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Reviews

American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century. Edited by Vine Deloria, Jr. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985. 265 pp. \$16.95 Cloth.

The term "American Indian policy" has many meanings. To some, it refers to the plans of the federal government for American Indians. Thus, historians describe the succession of separatist, assimilationist, and pluralist Indian policies of the federal government since independence, sometimes without reference to their impact on Indian people. In the twentieth century, a "new era" in Indian policy seems to arrive with each new Presidential administration. Indian policy may, alternatively, refer to legal policy, how the courts view the relationship between individual Indians, tribes, and the state and federal governments. A frequently neglected aspect of Indian policy is implementation: the actions of officials of the federal, state, and tribal governments which give the abstract policy statements life and application to the everyday lives of Indian people.

Vine Deloria, Jr., the editor of this book of essays on contemporary American Indian policy, views federal Indian policy as "a sometimes-connected 'bunch' of topical interests that have considerable interplay" (p. 6). Eleven essays, seven of them originally published in Colorado State University's *Social Science Journal*, treat various topical interests. The collection will be of considerable interest to students of contemporary American Indian policy. Because of the book's focus on specific policy areas, considerable detail can be provided on topics which are often dismissed hurriedly in discussions of contemporary Indian policy. Particularly valuable is the editor's stress on the implementation of federal Indian policy, which is reflected in the content of several of the essays, such as Michael G. Lacy's analysis of the political relationship between the United States and American Indians as a form of cooptation and Robert A. Nelson and Joseph

F. Sheley's discussion of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' frustration of the policy goal of Indian self-determination.

The formulation of federal Indian policy also receives adequate coverage. A pathfinding essay by Daniel McCool provides an analysis of Indian voting patterns which suggests that Indian voters are sophisticated ticket splitters who reward their allies and punish their enemies. Joyotpaul Chaudhuri's overview of American Indian policy traces the evolution of the idea of tribal sovereignty from the decisions of the Marshall court to the present. Mary Wallace provides a case study of the alteration of an aspect of Indian law in her examination of the outcome of Indian water rights cases in the 1970s and '80s. Fred L. Ragsdale, Jr., in an interesting essay on the recent development of tribal governments, cautions tribes about the dangers of unchecked political development. Geography, the control of land, by itself is not a sufficient basis for tribal self-government, he argues.

Political and legal issues are stressed—five of the contributors are political scientists and three, including the editor, are attorneys—and such contemporary issues as civil rights, religious freedom, and self-determination come up repeatedly in the essays. While the editor does not emphasize the connectedness of contemporary Indian policy, the book does have a theme. Taken together, the essays provide an evaluation of contemporary American Indian policy with prescriptions for future development. The rejection of the termination policy, together with the uncertain meaning of the federal policy called "self-determination," Deloria points out in the book's concluding essay makes this evaluation crucial. We currently lack a coherent overarching federal Indian policy; rather than broad policy pronouncements, Deloria calls for the construction of "small models for stabilization of specific communities or functions" (p. 256).

This is not to say that the authors shrink away from broad assessments. Sharon O'Brien provides an overview of international human rights conventions which are applicable to aboriginal people and evaluates federal Indian policy against the standard provided by those international agreements. Significantly, the Indian Child Welfare Act (1978), which provides a mechanism for implementation, stacks up better than the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978), which does not. O'Brien's negative assessment is supported by John Petoskey's examination of the

application of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act by the federal courts. The act provides little protection for Indian religious practice, Petoskey concludes. Tom Holm provides an interesting analysis of "The Crisis in Tribal Government," which results from the centralization of Indian tribal government structures. Such centralization is stimulated by federal officials and enhances the tribe's ability to negotiate with the federal government, but is antithetical to tribal traditions. In a similar vein, David L. Vinje examines the economic development plans of three tribes as a way of introducing the dilemma of unwanted cultural change resulting from economic development. These and other essays address big issues which have broad significance.

As is the case with any collection of essays, the book displays a certain amount of unevenness and repetition. The landmark cases of the Marshall court and such significant federal laws as the General Allotment Act (1887), the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), and the Indian Self-Determination Act (1975) receive repeated examination. Such important policy areas as health care, social services, and education are hardly mentioned, while criminal justice and economic development are extensively covered. While one could argue that crime control and economic development have more significant future potential for tribes than some other policy areas, education and health care are highly significant budget items compared to other policy areas. If federal budget priorities are misplaced, this is, in itself, an interesting policy issue. The book provides no detailed examination of the federal budget process as applied to Indian issues, although the level of federal budgetary support for Indian programs is identified by several contributors as a key to the realization of federal policy goals.

These problems aside, *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* provides a useful overview of federal policy formulation, content, and implementation. Analytical rather than descriptive, it will provide a useful supplement to such purely descriptive works as S. Lyman Tyler's *History of Indian Policy* (1973) and Theodore W. Taylor's *American Indian Policy* (1983). Inclusive rather than focused on a single policy area, it can be used to extend such focused discussions as the Office of Technology Assessment's report on *Indian Health Care* (1986). Emphasizing policy implementation rather than legal doctrine, the book extends and applies the argument of such legal/constitutional discussions as

Russel Lawrence Barsh and James Youngblood Henderson's *The Road* (1980), Charles F. Wilkinson's *American Indians, Time, and the Law* (1987), and Deloria's two recent works on Indian law, co-authored with Clifford M. Lytle, *American Indians, American Justice* (1983) and *The Nations Within* (1984). The book is a welcome addition to the available literature on contemporary Indian policy. It will broaden the scope of Indian policy studies in the future.

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American Indian and Alaska Native Mental Health Research. The Journal of the National Center, Vol. 1, No. 1, June, 1984. Denver: University of Colorado Health Sciences Center. 73 pp. Periodical, \$35 annually.

This is the first issue of a journal issued by the Department of Psychiatry, University of Colorado Health Sciences Center. It consists of four articles, only one of which is the work of a single individual. These contributions are not grouped around a single theme, but deal with widely divergent subjects, not all of them strictly definable as mental health problems. All are the work of highly qualified persons who are professionally involved in the matters with which they deal.

The first article, by Spero Manson and associates, deals with "Emerging Tribal Models for Civil Commitment of American Indians." Some of the material presented here is probably of greater interest to legal scholars than to health service personnel. It deals with processes used to effect the institutionalization of mentally ill persons adjudged to be a danger to themselves or others. This involves the use by Indian communities of procedures and concepts which were until recently quite foreign to Indian societies. The dominant culture, recognizing the partial sovereignty of Indian nations, has usually been reluctant to intrude upon native communities in order to commit non-criminals. The authors conclude that, as a result, "there are a significant number of mentally ill Indian people who do *not* receive appropriate treatment."

Since the decision of a federal court in *White v. Califano* (1977), in which a "hands off" policy was imposed on state authorities,