

Lopez, Martin notes that many of the papers at a particularly conference were dull because they did not deal with real Indians but rather "anthropological Indians" (p. 211). The challenge in research and writing is to not ossify a culture (as many ethnographic approaches tend to do), but rather to see cultures as a dynamic living force in the present. On this score, Martin's narrative offers us a highly successful template on how this could be done. The book is poignant, powerful and reflective. The book points to the possibilities of an alternative paradigm for understanding Indigenous history and experience.

Ian S. McIntosh. *Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Dreaming: Warramiri Yolngu and the Quest for Equality*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 2000

Review by Suzi Hutchings, University of Adelaide, Australia

McIntosh presents a powerful and passionate argument for postcolonial governments to listen to the voices of wisdom of Indigenous peoples if meaningful reconciliation between the two is to be achieved. He reveals important information about the cultural mechanisms that these people have developed in order to cope with the escalation of encroachment from government workers and development companies into their lives. In so doing McIntosh has fulfilled a major criteria of the philosophy behind the series of which this book is a part. *Cultural Studies in Ethnicity and Change* is a set of volumes edited by anthropologists Maybury-Lewis and Macdonald. The studies have been sponsored by the organization Cultural Survival, which according to the forward is aimed at "promot[ing] multiethnic solutions to otherwise conflictive situations" (p. ix), particularly for Indigenous peoples in their ongoing relations with the state.

It cannot be denied that the intentions behind the philosophy of this organization, and in turn the studies, are noble in providing a space for Indigenous and minority voices on the international stage. However, there is also a danger that they may actually mask a

reinvention in literary form of relations of domination and oppression in their very presentation. If Macintosh's book is one by which we may judge the rest of the series, this danger is ever-present. McIntosh takes up the position of speaking on behalf of a particular group of Yolngu Aborigines, the Warramiri Yolngu of northeast Arnhem Land in the north of Australia.

Chapter 1 and most of the second half of the book (from Chapter 4 on) presents to the reader the Yolngu ideology of membership and remembrance, which is central to a unique Yolngu philosophy of reconciliation. From Macintosh's rendering this is a complex ideology that "refers to the interplay of 'inside' and 'outside' and mythical and historical narratives" (p. 86). It is a system in which the Yolngu remember their history and membership to each other through the law embodied in the Dreaming. But it is also an ideology, which explains and maintains their links to outsiders or *Balanda* (Macassans and European Australians). It is this philosophy that McIntosh argues establishes for the Yolngu a method for a future of successful interaction between Yolngu and outsiders, which at the same time maintains Yolngu cultural power and integrity.

Chapter 1 is written in a lyrical storytelling style. It may be that this style was chosen in order to lead the reader into imagining how the Warramiri may describe their own history and their interrelations with outsiders. Whatever the aim, this is certainly the effect. The chapter interweaves oblique references to the Dreaming and its concomitant laws about kinship and relations to land and country with the history of Yolngu dealings with both Macassans (from Indonesia) and later European missionaries. Most importantly, the chapter introduces the reader to the late Warramiri leader and elder, Burrumarra. It is here that McIntosh appears to be setting himself up as a voice through which the Warramiri Yolngu speak in a bid to bring their story to a national and international audience.

This style continues in much of the second part of the book. Burrumarra is an essential character in this section. According to McIntosh he was a driving force in the presentation of a Flag Treaty proposal of reconciliation to the federal government of Australia. The philosophy behind Burrumarra's reconciliation proposal, it turns

out, was highly dependent on Burrumarra's idiosyncratic interpretation of a particular Yolngu Dreaming provided a template for Warramiri cultural and economic relations with outsiders. Central to this unique philosophy of reconciliation was the concept of membership and remembrance.

What McIntosh has achieved in this book is to provide the reader with insights into an Indigenous world-view on Aboriginal sovereignty, reconciliation, race-relations and economic management that may otherwise be unavailable other than to a very small audience. Of particular significance is the proposal for Yolngu management of the sea (chapter 9). This presents a position on sea rights and marine management in which Yolngu have cultural and historically based expertise. If taken seriously by Australian governments and the Indonesian government it is suggested such a strategy would help to improve diminishing fish stocks and reinvigorate seriously damaged marine environments between Australia and Indonesia.

However, while speaking on behalf of particular Yolngu this does not mean that McIntosh is Yolngu. While it is extremely important to bring Indigenous voices to an international forum, McIntosh has achieved this through the filter of academic distance, which he has failed to make explicit. The reality is that he speaks as an academic who is in fact part of the dominant society. On page 136 he comments that non-Aborigines must adhere to Aboriginal law in order to achieve some specific goals of reconciliation. Yet how realistic is such a policy? While some Yolngu may equate an Indigenous policy of adoption of outsiders with government policies of assimilation of Indigenous peoples, this does not mean that McIntosh need simply reiterate this theory without putting government assimilation policies into historical context for the reader. Such policies affected Aboriginal people Australia-wide and were not confined to the Yolngu. Implicit in these policies was a template for cultural destruction, not an attempt at adopting for the benefit of the nation the culture of Aboriginal people.

There is a further danger in this. McIntosh has argued the case for Burrumarra's vision of reconciliation as if it has an actual basis for influencing the Australian federal government's policies on rec-

conciliation for all Indigenous Australians. The reality is that it has had very little impact. As can be seen by other recent events in Arnhem Land, Prime Minister Howard misread the significance of Yolngu ceremonies performed for him, which were aimed by the Yolngu at changing the government's intention to amend the Federal Native Title Act.

In the first part of the book McIntosh has gone some way to putting the Yolngu into a broader political context. It is here that McIntosh discusses the history of the implementation of Aboriginal land rights in Australia. His history, however, is sweeping and descriptive. As such, McIntosh has missed important legislative moments in Australia that were aimed at an improvement of the rights of Indigenous peoples in this country. On page 19, for example, McIntosh has forgotten to mention the historically significant implementation of land rights in South Australia for the Pitjantjatjara/Yankunytjatjara people. Such an omission only serves to reinforce a perception from the book that the experience of Yolngu is the experience of all Indigenous Australians.

In a volume which purports to present Indigenous solutions to National issues (especially Yolngu proposals for management of marine resources—chapter 9), the history of relations between Yolngu and the Australian government cannot be ignored. However, it needs to be remembered that this is also part of a broader history of relations of domination and subordination between the nation-state and Indigenous Australians living across the country. Yolngu are not the spokespeople for Indigenous Australians. Yet McIntosh gives the impression that there is only one Australian Indigenous view on issues of reconciliation and broader race-relations in Australia. He does not adequately discuss the multiplicity of Indigenous opinions, which may differ from, or confer, with those of Yolngu.

If, as the forward to the book states, the series *Cultural Survival Studies* is aimed at the general reader and students, McIntosh has certainly achieved this goal. His book is generally easy to read and his arguments do not rely heavily on an esoteric academic body of knowledge in order for the reader to grasp the trajectory of his arguments. However, by failing to theorize, rather than merely describe,

the history of Warramiri with the state, these people come across as being naive and simplistic in their beliefs, especially in the assumption that they may influence the Australian government to change national policies on Aboriginal affairs and reconciliation, which affect all Indigenous Australians.

McIntosh has provided some important insights into the history of Aboriginal relations with Macassan traders. This is an area of history that has generally been neglected by academics. Yet, to compare for instance the historic relations Yolngu had with individual Macassans with their contemporary relations with the Australian state is simply to reinforce a paternalistic attitude for an audience who may be unfamiliar with Australian politics. This is not to deny the genius of Warramiri using their cultural and economic relations with Macassans as a template for their policy of reconciliation with the nation-states of Australia and Indonesia. However, this specific cultural world-view needs to be placed within the context of their broader domination by the state.

Offering a mediating voice for the Warramiri Yolngu does not necessarily offer a means to empower them. The Indigenous view comes out of their centred position of coping with the everyday and sometimes oppressive interactions with the dominant society. Aboriginal Reconciliation and the Dreaming is a second-order translation of this reality which is at least one step removed from an Indigenous understanding and must be acknowledged as such.

David T. McNab. *Circles of Time: Aboriginal Land Rights and Resistance in Ontario*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1999.

Reviewed by W. J. Newbigging, Algoma University College

It is difficult to write a balanced account of Aboriginal rights and resistance in Ontario; bias, evidentiary shortcomings and a limited number of Aboriginal sources conspire to prevent the historian from constructing a fair and accurate portrayal of the past. Where others have found these challenges insurmountable, however, David McNab