

do not accept it immediately they will fall behind their competitors. Marshall's *Whirlwind* speaks of how acceptance of change without knowledge is not wise. Change for short term gain in power can have negative effects, on an individual or on an entire society. With proper knowledge, change can be managed in a way which will not destroy the very way of life it is supposed to enhance. Managed change is not Utopia; yet managed change is all *Whirlwind* is able to achieve at the conclusion of the novel.

*Holy Iron* is contemplative fiction with historical roots in the Native cultures of the American plains, yet it has relevance as well to contemporary Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures in the late 20th century. It is a novel which teaches without being overtly didactic. Joseph Marshall III is indeed an effective storyteller.

Michael P.J. Kennedy  
Department of English  
University of Saskatchewan  
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan  
Canada, S7N 5A5

McGovern, Dan: *The Campo Indian Landfill War: The Fight For Gold in California's Garbage*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1995, ISBN 0-8061-2755-4 Cloth USA \$24.95.

The author, Dan McGovern, is a former chief environment official of the United States Environmental Protection Agency for Region 9 (Arizona, California, Hawaii and Nevada). In writing which successfully balances between glib newspaper style and highbrow rhetoric, McGovern popularizes the politics of garbage. The author tells this American tale of environmental justice and racism in twelve chapters, structured under four broad headings. The first section, *A Theatre in a Wider War*, sets the stage of the conflict over a landfill project proposed for development by Mid-American, a large waste firm, on the Campo Indian Reservation in San Diego County, California. At first glance the two parties in conflict are the Campo tribe of the Kumeyaay Indians and the Backcountry Against Dumps (BAD), a grassroots group of local (mainly non-Indian) land owners. BAD's main contention is the landfill will inevitably cause groundwater contamination, while the Campo demand to have their sovereignty and ability to make sound decisions recognized. As McGovern develops the storyline into a wider context, Indian Reservations are shown to be the prize, the last frontier for America's waste industry, in this case Mid-American. The sovereign nature of Reservations has been identified by waste companies

as outside of the state's regulatory jurisdiction. Later in the book, McGovern also writes about the federal government decision to court Indian Tribes and their Reservations for short-term storage of nuclear waste.

The second section, *The Origins of the War*, places in context the marginality of Indian Reservations in California. Examining the historical picture, McGovern views the Campos from afar. Here McGovern pulls together discordant sources: published histories, newspapers articles of the day, legislative minutes and other governmental sources, scholarly publications, and personal interviews. In fact, the strength of the book lies in the author's ability to bring together a vast array of material, telling the story of how the Campo landfill project came to be. Extremely interesting is the image of the Kumeyaay, seen through the racist past, as it has been accumulated by McGovern. The Kumeyaay are represented as having lost much of their homeland, having retreated high into the mountains, dispossessed of all their traditional ways and means. And yet the people survived and maintained complex plant-husbandry practices. The reader would be best directed to the research of Florence Shipek, which McGovern cites at great length. Regardless, the author does draw together some interesting conclusions, such as the colonists destroying the very natural environment that attracted them in the first place. I would be so bold as to suggest that most of the newcomers were fleeing environmental devastation that they themselves had created and that knew no better than ways of shaping the "new world" into an image they recognized.

Part three, *The Battlefields of the War*, goes deeply into the politics of the Campo proposal to develop a landfill on their Reservation. The primary factor presented by the author is the incredible pull of money. The landfill project is described as a windfall for the Kumeyaay who lack alternative economic potential for development other than a gaming casino. Parallels between landfills and casinos are truly under-developed by McGovern. Environmental racism changes in this section from referring specifically to people of colour seeing themselves as victims, to the environment being used as a battlefield of institutional racism. The substance of most of this section, such as in the chapter "Peace Declares War on the Campos", deals with case law, the political process in California, and the cooperative state-tribal agreement. The cooperative agreement, foreign to Canada (except in the guise of Co-management), is a feature unique to the American system whereby the tribal regulatory programs are seen as functionally equivalent to those of the 50 states. Moreover, the situation established by the cooperative agreement is that the state is a participant, ensuring development of the landfill will meet all the current safety standards. Beyond the legal wrangling over the landfill, relations between the Kumeyaay Indians at Campo and their neighbours, such as with the BAD group, are

represented as being beyond repair. In the war of attrition against the landfill, BAD enlisted Mexican officials as well as California politicians, causing Mid-American's stock value to drop as business was scared away.

The final section, *The Lessons of the War*, attempts to understand the situation by comparing the Campo and Los Coyotes bands. While similarities between the two, on first appearance, exist, the Los Coyotes themselves rejected having a landfill developed on their Reservation. McGovern identifies four areas which led to rejection of the landfill by the Los Coyotes: the process, competence, credibility of tribal regulatory program, and tribal sovereignty. McGovern suggests that these four factors, in both cases, directly affected the direction development took. He argues that for the Los Coyotes, the process was marred by practices contrary to traditional governance and leadership. More importantly for the Los Coyotes, dumping garbage in the earth was irreconcilable with their views of the sacredness of the land, an attitude the Campos were able to overcome. Furthermore, the nature of the non-Indian opposition, the degree to which it was viewed, or was, paternalistic, had a major influence on the direction landfill development took. As comments from Greenpeace demonstrate, attacks on tribal sovereignty by BAD and the Sierra Club cemented Campo unity over the landfill. The Campo process serves as a model for the potential development of landfill sites on Reservations in America. The jury is still out on whether the Campo landfill is safe or not. Indeed, as of February 1995 the landfill had yet to open for business.

So is the *Campo Indian Landfill War* merely a product of the American milieu? The book serves as an interesting, if particularistic study of the viability landfill projects have within First Nations environmental development options.

Certainly in Canada, there seem to be no similarities in the environmental legislation. However, with the North American Free Trade Agreement in place, it is only a matter of time until the waste industry develops in the Great North. As for the question of environmental racism, such of course could never happen in Canada, except for land leases, forest practices, fishing licenses, hydro-electrical development, etc. Does this book have any relevance to Canada? This is not just an academic question. The book is worth reading for advocates on either side of the fence.

Christopher Paci  
Natural Resources Institute  
University of Manitoba  
430 Dysart Road  
Winnipeg, Manitoba  
Canada, R3T 2M6