policies, he notes that alternative development programs lacked a serious commitment for resources from the big donor nations. Indeed, the fixation on prohibition policies was due to entrenched anti-drug warriors, who refuse to re-examine clearly failed

policies. Even more ominous than the “militarization of the war on drugs,” is the privatization of the war. Chouvy details the recruitment of DynCorp International to spray coca fields in Columbia and engage in forced eradication in Afghanistan where its operatives frequently “has to fight its way out of...[these] operations without achieving much by way of its suppression objectives.” (115) The role of private companies does not bode well for a future reassessment of repressive drug policies. Self-interested companies like DynCorp can employ lobbyists or otherwise impact any retrenchment in this decades-old struggle; the California state prison guard union’s current attempts to stymie marijuana legalization is but one example.

Despite an overall level of excellence, Chouvy’s research does have missteps, primarily concerning Afghanistan. Although these are mostly minor in nature (such as claiming the Badakhshan province was not a traditional opium-producing region), the most disappointing conclusion was his dismissal of allowing Afghanistan to be a legally certified opium producer. Although he presents compelling economic data to back his argument, historical precedence is ignored. During the Second World War, the US and Afghanistan entered into a short-lived but fruitful opium alliance. For the duration of the war, Washington became Kabul’s number one customer. Symbolically, the significance of the tons of opium purchased was demonstrated in its location during the war: the US Treasury Vaults.

Sean Duffy
San Antonio College

Elisa Camiscioli, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009).

Immigration and national identity have been salient and volatile issues in French politics and society for at least the last quarter century. Certainly the rise of the far-right National Front and the emergence of myriad ethnic identity movements among immigrant communities testify to the centrality of the debate over national belonging and the rights of citizens in contemporary France. In *Reproducing the French Race* Elisa Camiscioli charts the early manifestations of these debates in the context of the Third Republic in France and colonial rule overseas from the 1890s to the 1930s. She studies the place of immigrants from Europe and France’s colonies in the metropole in the interwar period in order to interrogate how the concepts of Frenchness and citizenship were articulated amid worries over depopulation and industrial decline. Camiscioli’s central argument is that the issues of “race and reproduction were critical to the construction of French national identity” and “gender intervened in fabricating racial hierarchies which cast white