

increasingly clear that Russia's behavior is both damaging to international norms and a highly effective way of maintaining the relevance of the Russian state. Jasper writes that "Russia has shown a willingness to provoke and push the boundaries of international order" (p. 110). Recognizing the incompleteness of his argument, he continues in the subsequent pages to outline in detail the "unconvincing responses" to Russian cyber activities. By drawing out the inability to control or constrain Russian activities, he further substantiates Russia's logic for its choice of both means and methods.

Lastly, recognizing the conundrum he has identified, he takes a stab at building a case for modernizing U.S. deterrence strategies to counter Russian cyber operations through what he refers to as a "technical offset strategy" (p. 195). He builds his argument out of a logic he developed in his previous book, *Strategic Cyber Deterrence: The Active Cyber Defense Option* (2016). His solution is technical and focuses on advances in artificial intelligence and human-machine interactions. His proposal is categorically different from that of most international relations scholars and from the prevailing strategy of "persistent engagement" outlined in the 2018 Defense Cyber Strategy and layered deterrence proposed by the U.S. Cyberspace Solarium Commission. It is hard to assess whether Jasper's policy proposal will be effective, as it depends in part on advances in technologies and processes that are still in development. The cumulative result of the three threads that Jasper weaves together is an engaging and policy-relevant work that thoughtfully adds to a growing literature in cyber conflict studies.

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**Grocery Activism: The Radical History of Food Cooperatives in Minnesota** by Craig B. Upright. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2020. 264 pp. Paper, \$25.00.

Numerous scholars and journalists have examined how movements respond to social injustices driven by capitalist markets. Far fewer have studied how movements sometimes constitute those markets, shaping everything from consumer behavior and supply chains to industry norms and standards. With *Grocery Activism*, Craig B. Upright has given us a refreshing, insightful, and highly readable account of how one movement exercised such a constitutive influence.

Upright's book tells the story of Minnesota's "new wave" grocery store cooperatives—why they emerged, how they survived, and, most importantly, how they helped transform the supply, demand, and valuation of food in America. He shows how, during the 1970s, these cooperatives banded together to create a market infrastructure for "organic" or "naturally grown" foods. At the time, Upright explains, the federal government and mainstream grocers mostly dismissed popular interest in sustainable and eco-friendly alternatives to industrialized agriculture. Cooperative activists, on the other hand, embraced this interest, developing the customer relations, distribution networks, and regulatory practices needed to satisfy it. In the process, they also ensured their survival by differentiating themselves from larger competitors and associating co-op membership with the idea of promoting a healthier and fairer society.

As Upright explains, the history of Minnesota's cooperative grocers is useful to study because it is exemplary. Since the nineteenth century, Minnesotans have formed cooperative organizations of all types at relatively high rates. The state's community of "new wave" grocery cooperatives has been especially prominent. This community yielded national leaders such as Dave Gutknecht, who traversed much of the state and brought together a wide range of groups, including "Vietnam War protesters, Marxist agitators, commune members, intellectuals, back-to-the-land hippies, urban dwellers, and rural farmers" (p. 4). Today, Minnesota still has more than 40 cooperative grocers up and running, more than any other state in the country.

To assess the constitutive relationship between Minnesota's cooperative movement and food markets, Upright conducts a population-level analysis. He avoids delving into the happenings of particular stores and instead focuses on the evolution of the overall cooperative grocer community. By adopting this wider lens, Upright identifies several factors that enabled the success of co-ops and bolstered their contributions to the spread of the "organic" food industry. The most important of these factors, he shows, was the willingness of cooperative leaders to coordinate—rather than compete—with one another. Working in tandem, they developed mutually beneficial distribution networks, provided support to fledgling stores, and built consumers' faith in quality of their products.

Because the ground covered by *Grocery Activism* is so under-tilled, it inevitably raises as many interesting questions as it answers. Among these questions, perhaps the most important is whether the 1970s "new wave" cooperative movement was, on balance, a good thing. Should we praise it, as Upright seems to, for successfully effecting cultural change in support of "organic" food and healthier consumption? Or should we criticize it for drawing activists' energies away from efforts in, for example, labor or party

organizing—efforts that might have better stemmed rising inequality, which, in spite of cultural changes, has proven so damaging to Americans' health? I would have enjoyed reading more commentary from the author about this question and, more generally, what the history of cooperative grocers reveals about the promise and limits of progressive consumerism.

Regardless, *Grocery Activism* has much to teach anyone interested in the politics of markets and movements in the United States. It offers a fascinating perspective on the contentious roots of the contemporary food industry, one that will engage lay and academic readers alike.

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