

Malleson, Tom and David Wachsmuth, eds. 2011. *Whose Streets? The Toronto G20 and the Challenges of Summit Protest*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

**Reviewed by Elise Thorburn**

Ross, Stephanie and Larry Savage, eds. 2012. *Rethinking the Politics of Labour in Canada*. Halifax: Fernwood.

**Reviewed by Julie Guard**

Sharzer, Greg. 2012. *No Local: Why Small-Scale Alternatives Won't Change The World*. Winchester: Zero Books.

**Reviewed by Charles Z. Levkoe**

Choudry, Aziz, Jill Hanley, and Eric Shragge, eds. 2012. *Organize! Building from the Local for Global Justice*. Oakland and Toronto: PM Press and Between the Lines.

**Reviewed by Ian Hussey**

McNally, David. 2011. *Monsters of the Market: Zombies, Vampires and Global Capitalism*. Leiden: Brill.

**Reviewed by Mark Neocleous**

Eagleton, Terry. 2011. *Why Marx was Right*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

**Reviewed by Charles Post**

Anderson, Mark Cronlund and Carmen L. Robertson. 2011. *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press. ISBN 978-0-88755-727-9. Paperback: 27.95 CAD. Pages: 362.

**Reviewed by Susan Ferguson**

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When *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wenthe rails against Indigenous peoples, casting them as depraved and over-entitled, and argues for the dismantling of Indian Affairs on the basis that “some cultures are too toxic to save” (273), it’s easy to dismiss her as a right-wing crank, doing the ideological work of Canada’s ruling class.

Whatever the merit of that position, it risks occluding the more systemic forces at play. As Anderson and Robertson illustrate in *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers*, Wente's columns are in fact an (admittedly stark) articulation of an entrenched, settler colonial ideology that has characterized coverage of Indigenous people in the Canadian press since Confederation. The authors detail the ways in which this "thriving colonial imaginary" (18) is articulated within specific historical contexts, making a convincing case for its enduring presence. In so doing, they challenge those who suggest that the modern North American press adopts a more progressive, less racist, approach than it did prior to World War II.

*Seeing Red* is the culmination of an extensive and intensive discursive analysis of Canadian newspapers. It examines local and national coverage of 12 discreet events, beginning with the 1869 sale of Rupert's Land and concluding with Saskatchewan's and Alberta's centennial celebrations in 2005. Chapters focus on key political moments, such as the introduction in 1969 of Trudeau's White Paper and the 1990 Native blockade at Oka, as well as some less obvious episodes, including the 1938 death of Grey Owl (and subsequent revelation of his English ancestry), and the Native-run Canadian Indian Princess contests in the 1980s. In each case, Anderson and Robertson review not only how Indigenous peoples are represented, but more significantly, how these representations are inserted into a hegemonic discourse of settler colonial nation-building, one that ultimately demands either their extinction or assimilation.

The authors establish early on what many others have already noted: newspapers portrayed Indigenous peoples alternately (and often simultaneously) as wild, bloodthirsty savages on the one hand, and compliant, dependent children on the other. More "positive" imaginings saw them as a people beyond history, noble warriors or Indian princesses. But *Seeing Red* quickly moves past mere documentation and lamentation of such racism. Its particular contribution is in situating those stereotypes within a further analysis of the press' prevailing discourse of settlement and nation-building, a discourse that assumes private property in land and asserts the values of "improvement" or cultivation, invariably associating these with whiteness. Anderson and Robertson argue that Indigenous peoples are thus not only stripped of their humanity and agency, but their dehumanization justifies and normalizes the original seizure of their lands, as well as their on-going cultural and legal exclusion from (white) Canadian society.

That this discourse not only dominated, but was virtually unchallenged, across Canada's early newspapers (divided as they were by explicit partisan allegiances) is evidence of the intractability of the settler colonial narrative at that time. More controversially, however, Anderson and Robertson insist little has changed since. Any improved representation in the modern era (of the sort R. Scott Sheffield documents in *The Red Man's on the Warpath* [UBC Press, 2004] during World War II, for example), they suggest, is at best temporary. Despite today's prevailing liberal multiculturalism

ethos, contemporary coverage of Indigenous peoples bears irrefutable traces of a settler colonial mentality. Whereas early pundits predicted their assimilation or extinction, today they signal a different kind of doom: sympathetic stories about unhealthy conditions on reservations cast their communities as hopelessly dependent and moribund. In other news stories celebrating Native culture, Indigenous people appear as inhabiting a space beyond history. And of course, coverage of the Oka or Banded Elbow (1974) standoffs recuperate the well worn savage motif. As in the past, Anderson and Robertson argue, these modern imagined Natives are not “Canadian,” and serve as a powerful affirmation of the desirability and inevitability of (white) Canadian stewardship of the land and its peoples.

*Seeing Red* offers a relatively monolithic account of Canadian newspapers, insisting that, regardless of era, party affiliation, or even ownership models, the press peddles a hegemonic racist ideology. While the evidence clearly supports such a conclusion in general, the authors don't always adequately explore the more subtle tensions in the news accounts. Analyzing the letters to the editor sections in two newspapers during the Oka crisis, Anderson and Robertson identify the emergence of “a sustained counter-narrative” (220): a handful of letters defended the 1990 blockade, and some put forward an explicit anti-colonialist rationale. Yet they dismiss these as broadly inconsequential either because they were penned by an Indigenous person or motivated by anti-Quebec sentiment. Similarly, they dismiss a 1938 *Winnipeg Free Press* editorial describing Grey Owl as an Indian with something to teach Whites, noting that it “voiced an opinion that surely confounded Canada's colonial sense of order” (126). This favourable comparison of Grey Owl to the White man does of course, as the authors argue, depend upon a particular imaginary of a constructed, assimilate-able Native. But could it not also be an attempt to humanize the Native? Otherwise, what's there to confound Canada's colonial sense of order? Or what should one make of a lone 1971 *Toronto Star* editorial criticizing the paternalism of Trudeau's White Paper, and suggesting that Indigenous peoples were understandably angered and moved to protest? The authors duly note it, but don't attempt to make sense of it, or a sprinkling of other passages which are open to contradictory interpretations. True, such counter-narratives are vastly outnumbered by stories framed by the settler colonial narrative. But greater reflection on how and why they appear at all would offer readers a more satisfying understanding of the ideological role and potential of newspaper coverage in general, and deflect potential criticism aimed at the authors' political message.

Nonetheless, *Seeing Red* mounts an important argument about the persistence of a settler colonialist framework through time. And while such a thesis invites repetition (as similar examples of dehumanizing portrayals of Indigenous peoples and Euro-centric assumptions and values are documented in each distinct period), the authors cut against the tedium of their social science by situating their findings in an engaging historical

narrative. In so doing, they add an invaluable critical perspective to the “Indian problem” in the news.

Razack, Sherene; Malinda Smith and Sunera Thobani, eds. 2010. *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. Toronto: Between the Lines. ISBN 978-1-897071-59-5. Paperback: 29.95 CAD. Pages: 228.

**Reviewed by Anne O’Connell**  
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Researchers and Academics of Colour for Equality/Equity (RACE) is a national network of Indigenous faculty and faculty of colour committed to anti-colonial and anti-racist feminist research and activism. This edited collection is drawn from scholars associated with this network and coincided with the aims of their tenth anniversary conference – “to draw attention to the ‘wilfull forgetting’ in the majority of Canadian and international studies scholarship, of racial thinking, race-making and racial imaginaries, which have long served the imperial and colonial designs of empires and states alike” (xvi).

*States of Race* examines the complications, nuances and political currency of critical race feminism. The editors’ introduction and the eight chapters argue that two dominant logics drive the focus of critical race feminism – neoliberalism’s attachment to an imagined individualism devoid of a racial, ethnic or gendered self and the collective imaginaries which “make clear that ‘outsider groups’ and the ‘barbarians’ are always shaped by racial and gendered markers” (xvii). This apparent contradiction is enormously productive in shaping the governance of individual freedom for some and the “social death” (90) of others.

Attending to this dual logic makes each chapter a compelling read and speaks to the ways in which justice in Canada (for some) is perpetually deferred. Another main strength of this collection is the urgent and intricate theorization of race, the role of gender, feminism and theories of whiteness. How does feminism and gender rights further racial supremacy? How does the intersection of gender and whiteness embolden racial hierarchies? What is accomplished when feminism is positioned as contrary to Indigenous nationalism? These questions tease out the theoretical intricacies of critical race theory, feminism and whiteness and their application to pressing political issues such as racism and equity policies in universities, the veiled Other, security delayed individuals, Indigenous feminism, on-going colonization, the War on Terror, capitalist globalism and forms of resistance.