

rejection of justice, legality and rights among admittedly different schools of thought; hence my reference to what has become the “orthodox” view.

As for approaching Marx’s ambivalent statements about rights in the *German Ideology* and elsewhere, the book tries to assess Marx’s positions in “real time”—that is, by examining where he stood when issues of justice, legality and rights were critically at stake. Examples include the 1843 petition by leaders of the Rhenish Jewish community for equal rights, which Marx endorsed; his consistent defence of civil and political rights during the European Revolutions of 1848; and his detailed reflections on legally enforced limits on the working day in *Capital*. In all these critical instances, Marx’s political actions speak louder than his ambivalent statements about rights. As Gray dutifully acknowledges, *Revisiting Marx’s Critique of Liberalism* offers a “‘reconstruction’ of Marx’s critique of liberal rights and law.” In Habermas’ terminology, a critical reconstruction “signifies taking a theory apart and putting it back together in a new form in order to attain more fully the goal that it has set for itself” (1979: 95). There are retrospective and prospective dimensions to the critical reconstruction that was pursued in the book. Retrospectively, the book revisits Marx’s critical reflections on justice, legality and rights, as well as their political reverberations in the twentieth century, taking stock of possible paths that remained untravelled.¹ Prospectively, it looks to the present and foreseeable future, identifying features of Marx’s thought that remain prescient for a world confronting vast inequalities and exhibiting widespread assaults on hard-won rights and liberties.

Note

¹ A more detailed consideration of these issues will appear in a future volume, *The Revolution of Law: Developments in Soviet Legal Theory, 1917-1931*, jointly edited and translated by Rafael Khachatryan and Igor Shoikhedbrod.

References

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Pakistan’s Political Parties: Surviving between Dictatorship and Democracy

Mariam Mufti, Sahar Shafqat and Niloufer Siddiqui, eds., Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2020, pp. 336

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Pakistan’s Political Parties is an edited volume that introduces readers to the dizzying political landscape of the world’s fifth most populous state. As the editors (Mariam Mufti, Sahar Shafqat and Niloufer Siddiqui) note aptly in their introduction, Pakistan’s often turbulent relationship with democracy has taken myriad forms since the country’s inception in 1947; four military coups, three constitutions and (only) a dozen general elections in 75 years of independence present quite the opportunity for intellectual unpacking. The editors selected an impressive array of scholars spanning multiple disciplines and subfields to bring their expertise to such an

endeavour. The result is a sweeping look at Pakistan's party system through various theoretical and methodological lenses.

The volume is arranged into three parts. The first part, composed of six chapters, is focused on what the editors call the *form* of political parties in Pakistan. It aims at answering the (rather broad) question: What do Pakistan's major catchall, ethnic, and religious parties look like? Each author tackles either a major party or a set of parties and focuses on key aspects of its structure and history. Among the topics covered are the Pakistan Muslim League-Nawaz (PML-N) and its dance with the military establishment, the intensely personalistic leadership of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), the struggles of the Awami Nationalist Party (ANP) with organizational capacity, the decline of the Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM) and the journey of the Pakistan Tehreek-e-Insaf (PTI) from movement to party. Underlying these expositions is the uneasy tension between the facts that party-switching and patron/client relationships are fundamental features of Pakistan's party system and yet party ideology also seems to matter.

The second part, composed of five chapters, is focused on the *function* of political parties in Pakistan. It is motivated by questions regarding three types of relationships: party/voter linkages (for example: do parties aggregate and represent voter interests? to what extent are these interests defined along ideological lines?), within-party relationships (for example: what role do women play in political parties in Pakistan? can Pakistan's parties elicit loyalty from independent, locally powerful candidates?) and party/party relationships (for example: what role do opposition parties play in the party system?). Taken together, this set of chapters highlights some of the major issues in a weak party system such as Pakistan's. The evidence suggests that voters with closer links to parties are dramatically different from the average voter, that the current system is and will most likely remain candidate-centred and fractionalized, and that parties have little incentive to include female candidates in the seats that matter most.

Finally, the third part of the book—composed of three chapters—focuses on the *survival* of political parties in an environment as uncertain as Pakistan's. This part addresses questions about how parties survive and what roadblocks they face in a context where other institutions—such as the judiciary and the military—wield significant power. These chapters direct our attention to aspects of governance (such as foreign policy) that are still heavily constrained by non-party actors but also show the ways in which parties remain resilient in the face of powerful unelected contenders.

The primary contributions of this text are twofold. First, it is a welcome addition to the growing literature on the more "mundane" aspects of Pakistani politics that have heretofore received scant attention in the political science literature. The literature on Pakistan that is most read and cited in Western academia tends to be dominated by the study of nuclear weapons, terrorism, or the country's skewed civil/military relations. And while the question of military dominance is still an open and heavily debated one among Pakistan scholars, this question has for too long overshadowed the equally important study of political parties, party/voter linkages, legislatures and elections—an oversight this book both engages with actively and aims to correct. Many of the authors directly address the outsized role of the military in Pakistan's party system but also move the conversation beyond this prevailing frame. The importance of this intentionally fresh perspective cannot be overstated.

Second, the editors did an admirable job at bringing together studies that use a number of disciplinary and empirical approaches. In a data-poor context such as Pakistan—where both state and private actors lack either the capacity or the willingness to collect high-quality data—a multi-methodological approach is the only way to tackle the pressing questions addressed in this book. The authors employ a wide range of methodologies, from ethnography to surveys to semistructured interviews.

I have only two quibbles with this volume. First, it is striking that part 1 of the book is missing a chapter on major parties in Balochistan. This might simply be because no one

was available to write such a chapter; Balochistan is difficult to study, not least because the military keeps a vigilant watch on those who attempt to get too deep into its politics. But Balochistan is one of Pakistan's four major provinces, and it seems an oversight not to devote a chapter to the ethnic parties that dominate its political landscape. Second, the editors point to how this volume adds to a burgeoning literature on political parties and party systems in non-Western, developing contexts. But there is little theoretical discussion on where Pakistan falls on the "hybrid regime" spectrum or what the scope conditions of some of the claims are. But these are minor points that should not detract from the major contributions of this volume. It will serve as an excellent resource to all those interested in gaining—and teaching—a broad yet nuanced overview of Pakistan's party system.

Canadian Club: Birthright Citizenship and National Belonging

Lois Harder, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022, pp. 216

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Lois Harder's *Canadian Club: Birthright Citizenship and National Belonging* investigates the construction of the Canadian political subject, and therefore our sense of national belonging, through an examination of the laws, norms and social practices that have shaped the notion of citizenship in Canada over the past 75 years.

The aims of this book are twofold. First, the author traces the many processes that have produced the contemporary Canadian citizen. Her analysis mobilizes media coverage, court judgments and public discourses regarding citizenship issues, as well as the federal government's policies from the original Canadian Citizenship Act of 1947 to the recent provisions in 2020 for children born abroad via reproductive technologies. Throughout this chronology, Harder emphasizes the central role of the concept of birthright in defining "Canadian-ness" and how it remains the foundational principle by which individuals can legitimately assert membership in the Canadian polity. At the same time, the author examines several situations in which these rules for granting Canadian citizenship have resulted in "lost Canadians": individuals who have direct ties to Canada and consider themselves to be part of Canadian society but whose citizenship has been blocked or revoked by the government. In these case studies, Harder analyzes the entitlements on which these individuals claim citizenship, allowing her to highlight the hierarchy created by the arbitrary application of birthright among those claiming to be Canadian.

A simultaneous objective of this book is to provide a normative framework for assessing and evaluating the value of birthright citizenship. Harder aims to challenge the legitimacy of citizenship based on random factors, such as geography and time of birth. She argues that citizenship crafted in this way lacks democratic substance because it does not involve a genuine voluntary and participatory commitment of citizens to their political community. Thus, she argues, we fail to recognize the variety of citizenship-granting options that would be more inclusive and require a sincere commitment to the political community.

Harder's argument persuasively demonstrates three key points. First, the concept of a family is a product of political practices that define who parents and children are. As a result, the state's definition of family regulates who is and is not a member of its population. Second, Canadian citizenship has not developed in a way that is neutral for all, but rather has produced and reproduced racial and gender biases that construct political belonging as white and masculine. Third, birthright citizenship is a paradox in a liberal democracy, one that must