interests (including human rights), and dealing with the trust deficit in the global digital economy. For instance, she points out that the US deviates from its classical techno-libertarian model for national security reasons (66–67). Similarly, the Chinese model of techno-authoritarianism is not always oblivious to genuine public interests (91), or to the pursuance of dynamic digital innovation (74–75). Additionally, Bradford describes how the EU has shown a propensity to secure markets in semiconductors, batteries, and artificial intelligence (134–35) and also highlights its unique single market imperative (130). She also highlights interesting convergences between the regulatory approaches of these three "digital empires." For example, both China and the EU focus on a certain sense of fairness and redistribution in the economy, although the former is based on maintaining a stable social order, while the latter is largely defined by democratic values and human rights. The net outcome, however, can take the form of digital industrial policies in both the EU and China.

Bradford's brilliant book also opens up new avenues of thought for its readers. For instance, the emergence of India as a powerful and gigantic digital economy adds another layer of complexity in the global digital economy. Similarly, as some have argued, the ASEAN/Asian way of rulemaking can offer pragmatic solutions in various economic contexts including on digital economy regulation, especially for developing countries. In addition to Asia, other markets with high potential for digital growth and penetration include developing countries in Africa and Latin America. Especially with Africa now adopting a Digital Trade Protocol, we might also see the emergence of an African model of digital regulation more suited to the least developed countries. While the influencer effect of the digital empires will never fully recede, it is likely that many of these emerging economies will customize their models of digital regulation to suit their unique political and economic realities. As and when these alternative models emerge, Bradford's work will continue to be a crucial foundation for understanding the fast-moving digital world.

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Aurélie Dianara Andry, *Social Europe, the Road Not Taken: The Left and European Integration in the Long 1970s* **(Oxford University Press, 2022).**

In November 2022, the European Union's Directive on adequate minimum wages[1] came into force. Having voted against its adoption, Denmark is now challenging the directive before the Court of Justice of the European Union,[2] arguing that it should be annulled because the member states never agreed to transfer to the EU the power to regulate minimum wages. However, it was, at a certain point in history, not impossible to imagine the regulation of minimum wages being transferred to the supranational level. Aurélie Dianara Andry's book, *Social Europe, the Road Not Taken*, tells the story of how socialist ideas *almost* became the mainstream ideology of the EU integration process. Andry reveals the window of opportunity that arose for communist and

[1] Directive (EU) 2022/2041 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 October 2022 on Adequate Minimum Wages in the European Union, OJ L 275, 25.10.2022, pp. 33–47.
[2] Case C-19/23 Action Brought on 18 January 2023—Kingdom of Denmark v. European Parliament and Council of the European Union OJ C 104, 20.3.2023, pp. 17–18.

socialist political forces during the 1960s and 1970s, and the ultimate victory of neoliberalism that to this day defines the political economy of the EU.

The once-dominant narrative of the EU as a peace project is being challenged by new neocolonial and Marxist accounts. Andry's book joins this literature by showing European integration as part of the postwar global distribution of economic power led by the United States (35–37). The communist and socialist forces of that time were, as Andry shows, conflicted between opposing European integration as such and working within its system to bring about socialist change (55). Ultimately, the latter approach prevailed. For the most part, the political groups of the Left embraced the narrative that wealth-creating capitalism would improve the conditions of the electorate and abandoned the idea of an anticapitalist revolution (58). Similarly, after the Bretton Woods system collapsed in 1974, the European Left of the time failed to seize the moment and stop the neoliberal tide that Thatcher as well as the industrialist lobby within and outside the European Communities ("EC") so strongly promoted (233, 241–42, 261). For every stage of European integration, Andry offers ample evidence that the Left tried, but ultimately failed, to create a significant transnational connection between socialist parties or between trade unions (78, 81, 190) and remained mostly bogged down by national politics. At the same time, the Left remained permanently undecided between prioritizing the democratization of the EC more generally and promoting specific socialist policies and initiatives (110, 239). The European Left was relegated to fighting for incremental change within the capitalist neoliberal system.

Importantly, Andry's book lays bare how little the concept of "social Europe" came to signify as the integration process developed. To demonstrate the gravity of the defeat of the Left and the victory of economic integration, Andry focuses on the alternative path of "social Europe." She defines it through aims such as "wealth redistribution, market regulation, social and economic planning, increased public control over investments and economic forces, economic democratization, upward harmonization of European social and fiscal regimes, improved working and living conditions, guarantee of the right to work, and access to social protection for all," as well as "environmental concerns, proposals for a democratization of European institutions, and claims to rebalance the international system to favour the development of the rising 'Third World'" (5). It is striking to see how much more prominent these ideas were fifty years ago, and this book is impressive in illustrating how much more likely a directive on adequate minimum wages would have been in the 1960s and 1970s than it is today. Andry shows with painful clarity how misguided it is to call Jacques Delors the father of social Europe: it is precisely during his Commission presidency starting in 1985 that the EC definitively turned away from socialist ideals and strongly embraced the neoliberal ideology, through the final liberalization of the internal market (with the Single European Act in 1986) and the creation of the Economic and Monetary Union in 1993.

While the EC had clearly walked away from socialist ideals in the mid-1980s, it might be challenging for nonhistorians to grasp the transformation that the idea of "social Europe" underwent as presented in the book. In attempting to send a forceful message of the great ideological battle between social and economic integration, the book draws on extensive archival research and covers a large number of initiatives, programs, political parties, individual actors, trade unions, and organizations, which readers might find hard to navigate through (for example, 112–13, 128–29, 155, 159, 162–62, 181, 196, 219). It perhaps would have been useful, as the author herself hints at (170), to schematize the various proposals and visions: some might have been characterized as radically communist, during the time when the Left attempted to influence the fundamental ethos of the European project; others would fit the socialist label, when the Left worked within the system on measures with a significant redistributive dimension; and finally, initiatives and measures that align with what the EU's institutions refer to as "social Europe"—measures that are largely consistent with the neoliberal ideology. This would have significantly

strengthened the message and made obvious the gravity of the ultimate defeat of the Left in the mid-1980s. The epilogue, however, does show convincingly why the debates presented in the book are of crucial relevance for understanding the political economy of the EU, joining the important literature that shows not only how undemocratic, but ultimately also how neoliberal the EU is. Under such conditions, it is no surprise that member states such as Denmark refuse to trust the EU with social protection and insist on doing it themselves.

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Matthew C. Canfield, *Translating Food Sovereignty: Cultivating Justice in an Age of Transnational Governance* (Stanford University Press, 2022).

Since the publication of Matthew C. Canfield's book *Translating Food Sovereignty*, economic and political crises, exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic and the war in Ukraine, are erupting around the world. Grievances over high prices, low wages, and crippling debt are fracturing society, instigating unrest, and creating openings for the ascension of right-wing populism. In this precarious moment, *Translating Food Sovereignty* is a call for collective action that transcends the divisions between urban globalists and rural nationalists and points to a globalized future reclaimed from neoliberalism and grounded in justice.

Canfield makes both theoretical and methodological contributions that are salient for scholars and activists alike. Drawing from his scholar-activist praxis, Canfield offers a first-hand account of how power is negotiated, contested, shifted from the top down, and built from the ground up. He shows how food activists, rallying behind the claim to "sovereignty," confront the neoliberal ideology that underly both global trade and international development to address food security and food aid. Concepts from cybernetics and information studies are politicized as they interface with discourses on labor, trade, and social reproduction. Through the lens of legal anthropology, Canfield presents a novel analysis of the mutually constitutive relationship between neoliberalism and transnational governance, a panoramic view of global food sovereignty networks as a decolonial project, and an intimate portrayal of how activists use the language of "food sovereignty" to construct a political constituency.

Translating Food Sovereignty is as conceptually expansive as it is descriptively nuanced. Canfield positions food sovereignty activism within a continuous struggle against imperial conquest, colonial control, and capitalist extraction. The book is structured around three spatial scales of food sovereignty activism. At the local scale, an ethnography of the Puget Sound Regional Food Policy Council is situated within a broader history of food politics surrounding organic certification. At the regional scale, the success story of farmworker organizing by Familias Unidas por la Justicia in Skagit County, Washington, reveals global value chains as not simply a product of corporate exploitation, but also a process for grassroots governance. At the global scale, the resistance against the Gates Foundation–funded "super banana" exposes the epistemological enclosure of biosafety regulation, agricultural biotechnology, and philanthro-capitalism writ large. By examining how activists representing diverse peoples and places consolidate their demands for