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contours of law, such as justice. If the tendency of legal historians may be to focus on law in the books, these essays grapple with the way law played out on the ground.

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Notes from the Center of Turtle Island. By Duane Champagne. Lanham: Altamira Press, 2010. 208 pages. \$49.95 cloth.

Duane Champagne is an eminent scholar, editor, and author, who in writing for *Indian Country Today* has had the opportunity to share his perceptions about issues that affect American Indians widely. Readers familiar with his editorials will appreciate two additional sections of commentary specific to this essay collection. With informed thought and panache, Champagne hits most of the hot-button issues: citizenship versus membership, self-government, and economic development. Reading the dozens of essays reveals the author's philosophical approach to Indian issues. He is well known for his respect for others' opinions, and with the expectation that both potential readers and Dr. Champagne will welcome further engagement, continuing dialogue and clarification, I offer a few comments of my own: after all, the purpose of editorials is to raise points derived from expert knowledge to challenge readers or to clarify core issues. This collection deserves attention, thought, and reaction.

Most of the essays reflect consensus views among scholars and advocates of Native America, but Champagne provides his own unique riffs to generally accepted understanding of the state of Indian country. He is a strong advocate for tribal governments' sovereignty and pictures the powers of tribal government as inherent, noting that tribal governments need to be more effective in the business of government, with particular emphasis on traditional cultural values. As a result of forcing Indians into the US nation-state, government now should work to gain Indian consent to participate as the third type of sovereign government in the United States, with federal responsibility a fundamental obligation. Part of this obligation is to provide resources and policy changes, to enable tribes on the one hand and to broaden their permitted actions on the other. Many of his calls for action require increasing federal funding with fewer strings attached.

As with many scholars, Champagne distills an idealization of traditional culture in order to criticize the way things are. The past he pictures is one in which Indian societies lived according to ideals of balance within consensus informed by tradition. For instance, rather than continuing the adversarial

western approach, he calls for reservation governments to return to a justice system that stresses repairing societies. While peace courts and restorative justice are good ideas that need to be instituted throughout Indian country, after more than 130 years (five generations) of adversarial justice, one wonders if enough knowledge and will remains in Indian communities to enable such traditional justice. In my experience, on reservations one hears more demands for retribution and punishment of criminals through more effective policing.

Historians are fairly sure that in pre-reservation days abuse was not as widespread in Indian societies as it is now. Champagne indicates a return to family-centered control of domestic relations, but given the dysfunctions that shatter so many families throughout Indian country, readers might wonder if returning to extended families can work to control abuse. Perhaps a better solution would be a return to the traditional police societies. Regardless of the method, like every tribal leader and many tribally based nongovernmental societies, Champagne emphasizes that something must be done to reduce the degree of abuse in so many Indian communities.

Many analysts share Champagne's concern about the controversies surrounding how to define "Indian." Given their common stake in western society, most academics and some leaders want to assert that citizenship is important politically, and that Indians should not be tied to the idea that to be Indian one has to conform to the census bureau definition: "a person having origins in any of the original people of North America and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition." Even while Champagne and many others think the racist "blood quantum provision" is bankrupt, the author remains committed to the idea that Indians should be culturally knowledgeable and continue traditional values as we understand them today. In several essays he outlines the problems well and discusses many proposed approaches to define citizenship and identity (apparently his government tried to address the problem through a constitutional amendment but it was voted down). No one really has a solution on this one, and he leaves us with both philosophical judgments and questions.

He calls for the United States to be accountable to Indian people, whether or not federal programs and investments intended to empower tribal governments actually work. As the United States offers real self-determination, Indian people should be involved in a practice of consensus building that is lengthy, interactive, and robust. Champagne's model should stimulate a great deal of discussion in Indian country. Further discussion among those who currently determine Indian policy and those who would seek its reorientation would do well to utilize Champagne's specific suggestions to the Obama administration. One major criticism is that the author omitted the need to address the

“checkerboard” legacy of allotment that has such a pernicious effect on tribal sovereignty. Many reservations are around 90 percent non-Indian owned, and as much as 90 percent of the reservation population is not subject to tribal government.

Dr. Champagne’s optimism and idealism shine through, particularly in his essays about twenty-first-century policy needs and international indigenous rights. Picturing the foundation for a reformed Indian policy as collaboration and consultation between the federal government and the tribal governments, he offers a model of cooperation founded on the idea that nation-states need to accept “the cultural, institutional, and often territorial basis of indigenous communities” (148). The way out of the continuing marginalization of indigenous peoples throughout the world lies in an approach that seeks a consensual basis for indigenous societies’ inclusion within the nation-states. Much of the theorizing in this collection revolves around the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. He pictures the declaration “as a significant world historical event” which should be used by tribal peoples as a starting point in their interactions within nation-states. The human rights agenda of the United Nations represented by indigenous rights recommendations provides a guideline for addressing the historical problems caused by imperialism and colonialism.

To have a truly postcolonial world is to accept human rights and to include all in consensual relationships, according to Champagne. One wonders how he would have this idealization move to implementation. Perhaps he expects a major change in the ideological paradigm of the United States whereby states and the federal government, supported by an overwhelming majority, will voluntarily relinquish the centuries of control that has led to the acquisition of the United States from indigenous people. In reality, politicians, special interest groups, and citizens continue to fulminate against “special privileges” for Indians and their governments.

This essay collection can be used in general courses in Indian studies to interject considered opinions and information and enrich student understanding, provided teachers are able to provide the necessary background. It might be most useful in schools where Indian studies is a part of the curriculum and in colleges that offer introductory Indian studies courses. General readers’ thinking will be enriched by reading Champagne’s remarks, which continue the effort in Indian studies to dispel stereotypes and misinformation about the place of Indians and their governments.

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