facet of Hill's life that has received little notice is his participation in the Mexican Revolution, fighting in support of the Magon brothers against both the forces of Mexican President Diaz and the forces of his opponent, Francisco Madero.

Of course, the crux of *The Man Who Never Died* is Hill's trial and execution in Salt Lake City for the murder of a shopkeeper and his son. Adler makes a compelling case for Hill's innocence and offers an explanation for the origin of Hill's gunshot wound, which was a crucial piece of evidence in his conviction. Adler asserts that the true killer was a drifter and career criminal named Frank Wilson, and that Hill, who was in fact with his lady friend, Hilda Erickson, was shot by Otto Applequist, a friend of his and erstwhile rival for Hilda's hand.

Adler next turns to the issue of why Hill kept silent. Traditionally, historians have concluded this was due to his reluctance to name his lady friend. Adler instead argues that Hill felt that as an innocent man, he had no need to disprove the government's case.

During the appeal process, when he was given the opportunity both in court and before the parole board to rebut the prosecution, he continued to refuse. As Hill stated to the parole board in his demand for a new trial, he had evidence that "prove[s] absolutely my innocence and send[s] four or five perjurers to penitentiary, where they belong." When asked why he did not produce this evidence at the first trial, he replied, "I didn't think it was necessary to prove my innocence. … I thought the state would have to prove a man guilty" (p. 291).

Given the anti-IWW sentiment, particularly in Utah, Hill's guilt or innocence was probably irrelevant to his eventual execution. As the date neared, Hill accepted his martyrdom and in perhaps his most famous statement, ordered IWW leader Bill Haywood, "Don't waste any time in mourning—organize" (p. 325). This was later revised by Alfred Hayes in the song "I Dreamed I Saw Joe Hill" to "What they could never kill, went on to organize."

Adler ably demonstrates that, while Hill had an effect on the labor movement through his song-writing skills in many songs published in the *Little Red Songbook*, his principal impact on the labor movement is as an icon. Adler allows us to see behind the facade to the man beyond and has provided as detailed a life of Hill as will ever be written.

Leech, Garry. *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*. New York: Zed Books, 2012. 186 pp. $19.95 (paper).

Reviewed by: Guy Lancaster, *Encyclopedia of Arkansas History & Culture, Little Rock, Arkansas, USA*
DOI: 10.1177/0160449X13494583

Describing capitalism as a "structural genocide" might strike conservative thinkers as typical leftist hyperbole. But many genocide scholars themselves have recently asked

whether iniquitous economic systems might represent instances of structural violence. For example, Adam Jones, known for his work on genocide studies, has examined such cases as global poverty, privatization, state corruption, and regimes of sanction and embargo as worthy of greater investigation under the rubric of genocide studies; he even suggests that the modern world's inability to tackle the problem of genocide stems from a failure to recognize the part played by institutional violence. Garry Leech's *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide*, therefore, lies within a growing mainstream of current thought among those who take seriously the myriad problems currently facing humanity.

Leech's thesis is that "social injustice and inequality are inherent in capitalism, and the resulting structural violence constitutes … a class-based structural genocide that targets the poor," such that capitalism "should not be viewed as a legitimate system under which to organize society" (p. 7). The author opens with a survey of the literature defining structural violence and the varying definitions of genocide in currency before proceeding to examine the logic of capital. According to this logic, "society exists to serve the economy, rather than the reverse," and "individual and property rights prioritized under liberal democracy—and enforced by the rule of law—do not ensure freedom for all people, but rather maintain the conditions of inequality under which some individuals are free to exploit others" (pp. 26, 27).

As he later notes, the emphasis upon the human rights of the individual belies a hostility toward collective rights, both social and economic. To reinforce these claims, Leech offers several present-day case studies of capitalism as genocide: 1) the forced displacement of agricultural workers in Mexico due to that country being flooded with subsidized American agricultural goods, thanks to NAFTA; 2) the dramatic rise in suicides among farmers in India who see death as the only way to escape from a cycle of debt promoted by the neoliberal restructuring of the national economy; 3) the ongoing exploitation of sub-Saharan Africa, where agricultural land is dominated by crops for export while millions starve locally because "[c]apitalist logic requires that food be distributed to those who can … purchase as much as their gluttonous appetites desire" (p. 67); and 4) global climate change, which constitutes "structural genocide against future generations" (p. 93).

How has such a system as capitalism been allowed to emerge triumphant in a post–Cold War world as *the* legitimate means for ordering economy and society? The usual suspects raise their heads here: the education system, the corporate media, the military-industrial complex, and even the role of private philanthropy, whereby the wealthy "promote charity as the solution to the structural violence inherent in the very system they used to get rich, thereby suggesting that equality and sustainability can be achieved under capitalism" (p. 102). Because capitalism itself cannot be reformed, being inherently violent, Leech advocates for the socialist alternative, surveying the advances (albeit imperfect) in social and economic equality brought about in such nations as Venezuela, Cuba, and Bolivia, which have turned to socialism after long experience with early colonialism and later "free market" exploitation.

Nearly short enough to be read in one sitting, but so powerful that its arguments will survive the ages, Leech's *Capitalism: A Structural Genocide* proves itself anything but an exemplar of hyperbole. Instead, this book constitutes a measured and scholarly

analysis that convincingly illustrates the exterminationist nature of an economic system whose primary products are poverty and pain. It is also an impassioned defense of true democracy, for "participatory democracy cannot exist as long as people lack a meaningful voice in the economic sphere of their lives" (p. 117). By identifying the structural evils of capitalism, Leech gives us hope that they can be dismantled before it is too late.

Acuff, Stewart. *Playing Bigger Than You Are: A Life in Organizing.* Minneapolis, MN: Levins Publishing, 2012. 129 pp. $14.99 (paper).

Reviewed by: Eric Larson, *Brown University, Providence, RI, USA*
DOI: 10.1177/0160449X13495657

Aptly titled *Playing Bigger Than You Are*, Stewart Acuff's short memoir frames the labor movement as one defined by the "wit and grit" (p. 29) of everyday organizers who challenge the emergent financial elite. Acuff discusses his life amidst those organizers, beginning with his street-level work with the Association for Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) in the South in the late 1970s and ending with his time with the AFL-CIO during the George W. Bush administration. In the process, Acuff narrates his firsthand impressions of some of the significant national moments of the labor left in recent years, like the "New Voice" changes in the 1995 AFL-CIO leadership, the 1997 UPS strike, the World Trade Organization protests in Seattle, Barack Obama's 2004 Democratic National Convention speech, and the 2005 AFL-CIO convention, when dissident unions formed the alternative "Change to Win" coalition.

As Bernie Sanders (I-VT) suggests in the book's introduction, the text is best described as a "story of a life in organizing" (p. xi) rather than an analysis or organizing manual, though the abbreviated last chapter does offer recommendations for new organizers. Beginning with his work in Texas and Tennessee ACORN and the New Hampshire People's Alliance, Acuff traces how campaigns to lower utility rates taught him to embrace collective direct action. After he recounts his return to the South to organize African American women working in nursing homes and the public sector—and often winning, despite the hostile presence of the Ku Klux Klan—Acuff discusses his union experience in Atlanta. In the early 1990s, Acuff won the presidency of the Atlanta Central Labor Council. He helped lead struggles to unionize the 1996 Atlanta Olympics, craft local coalitions with civil rights and community organizations to defend "righteous" labor standards, and fight the rise of neo-conservatives like Newt Gingrich.

Bible verses and Acuff's recognition of the noble struggles of poor and middle-income communities thread prominently through the book. He concludes the book by explaining his time away from the southern, Christian communities he often celebrates. As an official at the head of the national AFL-CIO's Organizing Department between 2001 and 2009, he asserts that the internal politics of national union leaderships and AFL-CIO "desk jockeys" (p. 89) thwarted the momentum of the labor