

BOOK REVIEWS AND REVIEW ESSAYS

Noel Dyck, editor: *Indigenous Peoples and the Nation-State: Fourth World Politics in Canada, Australia, and Norway*. St. Johns, Nfld: Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1985. 263 pages

The peoples of the Fourth World are the original inhabitants of lands who, through extensive colonization, now find themselves as minorities, "politically weak, economically marginal and culturally stigmatized" (p. 1). As such, they face severe problems in their attempts to promote their own development and self-determination. The eight essays in this volume are bound around one common theme: the manner in which the peoples of the Fourth World articulate politically with the state structures that wield so much power over them. These studies from Canada, Australia and Norway make a significant contribution to our knowledge of the contemporary situation of Fourth World peoples.

In his introduction to the volume, Dyck establishes the theoretical framework for the subsequent case studies, and in so doing provides the vital link so often absent in edited volumes. Particularly, Dyck discusses the Fourth World concept, defines the state structures within which Fourth World peoples must operate, and outlines the various options open to these people to represent their interests. The primary focus is on the assertion of indigenous, rather than ethnic minority, status, which allows for the invocation of legal arguments based on a "we were here first" ideology (p. 13).

The remaining papers in the volume present the various case studies in the representation of Fourth World issues to the nation-state. Case studies from Canada are provided by Harvey Feit, Sally Weaver and Doug Sanders. Feit's previous work on the politics of hydro development in northern Quebec has provided extensive material on the issues of Native political articulation with the state, and his essay here adds a new dimension to his analysis. He examines "the historical and

cultural context" (p. 31) in which Cree opposition to the James Bay hydro project developed, arguing that this opposition developed from within the Cree communities themselves, and not as a result of the actions of outside advisors as previously thought. He concludes that the new regional structures developing out of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement were based primarily on the existing Cree socio-political structures, particularly the band councils.

Sally Weaver compares "political representivity" between the Indians of Canada and the Aborigines of Australia, and argues that the representivity of Native organizations in these two countries is largely under the control of the state, which can validate or invalidate the apparent political representivity of these indigenous groups as it sees fit. Representivity thus becomes a resource to be accessed by Fourth World organizations through lobbying and other means. As Weaver states, "representivity can be a government-assigned status rather than a Native-achieved status" (p. 116). This fact is evident in Doug Sanders essay on the Indian lobby of the British parliament, which took place from 1978 to 1982. When attempts failed to convince the Canadian government that Native people should play a role in constitutional reform, the Native leaders could have been thwarted. However, owing to the fact that Britain had signed treaties with the Indians of Canada, and that the Queen was still the head of state in Canada, an alternative avenue of lobbying was available. Despite the enormous complexity of mounting such a lobby, and the cost (estimated at 4.5 million dollars), the London lobby focused national and international attention on the issue. Although the lobby failed in the short-term to move the Indians officially into the constitutional process, it rattled the federal and provincial governments and no doubt demonstrated to them the extent to which the Indian people were prepared to go to achieve self-determination.

Two papers deal with the issue of representivity among the Australian Aborigines and the Torres Strait Islanders. Basil Samson notes that, in Australia, "the practical politics of the

representation of indigenous peoples is presently not only the politics of special status, but is also the politics of special issues" (p. 91). In other words, the Aborigines seem to have their greatest political success when a particular issue or problem (such as alcoholism) is linked to them as an indigenous people, often resulting in the formation of a commission or committee through which they can articulate their position.

The Torres Strait Islanders, according to Jeremy Beckett, learnt well "how to talk to white people" (p. 4) through the long process of colonization and the establishment of local councils as colonial administrations. However, when modern developments resulted in increasing impoverishment for these people, they discovered that such communication led them nowhere, and that they lacked the experience in mobilizing public opinion behind their cause. It has become apparent to them that skills in this area are sorely needed if the state is to be responsive to their needs.

In the final case study, Robert Paine describes the successful manner in which the Saami of Norway mobilized public opinion behind their cause to stop construction of a hydro dam. Through the use of "moral opposition," the staging of visual and public displays of Saami culture and their sincerity in protecting their future, they employed an action which Paine terms "ethnodrama." The staging of such events is clearly an important tool for Fourth World peoples, who usually lack any direct political influence, but it is often difficult to maintain the necessary momentum. As Paine notes, "All depends on whether the ethnodrama, before it burns itself out, manages to create a furor sufficient to pressure the government" (p. 229).

Overall, this volume provides the reader with both the theoretical overview and sufficient case material to develop an understanding of the political issues facing the peoples of the Fourth World. It would be particularly valuable as a text or supplemental reading in courses on international indigenous issues, a growing area of study. Perhaps the only significant omission in the volume is the lack of comparative material from

the United States, which would be especially valuable to Canadian readers. Nonetheless, Dyck has assembled an excellent array of case studies which, when combined with his own introduction and conclusion, make an important contribution to the field.

James B. Waldram

Alan Herscovici: *Second Nature: The Animal Rights Controversy*. Toronto: CBC Enterprises, 1985. 250 pages.

Second Nature, which grew from a series of programs produced by Alan Herscovici for CBC Radio program, Ideas, is an important, if not unflawed, contribution to a body of literature concerned not with animal rights pro or neutral, but with the real and potential negative effects the movement has had at several strata of Canadian society. While not explicitly about Canadian Native experiences, be they Inuit, Dene or Cree, Herscovici presents some of his most powerful material in specific relation to the animal rights movement and those cultures least often thought about in Canada.

The book is divided into three principal sections covering the theory, the practice and, essentially, the future of Western society in relation to animal rights. Herscovici, originally approaching the question as a journalist, covers the basics of his subject clearly and plainly. Beginning with a statement of the problem, Herscovici attempts to delve first into the philosophical and epistemological roots of the animal rights controversy. He does this through a review of the religious and non-theoretical arguments which have been advanced as justifications by both pro- and anti-animal rights spokespersons regarding their respective positions. In this section, the author to some degree hoists both sides on their own words, especially through the device of ending the theoretical section with a portrait of the human-animal universe as recognized by the Cree. In so