

costume ornamentation rather than other forms of artwork is striking. Changes in ornamentation techniques and the factors influencing these techniques are discussed in chapter three. The influence of Euro-Canadians is clearly shown by outlining the evolution from quillwork to beadwork to floral embroidery. The use of floral designs in the central Subarctic by Athapaskans and Metis is shown as a direct influence from nuns and Hudson's Bay Company women. A detailed description of seed-beading techniques and embroidery stitches is supported with excellent illustrations, archival examples and museum specimens (chapter four). An interesting analysis of the internal relationships within motif and design helps the reader gain a greater appreciation of the features that are later discussed in each regional style variation.

Northern Athapaskan Art provides insights into the richness and diversity of one Native North American art tradition. The Northern Athapaskan area is divided up into six main regions: the Great Slave Lake-Mackenzie River, the Liard-Fraser, the Yukon-Tanana, the Tahltan, the Interior Coastal and the Western Peripheral regions. Each region is covered in a separate chapter. For each the author includes a description of the people in that specific region and a map of the area. Style variations in costume ornamentation are then discussed, with a detailed account of the regionally unique motifs, designs and style features. Local variations are also pointed out within each area.

Northern Athapaskan Art presents a detailed analysis of ornamentation found on museum artifacts, in archival collections and during field research. An example of the style used throughout this book is seen in the discussion of the Great Slave Lake - Mackenzie River region style. The information presented in the chapter on this region (chapter six) includes an analysis of 295 artifacts in museums. Duncan states

Beadwork from the Great Slave Lake - Mackenzie River Region is ornate and elegantly precise. Tendrils and wisps curl about elaborate flower-leaf combinations. Bouquets of rich shaded colors and bright metal accents sparkle against rich black fabric. The style is characterized by both complexity and unity. Designs are seldom precisely alike, yet because most abide rather strictly by prescribed rules, they are strikingly homogeneous [p. 89].

Drawings and superb photographs of classic beadwork designs, including close-up views, clearly support Kate Duncan's discussion.

The book is oriented toward art lovers, museums, libraries and scholars. Citations are used throughout the book and footnotes are located at the back for additional information. The index is a valuable tool for quick retrieval of information. The extensive bibliography provides the reader with a useful guide to sources for additional information. Key publications produced after Duncan completed her original research for this text (1981) are included. An appendix includes a list of American, Canadian and European museums with Athapaskan collections.

The format of *Northern Athapaskan Art* contributes to its use as an excellent resource for Northern Athapaskan historians, anthropologists and human ecologists. Superb photographs and drawings of construction techniques make the text valuable to the non-specialist and scholar.

A quotation from page 190 summarizes the overall theme of *Northern Athapaskan Art*:

The Athapaskan openness to new ideas, a trait developed in the battle for survival, inclined them to wholeheartedly embrace a myriad of cultural introductions, among them floral bead embroidery. They integrated the art into their cultural system and in short order developed a dynamic range of variations. Today, bead embroidery continues to play an important role in Northern Athapaskan culture.

Kate Duncan has done a tremendous job of pulling together widely scattered material to produce the first comprehensive

study of Northern Athapaskan art. *Northern Athapaskan Art, A Beadwork Tradition* will appeal to everyone interested in decorative artwork.

Jill Oakes
Department of Clothing and Textiles
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada
R3T 2N2

THE SCONE REPORT: BUILDING OUR ECONOMIC FUTURE.

By THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON THE NORTHERN ECONOMY. Yellowknife: Legislative Assembly of the Northwest Territories, 1989. 76 p., appendices. Softbound. Available at no charge from the GNWT.

The SCONE Report: Building Our Economic Future is the product of the past two years' work of the Special Committee on the Northern Economy (SCONE). It summarizes the findings of yet another exhaustive round of northern community hearings and the research contributions of eight consulting teams who prepared supporting documents for SCONE (as it came to be known in the North). The final report is 76 pages long, kindly written in plain English for a broad audience. It is also well designed in the tradition of *Northern Frontier: Northern Homeland* (1976), with beautiful colour plates, highlighted boxes and computer graphics. There are seven chapters, which progress from an historic review of the development of the northern economy through a profile of the current situation, focussing on developed and undeveloped communities and the myths of development. Chapter six lays out current social, fiscal and demographic trends in the Northwest Territories, and chapter seven provides no fewer than 30 detailed recommendations for change.

As a thoughtful assessment of where we are and how we got here, the *SCONE Report* is one of the best, if not the best public review of the northern economy currently available. It is, of course, more regionally encompassing than the Berger volumes assessing the impact of the proposed Mackenzie Valley pipeline, and it benefits from up-to-date statistics and the research provided in the eight background studies. It is also refreshingly critical of certain Government of the Northwest Territories policies (e.g., Prime Public Authority, the Native Employment Policy and the new Affirmative Action Policy), at the same time presenting a balanced perspective on how these policies developed in changing political times. At no time in the reading of this document do you feel as if it is apologizing or defensive in tone — in this respect it is not just another bureaucratic rationale for the status quo.

At the same time, however, I strongly disagree with the attempt to debunk the critical importance of the private sector as "the engine of economic development" in chapter four. In one fell swoop, the primacy of individual initiative, the current boom of the northern service sectors (tied for first in terms of N.W.T. industrial employment in 1988 with public administration) and the strong tradition of bush economy entrepreneurship are dealt what is assumed to be a death blow. In making this criticism I do not quibble about the basic northern dichotomy of developed and undeveloped communities established in chapter three. In fact, in *Coping with the Cash* (Robinson et al., 1989:82-84), considerable effort was spent describing the layers of economic development inherent within the undeveloped communities. The authors of *Coping with the Cash* concluded, however, that small business

initiatives rooted in community values were central to the process of development.

The SCONE authors assert that government must serve as the engine of economic development, yet at the same time it "must always remain restrained" (p. 30). Put another way, they explain that "Government must move into the vacuum that it has helped to create" (p. 61). Furthermore, "economic independence also means independence from government" (p. 30) and "An entrepreneurial spirit is as relevant — and as necessary within government — as it is in the private sector" (p. 48). Clearly the SCONE authors are trying to have it both ways, and there is not a lot of evidence to support the idea of successful entrepreneurial bureaucrats.

The central thrust of the majority of the SCONE recommendations is more government programs at the local level, delivered by hermaphroditic bureaucrats who at one and at the same time share characteristics of both Lee Iacocca and a deputy minister. The SCONE authors do not shy from promoting regional organizations and a regional development strategy:

We must abandon the highly centralized approach to economic development — where what's good for the regions is determined by Yellowknife — and encourage the regions to take the lead role in developing their communities [p. 61].

This is a laudable task; where I part company is on the issue of more top-down (albeit *regional* top-down) government program assistance for the underdeveloped communities and therefore a continued fostering of dependency on government.

To take a specific example, the SCONE authors find fault with the existing program of economic development officers (EDOs), who provide generic small business advice out of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism. Most EDOs have a specific business background and provide front-line assistance to aspiring northern entrepreneurs in developed and undeveloped communities. The SCONE authors argue that a broader range of services is required for the underdeveloped communities:

Rather than hire persons with a specific business background . . . the most appropriate recruits would likely have experience in community organizing, adult education or development work abroad [p. 67].

Thus SCONE provides a new vision of the modern developmental bureaucrat — DOs (development officers) — who would add yet another category of government worker to the existing workforce, with all the attendant requirements for benefits, office space and support systems. Why not provide communities themselves with the financial resources to hire their own outside consultants? Just as the *SCONE Report* details the inherent savings to the GNWT of contracting out (p. 37), why should local communities not have the same opportunities and savings? While 60 underdeveloped communities might hire 60 different people and start 60 different programs of developmental assistance and empowerment, at least they would be truly locally owned. Their victories would be locally shared, as would their failures. And, ideally, dependency on government agencies for this form of assistance would be lessened. Surely this weakening of the bonds of dependency would be worth the risk of decentralizing a program to the point where only money is involved.

I also suspect that the kind of individuals who perform best in the grass-roots empowerment roles envisaged for DOs would not like to be government employees. Often the best community developers come out of the tradition of opposition to government programs; they share backgrounds of union, co-op, church, small business, NGO and academic employment. The very finest DOs, in fact, have carefully avoided the taint of government control or employment. Gandhi worked for the village of Segaoon and the All-Indian Village Industries Association (Woodcock, 1972); Schumacher (who is quoted in the preface to the *SCONE Report*)

created his own NGO, the Intermediate Technology Development Group; and Paul Hawken (*The Next Economy*, 1983; *Growing a Business*, 1987) has created a string of small businesses, all of which embody his development ethic in a profit-making mode.

With three notable exceptions, all of the 30 SCONE recommendations speak to the creation or modification of a government program or initiative. The three exceptions are each interesting for the different light they cast on private sector development initiatives in the North. The first is the mention of Outward Bound-type programs for young people in need of a challenge (recommendation 4). Whether government or Outward Bound would in fact deliver the programs is a moot point in the text, but the recommendation underscores the spectacular success of a private sector program in redirecting wayward youth, pudgy executives and women seeking physical empowerment. It is ironic to me, however, that this program is an outgrowth of the British Marines' tradition and advocates the cultural values of pushing the river, climbing the mountain because it is there and generally treating nature as an adversary. Surely it would be hard to describe a set of values more culturally inappropriate for the Dene, the Metis or the Inuit. While one can applaud the success of Outward Bound programs for those who share the core values of the Marine Corps, are they entirely appropriate for aboriginal youth in underdeveloped northern communities?

The second exception is recommendation 17, which speaks to the very real need of extending banking services to more communities. Here the SCONE authors describe the critical need for basic financial services in the underdeveloped communities and conclude that there is no reason why some basic banking services cannot be extended to many more communities in the N.W.T. Interestingly enough, the authors conclude that:

Government should not provide the service directly (as Alberta does through Treasury Branches). Rather, it should develop a strategy to encourage an existing institution, either an existing bank, Arctic co-ops, or the Bay's Northern Stores to take on this responsibility [p. 63].

No reasons are given for favouring the private sector so directly. One can perhaps assume that the Canadian banking industry is simply more efficient than government in providing the service.

The third exception to the pro-government program slant of the recommendations is contained in recommendation 20, which advocates recognizing co-ops as small businesses with training potential. The report notes that in 1988, 28 of the 33 active N.W.T. co-ops posted net savings, and that the co-ops are now achieving a combined annual gross of \$40 million. Clearly the majority of N.W.T. co-ops are successful small businesses with a growing community base. They exemplify community control and have a grass-roots commitment to development. Interestingly enough, the co-ops appear to have in large measure achieved what the SCONE authors seek to promote with their development officer recommendation. And the co-ops have made their achievements in a non-bureaucratic milieu.

Overall the *SCONE Report* fires a salvo in the right direction. Its thematic concern with regional and local initiatives, its commitment to grass-roots organizing, personal development, adult education and entrepreneurial spirit, tempered with environmental and cultural values, is exemplary. Where Gandhi, Schumacher, Hawken and others would disagree with their conclusions is the degree to which they vest control of "our economic future" in more government programs and departmental reorganization. Surely it is time to break the bonds of government program dependency in the cause of truly community-based economic development. Why not choose government-supported development over government development? Why not empower communities themselves with money, not government programs and personnel, and let one thousand flowers bloom?

REFERENCES

- HAWKEN, P. 1983. *The Next Economy*. New York: Ballantine Books.
 _____ 1987. *Growing a Business*. Toronto: Collins Publishers.
 ROBINSON, M., DICKERSON, M., VAN CAMP, J., WUTTUNEE, W.,
 PRETES, M., and BINDER, L. 1989. *Coping with the Cash: A Financial
 Review of Four Northern Land Claims Settlements with a View to
 Maximizing Economic Opportunities from the Next Generation of
 Claim Settlements in the Northwest Territories*. Yellowknife: Special
 Committee on the Northern Economy, Legislative Assembly of the
 Northwest Territories.
 WOODCOCK, G. 1972. *Gandhi*. London: Fontana.

Michael P. Robinson
 Arctic Institute of North America of
 The University of Calgary
 2500 University Drive N.W.
 Calgary, Alberta, Canada
 T2N 1N4

- ESQUIMAUX D'ASIE: CONTES ET RÉCITS. Compiled by K.S.
 SERGEEVA and E.S. RUBCOVA. Preface by JEAN MALAURIE. Paris:
 Edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1988.
 270 p., 1 map, illus., appendices, glossary. In French. 120 FF.

Esquimaux d'Asie, introduced by Jean Malaurie, director of the Centre d'Études Arctiques in Paris, is a collection of Eskimo texts translated, not from the original language (and this must be stressed), but from Russian. Malaurie writes, "*Ce livre... constitue un ouvrage de référence capital... Aussi cette édition française est-elle doublement précieuse*" (p. 10). The careful reader must come, however, to quite different conclusions. The first part of the book (p. 23-127) presents translations of the so-called "Tales of Kivagme," which were twice published in Magadan for the general public by K.S. Sergeeva. These tales, appropriate for a children's book, are entirely out of place in a scholarly publication, having been rejected by the scientific publishing houses of the Soviet Union — most importantly those in Moscow and Leningrad — which have published quite a number of books of Eskimo tales and myths. At the Sixth Inuit Studies Conference, I spoke with Eskimologists from both of these cities who helped prepare the finest book on Eskimo folklore in existence today (Menovshchikov, 1985). Having seen the "Tales of Kivagme" in French, they were amazed that "a scientific institution had spent time and money" on stories that do not in any case represent, despite Malaurie's claim, "*textes de base*" (p. 19).

The rest of the book (p. 129-234) is devoted to texts that are indisputably basic, those transcribed by E.S. Rubtsova, as told to her by the narrator Ayyughaq, who in spite of his short life is well known in other publications. Notwithstanding Malaurie's assertion (p. 26), it is Rubtsova, not Sergeeva, who is known as an "*esquimologue de grande réputation*." Charles Hughes, for example, evaluates Rubtsova's book, published in the U.S.S.R. in 1954 and still relevant today, in these words: "The Rubtsova collection of folklore, which exists only in Russian and Eskimo, provides a rich resource for the student of comparative Eskimo mythology and folklore. It also contains valuable appendices on aspects of linguistics, kinship terms, and a number of drawings having to do with aboriginal life" (Hughes, 1984). One can only welcome the appearance of Rubtsova's book in a Western European language, but the French edition, except for the photocopied drawings, lacks the richness of which Hughes speaks.

This edition, translated from the Russian without reference to the original language, does not take into account Rubtsova's supplemental commentary or the cultural and mythological background of the texts, so that the significance and precision of

each word cannot fully be appreciated. For example, the sixth sentence in text number five has been omitted, apparently considered repetitive by the translators. But this sentence is important not only rhythmically and esthetically, but also semantically, recounting the disappearance of several of the hero's brothers in the tundra after several have already vanished in the sea. The reader is thus able to make an important distinction: there are two kinds of evil spirits at work, one acting on water and the other on land. Later in the same text, sentence 226 is translated as an invitation to sing songs: "*Que celui qui connaît un chant, chante*" (p. 153). The original sentence, "*Kina ilagatelek, ilagatmineng ilagaghi,*" is more precisely translated as, "*Celui possédant-son-chant, son-chant (un-de-ses-chants), qu'il-le-chante.*" The suffix *lek* clearly indicates possession; these are not songs sung merely for their musical effect, as the French text would lead us to believe, but the personal songs of the Eskimos (similar to the Aztec Nahuatl spirits), whom the hero asks those present to summon at the culmination of the story. A correct translation of this one sentence reveals that the hero, *Aghhaghhangawraq* (incorrectly transliterated in the French edition as *Aqxaqhangawpaq*), is a shaman performing a collective ritual and vanquishing his enemy, the mighty *Tughneghaq* (Tungaq in the Inuit folklore), by summoning the spirit-songs.

The translators' failure to make use of the Eskimo original has resulted in the russification of the myths and tales of the Ungazighmiit. In the French version many indigenous terms are left untranslated — *yaranga, kukhljanka, kamlejka, polog, torbazes* (correctly *torbasa*), *alyki, purga, rovdoug* (correctly *rovduga*), *puzyr', žirnik*, etc. — none of which have any relation to the Eskimo language. Some of these words are in use throughout Russia, while others, borrowed from the Altaic and Uralic languages, are specific to Siberia. Rubtsova uses them in her translation because most are familiar to her Russian readers as Siberianisms. Should the French translators apply the same terminology? Of course not. And the French reader naturally assumes that these untranslated words are Eskimo.

The glossary and captions not only do not indicate the origin of the words, they seem designed to confuse the reader. We find such "explanations" as the following: "*Polog d'hiver ou Agra,*" "*Polog d'été ou Ungaviq*" (p. 268), "*Traineau, narte*" (p. 254, cf. p. 267), "*Baidare ou umiaq*" (p. 256, cf. p. 267). How is the reader to know from this that the words *polog, baidare* (correctly *baidara*), and *narte* (correctly *narty*) are Russian, whereas *agra, ungaviq*, and *umiaq* are Eskimo? The translators should have either retained the original Ungazighmiit terms or used Eskimo words familiar to Western readers: *anorak* and *parka* instead of *kamlejka* and *kukhljanka*. Where possible, they might also have given the French equivalents: *lampe* and *hutte* rather than *žirnik* and *yurte*.

Such strict adherence to Rubtsova's Russian translation — which was done at a time when the toponyms of the Eskimos were disappearing along with their traditional settlements — makes a mockery of the Eskimo myths. At the beginning of text number 15, for example, "*Ungazighmiit Sivukamun aglamalghit*" is translated as, "*Les habitants de Čaplino allèrent sur l'île de St. Laurent*" (p. 174). It is as if someone discussing eighteenth-century Russia were to write, "This was the era of Peter the Great. One day the inhabitants of Stalingrad set out for Leningrad."

Another serious defect is the absence of any unified system of transliteration, and the Russian and Eskimo names and toponyms contain a large number of errors. In some instances those who compiled the book simply don't know what they're talking about. This is especially clear in the "*Liste topographique*." *Naukan* and *Nivukak*, for example, appear to be two different toponyms. There is no indication that these are in fact the Russian and Eskimo names for one and the same village, the correct name of which is *Nevuqaq*. We are led to believe that *Dežnev* is a variant of *Cap Dežnev*, whereas it is actually the Russian name for the