

another way, the objective of the racist settler state was the elimination of certain populations and the colonisation and exploitation of others. For that to succeed, those who were deemed to be *of colour* had to be demonised and a common white front created against them to forestall or undermine, among other things, the eternally feared uprising of the 'coloured masses'.

Thus, social control has to be understood as more than ensuring the economic hegemony of the capitalist elite *vis-à-vis* the working class, but also about ensuring the staying power of the capitalist settler state.

Despite these qualifications, *The Production of Difference* is of great importance to a readership that goes beyond the academic. The issues it addresses are of strategic importance to mounting any struggle for progressive change, not to mention a movement for social transformation that challenges white supremacist national oppression and the capitalist system of the US, of which it is part.

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BILL FLETCHER JR

Anatomy of Injustice: a murder case gone wrong

By RAYMOND BONNER (New York, Alfred Knopf, 2012), 298 pp. \$26.95.

We all remember how, in *Gone with the Wind*, a posse of white men of the slave-owning class goes after the young black man who has supposedly compromised Scarlett's honour. But the Civil war is over, right, and lynching is illegal? Wrong. The race war lies deep in the southern white psyche, and lynching is institutionalised in the criminal justice system of states like South Carolina. Edward Elmore, black, uneducated and mentally retarded, finds himself, in 1982, convicted of the murder of a white, respectable, middle-class woman whose house gutters he had cleared. There is no forensic evidence linking him to the crime, no motive, his representation is weak to the point of non-existence, his prosecutor is rabid, the police and cellmate keen to fit him up. It took a mere ninety days from the finding of the victim's body for him to be convicted of murder.

If this book by *New York Times* journalist (and Pulitzer prize winner) Raymond Bonner only told the story of one young man's journey to death row, it would not, in the plethora of campaigns, reports, books against the death penalty, be exceptional. But what makes it stand out is that there are in fact two (if somewhat reluctant) heroes in *Anatomy of Injustice*: Edward Elmore, gentle, smiling and ever obedient; and Diana Holt, a law student who made his cause her life. After Elmore had had three trials and been on death row for eleven years, Holt really began the process of taking the prosecution's case apart and finding the facts that would exonerate him. Bonner does not just tell us Elmore's story, but also Holt's. She is a most unlikely fighter for justice: female, white, dirt poor, poorly educated, herself a victim of abuse and a mother of three.

For half of the book, Bonner follows Holt and her painstaking review of every jot and tittle of the murder and the subsequent miscarriages of justice across twenty-odd years. She finds all those who were not interviewed at the time, unearths photos that somehow never reached the court, questions the pathologist's opinion of when the victim's rigor mortis set in, manages to get the cellmate to admit that he lied on the stand, finds pubic hair 'evidence' to have been planted and unveils a much more likely suspect in a white neighbour who 'discovered' the body. Holt's fight does not end there; she still has to contend with the legal system itself. Although Judge Kinard concludes, in a post-conviction relief hearing, that 'Edward Lee Elmore may well not be guilty and I appreciate the effort put forth by defense counsel', he refuses to order a new trial – the whole purpose of such a hearing. And then, as she struggles on with the case, the heat is turned on to Diana Holt herself because it turns out that she has a 'past', a conviction twenty years earlier for armed robbery. (In fact, we only learn at this point in the narrative that it was while incarcerated in a cell close to the prison library that she developed her interest in the law and her intense commitment to justice.)

Bonner, who was for many years a lawyer and then law lecturer, writes in a most accessible and engaging way, so as to provide, through Elmore's case, a thriller in which people and incidents are reconstructed in imaginative detail to capture the lay reader's interest. But it is also a kind of textbook for the budding lawyer – an anatomy of how, in a system skewed by and for the white, rich and powerful, one can still fight for justice.

That such justice is painfully slow in coming is attested to at the book's ending. Despite all of Holt's struggles to finger the incompetent and downright treacherous in the criminal justice system and to bring new facts to light and gain yet another (re)trial, her only tangible achievement is that Elmore is moved off death row. For, it is accepted that he is mentally retarded and, as such, should not face the death penalty.

There the book ends, but not the story. Just days after the book was published, Elmore, as part of an agreement with the state, denied any involvement in the crime, but pleaded guilty in exchange for his freedom. In the words of Raymond Bonner, 'innocence isn't enough'.

Institute of Race Relations

JENNY BOURNE

Recreating Democracy in a Globalized State

By CLIFF DURAND and STEVE MARTINOT (Atlanta, GA, Clarity Press, 2012), 226 pp. \$19.95.

In *Recreating Democracy in a Globalized State*, Cliff Durand and Steve Martinot confront one of the most important political and theoretical problems facing modern