

Chapter Four provides the most interesting reading by far, as Ms. Simon examines Canadian policy on Inuit education. The chapter presents a historic overview of the development of northern education and associated issues. The author includes several personal experiences, which add to the chapter but leave the reader wanting more.

The book's final chapter discusses the inherent right to self-government. In presenting this material, the author not only looks at Inuit issues, but draws in anecdotal information about attempts to develop the Charlottetown Accord.

Inuit: One Future, One Arctic is generally well put together. The material presented has been edited in a crisp style, which makes it a very easy read. The black-and-white photographs drawn from Ms. Simon's personal collection, supplemented by photos from Professor Grant, complement the text and provide a useful visual reference. The two maps included in the front and back of the book allow those not familiar with the northern landscape and locations to identify places described, and the inclusion of Inuktitut place names on the second map is very appropriate. The second map, however, is overly dark and therefore difficult to read; also, it has been split over two facing pages with large margins in the middle, which detract from its overall impact.

The utility of the book is also limited somewhat by the fact that it does not include a bibliography or selected references. References would have been particularly useful to new readers on northern issues, and would have tied together many of the reports or activities referred to throughout the book.

In all, I would recommend this book as a good primer on the evolution of aboriginal self-government and Inuit involvement in circumpolar issues. The book would be useful for introductory courses on northern issues or Native studies.

Bruce Rigby
P.O. Box 711
Iqaluit, N.W.T.
XOA OHO

THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICS OF WHALING. By PETER J. STOETT. Vancouver, British Columbia: UBC Press, 1997. ISBN 0-7748-0605-2. xii + 228 p., notes, bib., index. Hardbound. Cdn\$65.00.

Though issues concerning whaling, especially those relating to the current moratorium on whaling, have been the subject of many articles, few books are devoted exclusively to them. Any new work which analyses the evolution of the international regime for conservation of whales at a critical point in its history is therefore to be welcomed, particularly if it leads to conclusions concerning the way forward, as does this volume. That said, however, this is far from being the definitive study.

Stoett is an international relations scholar who now teaches Political Studies at the University of Guelph and Brock University in Canada. The book emerged from his 1994 Ph.D. dissertation and his article entitled "International Politics and

the Great Whales" (Stoett, 1993). His stated objective is to provide—within the framework of world politics and current International Relations theories, especially regime theory—a broad political analysis of past, present, and possible future events relating to whaling. He characterizes his analysis as "an entertaining and informative journey through the international processes" (p. 1) that have resulted in the present condition of whales and whaling. The book explores that condition, addresses the ethical questions arising from it, and ascertains what lessons can be learned for multilateral management.

Stoett is certainly right in considering that the whaling issues provide a particularly rich source for political analysis, and he brings to light a good deal of information of interest not only to political scientists but to all interested in protecting the marine environment and the habitat it provides for marine life. However, though his aims are well-conceived, his methods of achieving them are less satisfactory. The promised "entertaining, informative journey" (p. 1) becomes something of a chartless meander through a maze of miscellaneous information and theorizing. The reader is taken down numerous paths without a clear sense of direction, often entering cul de sacs and retreading paths already taken. The fact that he finally exits by way of conclusions does not greatly help to clarify the route by which he arrived at them. The organization of the materials, the colloquial style of writing, and the considerable use of jargon (not always clearly explained) make it difficult to keep a grasp on the thrust of the argument. Moreover, though Stoett has read widely on the political aspects of whaling, in such important related fields as the United Nations Law of the Sea Convention (UNCLOS)—especially the nature of the rights, jurisdictions and obligations in the Exclusive Economic Zone which it establishes—and the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), especially its Rio Declaration and Chapter 17 of Agenda 21 (on the oceans), he has not done so in sufficient depth to avoid making a number of errors.

The main text covers, in 150 pages, the 49 years of operation of the International Convention on Regulation of Whaling (ICRW), which established the International Whaling Commission (IWC). It consists, in addition to a brief Preface, of five chapters: Ecopolitics: The International Dimension; The Whale and the Whalers; Cetapolitics: The IWC, Foreign Policies and NGOs; Whale Ethics: A Normative Discussion; and Conclusions on Whales and World Politics. There are endnotes and a useful, comprehensive bibliography. Three appendices provide the "Essential Chronology of Whaling"; the aboriginal whaling quotas set in 1945, and the text of the ICRW. Unfortunately the last is misleading, as it does not incorporate the amendments to Articles II and V adopted by Protocol in 1956. The Article V amendment is particularly important, especially at this stage of IWC development, as it adds to the regulatory powers of the IWC the ability to provide for "(i) methods of inspection." This omission is no doubt why Stoett is confused concerning the IWC's authority to appoint observers or inspectors. He states that the IWC cannot appoint its own inspectors but must

rely on those supplied by its members, “who then board declared whaling vessels” (p. 123). In fact the IWC *is* equipped with the necessary power; the problem is securing the required three-quarters majority of IWC members to approve its use. The present impasse in the IWC has arisen because the majority of the IWC members consider that, in light of the devastating history of overexploitation by vessels whose activities were supervised only by national inspectors, international inspection is indispensable if whaling is ever to be resumed. The IWC has therefore decided that the Revised Management Procedures now agreed to in principle, under which whaling could be resumed on stocks deemed to have recovered, should not be made operational until a Revised Management Scheme, establishing international supervision and control and humane killing methods, has been instituted.

Despite the somewhat inchoate system of analysis, Stoett critiques the policies of leading “conservationist” and “preservationist” states and the current major issues confronting the IWC. These issues include approval of limited whaling by certain aborigines; the failure of the means available to the IWC to deter some members from undermining the moratorium by issuing permits to take whales for scientific research purposes (the ICRW permits this); the refusal, to date, of the IWC majority to establish quotas for a new category of “small scale coastal whaling”; the IWC’s possible roles concerning small cetaceans, whale watching, and protection of the marine environment; the contentious establishment of a Southern Ocean Sanctuary; and the respective roles of the IWC and its Scientific Committee in decision making. All these urgently need to be reconsidered in the light of post-UNCLOS and post-UNCED developments, including particularly the precautionary approach advocated in the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. But Stoett deals only superficially and misleadingly with this principle. The reference points for a precautionary approach provided in the 1995 UN Agreement on Straddling and High Seas Fish Stocks are not discussed, nor is its application to fisheries explained. He also misinterprets the paragraph of Chapter 17 that relates to the IWC’s roles, and he even wrongly cites the title of that chapter. Although he records the challenge posed to the IWC by the establishment of a multispecies regional North Atlantic Marine Mammal Conservation Organization (NAMMCO) by Iceland, Norway, and Greenland, he makes no mention of or comparison to the new regional conservation agreements on small cetaceans, such as the Agreement on Conservation of Small Cetaceans in the Baltic and the North Sea (ASCOBANS) and the Agreement on the Conservation of Cetaceans of the Black Sea, Mediterranean Sea and Contiguous Atlantic Areas (ACCOBAMS).

Despite the limitations outlined, Stoett comes to challenging conclusions. Having demonstrated the remarkable normative transition within the IWC, he suggests that the Commission can no longer support an indefinite moratorium, there still being “cultural resonance” (p. 132) behind whaling. He considers that the way forward is for the IWC to now set quotas for small-scale coastal community whaling in order to avoid the challenge to IWC’s legitimacy posed by

NAMMCO, since the IWC’s scope for providing good scientific advice and the fact that its membership includes nonwhaling states make it the more appropriate body. Japan could be allowed a small coastal community quota, specifically as a quid pro quo for giving up “scientific whaling.” To continue to insist on maintaining the environmentally “symbolic” status of whales could, in Stoett’s view, detract from the growing awareness that, in the long term, their conservation requires protection of their habitat, which requires a holistic, multispecies approach. Nonetheless, he notes that “we do not appear to be approaching an age when scientists will become the chief decision makers in global eco-politics,” since “science itself is hardly value free” (p. 134). If nothing else, Stoett will certainly succeed in provoking a continuation of this debate. It is a pity, however, that the work has not been more rigorously edited to clarify its style and to bring together more tautly the lines of argument, and that Stoett has not read the major relevant texts more carefully and thus avoided some errors and half-truths.

REFERENCE

- STOETT, P.J. 1993. International politics and the great whales. *International Politics* 2(2):277–302.

P.W. Birnie
Visiting Professor, London School of Economics
78 Windmill Street
Brill
Aylesbury
Bucks HP18 9TG
United Kingdom