

has specific resonance in recent years, in the midst of heightened police violence and injustice against Black youth in Canada (e.g. carding) and the U.S. (e.g. police shootings of unarmed black men), the release of the Canadian Truth and Reconciliation Report, and the white supremacist terrorist attack on a congregation in Charleston, South Carolina. As Bill C-51 threatens to silence First Nations and environmental groups, severely limiting their right to dissent, the role of militant protest becomes even more relevant in the face of “intransigent elites and unresponsive systems of power.”

Languages of the Unheard offers a discursive theory of justice that is instructive to socio-environmental activism and scholarship. Extending the military ‘responsibility to protect (R2P)’ principle to the ‘right to rebel (R2R)’ against systemic violence, *Languages of the Unheard* encourages the reader to

embrace militant protest as a civic virtue under ‘natural law.’ D’Arcy dismantles the ‘liberal objection’ that militancy is coercive, arguing that we should be more concerned with coercion by systems of injustice than with the movements that aim to counter it. This book is recommended for anyone interested in socio-environmental justice, deliberative democracy, and radical change. It has special significance to Canadian academics and activists right now, as we struggle towards reconciliation, against the continuing violence of colonization, and to divest from fossil fuels.

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Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition.

By GLEN SEAN COULTHARD. *U of Minnesota P, 2014. \$22.50 USD*

REVIEWED BY DYLAN MCMAHON

When Taiaiake Alfred writes, in the forward to *Red Skin, White Masks*, that Glen Coulthard “is a leading voice of the new Indigenous Intelligentsia,” it is not an apathetic patronage to the author’s work; it signals a transformation in the discursive landscape of Indigenous politics in Canada. It is the acceptance of a new battle to be waged against the continued colonial oppression of Indigenous peoples, a battle in which the above two authors figure centrally in the vanguard.

Red Skin, White Masks can be understood as a historical mediation and a revolutionary manifesto. Coulthard characterizes the history of Indigenous politics in Canada as consisting of two colonial epochs. The first period, which lasted from the moment of European contact until the White Paper in 1969, saw Indigenous/non-Indigenous rela-

tions framed in the language of ‘the Indian Problem,’ in which “state power [was] geared around genocidal practices of forced *exclusion* and *assimilation*.” In the second era of Canadian colonialism, Coulthard argues, the language of ‘recognition’ has sought to “‘reconcile’ Indigenous assertions of nationhood with settler-state sovereignty via the accommodation of Indigenous identity claims in some form of renewed legal and political relationship with the Canadian state.” Ultimately, however, Coulthard’s argument is premised on the assertion, “that instead of ushering in an era of peaceful coexistence grounded on the ideal of *reciprocity* or *mutual* recognition, the politics of recognition in its contemporary liberal form promises to reproduce the very configurations of colonialist, racist, patriarchal state power that Indigenous peoples’ demands for

recognition have historically sought to transcend.”

The great strength of Coulthard is his ability to situate these claims in a rich theoretical body. Marx’s primitive accumulation thesis figures centrally, and the book provides an anti-colonial critique of the temporal constraints and unilinear cultural and economic developmentalism of Marx, as well as a rich discussion of the applicability of Capital to Canadian settler-colonialism. However, Coulthard’s use of Marx is not revolutionary and serves more as a theoretical lens with which to examine the role of capital, dispossession, and land in colonial hegemonies, than as a sustained critique of the German philosopher.

It is the Martiniquais author Frantz Fanon who provides the most compelling buttress to Coulthard’s discussion of liberal recognition politics in Canada. Fanon’s attentiveness to the always-multiple and corrosive ways in which the colonial authority works upon its *Other* is what so vibrantly colours *Red Skin, White Masks*. Fanon’s central contribution is, as Coulthard suggests, that he “showed how, over time, colonized populations tend to internalize the derogatory images imposed on them by their colonial ‘masters,’ and how as a result of this process, these images, along with the structural relations with which they are entwined, come to be recognized . . . as more or less natural.”

It is this imposition of a ‘psycho-affective’ attachment to colonialism onto colonial subjects that is most central to Coulthard’s discussion. When approaching the Dene Nationalist movements of the 1970s and ‘80s, Coulthard argues that Indigenous involvement in state-led land-claims processes have, through the language of capitalism, re-oriented a struggle that was once for the cultural reproduction of Indigenous ‘grounded normativity’ into a struggle that is for land “as material resource to be exploited in the capital accumulation process.” Following this, Coulthard argues that in contexts where the state is positioned as a privileged authority or mediator on social disputes—focusing particularly on legal challenges to legislative gender discrimination

and discourses on ‘reconciliation’—it is presumed that the Canadian state is objective, nonpatriarchal, noncolonial, and legitimate, making transformative justice unlikely for colonized peoples. For Coulthard, appeals to recognition of Indigenous difference are implicated, in these different cases, in a hegemonic engendering of the neoliberal, sexist, and racist grammar of state- and settler-colonialism, further normalizing these logics. Throughout *Red Skin, White Masks*, Coulthard provides an extremely detailed examination of the historical contexts, legislative backgrounds, and theoretical concerns from which his critiques arise. His use of Fanon is fluid, and his ability to excavate the intricacies of the failings of liberal recognition politics in multiple contexts is compelling.

The final chapter of *Red Skin, White Masks* presents the theories, the minds, the movements, and the praxis needed to re-vision Indigenous politics in Canada. Coulthard’s “Five Theses on Indigenous Resurgence and Decolonization” are, perhaps, the most decisive element of the work. They operate as companions to Alfred’s *Wasáse* and Leanne Simpson’s *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back*. These texts collectively have nurtured the development of a ‘third discursive moment’ of Indigenous politics in Canada. They provide a manifesto for the post-recognition movement towards resurgence. Coulthard’s essential message can be found here: (1) the Indigenous movement needs direct action; (2) it needs to reject capitalism; (3) Indigenous dispossession is continuing in urban spaces through gentrification and needs to be fought; (4) gender equity is essential to resurgence; (5) and resurgence will be reliant on the ability to transcend the Canadian state and form institutions beyond it. These are bold goals, but they are certainly compatible with Idle No More. And for Coulthard this is much of the point: he sees Idle No More as the vehicle of change. While Coulthard is not concerned with whether these goals are practically possible, he understands Indigenous resurgence as fundamentally prefigurative. In this sense, deliberative negotiation with states, which is central to the recogni-

tion-based political model, is fundamentally incapable of mobilizing these counter-hegemonic theses.

Those familiar with recent scholarship on Indigenous political philosophy will find that *Red Skin, White Masks* provides a precise elaboration of arguments that have become well-established in the last decade or so. Coulthard is aware of the reiterative element of his work. Yet, while the book certainly follows a well-worn line of criticisms, Coulthard’s vibrant injection of Frantz Fanon into this discursive terrain provides a much needed reflexive

tool for Indigenous political struggles. Fanon’s insights, as read by Coulthard, are as relevant now as they were during the Algerian War of Independence. *Red Skin, White Masks* canonizes the claim that the recognition model of political discourse offers only further subjugation for Indigenous peoples. The book attempts to implicate itself in the minutiae of Canadian Indigenous peoples’ quotidian experiences, but extends well beyond them. It is essential reading for the idle and those Idle No More—for those who wish to understand Canada.

Safe Space: Gay Neighborhood History and the Politics of Violence.

By CHRISTINA B. HANHARDT. Duke UP, 2013. \$27.95 USD

REVIEWED BY RIO RODRIGUEZ

This necessary intervention and Lambda-award winning book is an incredibly systematic collection and analysis of American LGBT activist history, though it also functions as a call for contemporary activists to build critical movements; movements that refuse to define safety through a push for gay territorialization, privatization, and increased criminalization in the name of gay protection.

Hanhardt argues that various—sometimes messy, contested, diverse and overlapping—forces of multiple LGBT activist interventions, since the 1960’s, have brought us along a trajectory of claims to LGBT civil rights protection, but also to claims to gay neighbourhood protection. This territorialization of gay space was developed through various micro and macrocosmic social, political, and geographic factors in which cities have shaped our LGBT movements but those very movements have also shaped cities. Ultimately, Hanhardt puts forth that LGBT neighbourhood protection rhetoric has recently served to justify neoliberal privatization and anticrime agendas which reinforce race and class divides on a very real social and spatial level. “Neo-

liberalism has reshaped U.S cities like New York and San Francisco in ways that foster hypersegregation and exploitation: the privatization of public services, corporate tax breaks, attacks on tenant protections, the expiration of mandates for low- and middle-income housing, public subsidies for private market-value construction, and the mass expansion of security forces are but a few of its policies.” As is developed in the book, these neoliberal processes are something that LGBT activists have maintained a fraught relationship with, and not one of simply opposition, but also of complaisance.

Focusing on several neighbourhoods in San Francisco and New York City, Hanhardt effectively opens this conversation with the example of a 2002 rally in Manhattan’s Christopher Park, in which community residents, retail merchants, and politicians organized a demonstration called “Take Back Our Streets!”. In essence, this action was called to demonstrate residents’ united opposition to the presence of non-residents (comprised of LGBT youth and trans women of colour), people who frequented the neighbourhood but were considered to be outsiders and whose actions were considered to be a threat