

Book Reviews

International Rivers: The Politics of Cooperation, by David G. LeMarquand. Vancouver: Westwater Research Centre, University of British Columbia, 1977. Pp. 138.

There are at least three important reasons for welcoming this tightly written book. First, it directs attention to the important subject — the extent to which the riparian states which share so many of the world's more than 200 international river basins have had difficulty in agreeing upon the joint use of their shared water resource. Its primary objective, indeed, is to identify the considerations which appear to facilitate and those which appear to frustrate the negotiation of effective agreements for the development and use of such rivers. And its candidly recognized assumption is that much more co-operative river development than we have had to date will be for the general advantage of all mankind.

A second reason for welcoming Mr. LeMarquand's study is that it hammers home a lesson which, in our enthusiasm for analytic effort, we are often inclined to forget. The making of public policy, and especially public policy that transcends national boundaries, is labyrinthine. Methodologically, furthermore, this book is valuable in that its author has done what political scientists so often enjoin on us but all too infrequently attempt themselves. In this case the author has first developed a sophisticated analytic framework for examining the incentives to co-operate or not co-operate in the development of international rivers, and then has applied it to a number of issues which have emerged in four watersheds. His case studies examine, in turn, the Colorado River salt pollution problem, the Columbia River Treaty, the Skagit River-Ross Dam controversy, and various international agreements which bear on the pollution of the Rhine. The end result of this effort is that he has been able to cut horizontally through four complex approaches to both agreement and stalemate, and to generate some very useful insights concerning a distinctive category of decisions.

Overall, Mr. LeMarquand's theme is that understanding the incentives to co-operate in river development, to act independently, or not to act at all, requires an appreciation of the environment of decision in its broadest sense. Clearly, the hydrologic characteristics of a river and the physical location of states within its basin are relevant considerations. These have a direct bearing on the nature of the economic incentives or disincentives to co-operate, which incentives may involve quasi-public good like benefits, more often common pool resources, sometimes real opportunities to heighten system benefits, and often substantial difficulties in their allocation. Mr. LeMarquand's categorizations here (in chapter 2) are especially helpful. But he goes on to insist that international river development involves a host of foreign policy considerations such as questions of international law, sovereignty, reciprocity, and, most importantly, image building as well as the linkage of such questions with other bilateral issues. And, he points out, it involves as well an extensive range of domestic political considerations, the roles of executive and bureaucratic actors, and the varied styles of external behaviour associated with exercises in distributive, redistributive and regulatory politics. Identifying the admittedly variable significance of these considerations lies at the heart of his analytic perspective.

His case studies are well handled — even though in a few cases the process of condensation (each is dealt with, on average, in twenty-five pages) has led to some ambiguities. In his treatment of the Columbia Treaty, for instance, the author probably overdoes the weight which Canada's national government gave to General McNaughton's proposed diversion of the Columbia into the Fraser River (p. 58); the storage sites which the United States did not exploit in the Eisenhower years were not on the mainstream of that river (p. 55); British Columbia's approach to the Libby project is oversimplified (pp. 61, 71); and B.C. really did not use the sale of the downstream power benefit in the Columbia to finance part of the Peace River's development (p. 75). Similarly, it may well be that a compensation agreement of the type he refers to will provide the most acceptable solution to the Skagit impasse (p. 91), but the question remains debatable. These, however, are minor quibbles.

Mr. LeMarquand's fundamental conclusion is that such international river agreements as have emerged to date have not led to a maximization of economic benefits stemming from co-operative action, or necessarily to an equitable division of those created. Rather trade-offs from optimal system solutions have emerged, and seem to have been inevitable (p. 74).

Hence he insists that the analysis designed to lead to proposed co-operative action in future should go well beyond the consideration of efficiency in purely economic terms. He believes that by providing technical assistance, e.g., helping to generate intra-watershed consensus, and by sponsoring some types of payment, the UN and similar agencies can facilitate the generation of international river agreements, especially in the less developed world. He also suggests that states which become party to international river agreements should move to implement them within a specified and not too extended period, or find them automatically open for renegotiation. Experience with the Columbia and Skagit agreements seems to underscore the wisdom of this recommendation.

On the other hand, his conclusion that such agreements might wisely provide for "fixed periodic renegotiation" as a "release mechanism" accommodating to changing circumstances over time (p. 134), while attractive, will surely require further investigation. It stems in large part from the interesting conclusion that agreements leading to co-operative intra-basin effort need not result in improved inter-state relations. The difficulty with Mr. LeMarquand's suggestion here is that so often a major incentive for reaching agreement in the first place stems from the fact that such agreements (with all their problems) are often, to use a classic phrase, "uncertainty absorbing contracts." As such, they often are accepted in the face of alternatives which are less attractive at the time, but which may at least involve reasonably precise and identifiable benefits and costs. The "renegotiation down the road" option may well introduce a new degree of uncertainty into the original calculus which has the effect of making agreement in the first instance more rather than less difficult to obtain.

This, however, is to speculate only about what we may learn from future research and experience. Mr. LeMarquand draws attention to the fact that his case studies deal largely with developed nations and need to be supplemented. It is to be hoped that they are, for his analytic framework is the end-product of much clear thinking on his part, and that of his associate, Professor Irving Fox.

His framework, indeed, must be classified as a genuine contribution to the body of water resource development literature which, it is not unreasonable to claim, over a generation has served to heighten both our understanding of the policy-making process and our capacity to refine it.

Tomslake: History of the Sudeten Germans in Canada, by Andrew Amstatter. Saanichton: Hancock House Publishers, 1978. Pp. 183; *illus.*

It is often forgotten that Hitler's takeover of the Sudetenland portion of the Czechoslovak Republic in October 1938 endangered not only resident Czechs and Jews but some Germans as well. The Nazi forces which occupied the borderlands of Bohemia and Moravia ceded to the Reich at the Munich Conference posed an immediate threat to any prominent anti-Nazi members of the Volk. No group of such opponents was more resented by the Nazis than the Sudeten German socialists. Thus, in the aftermath of Munich, many of the socialist leaders fled their homeland to avoid the concentration camp or worse. Andrew Amstatter's *Tomslake: History of the Sudeten Germans in Canada* describes the flight out of the Sudetenland and the settlement in British Columbia of a group of these socialist opponents of Hitler.

Amstatter is well qualified to tell the story of the refugees. Born in 1906 in the Sudetenland and raised from youth in the traditions of a socialist movement, he had become by 1938 a leading party official in Asch, the western Bohemian city which was also the residence of the Sudeten Nazi leader, Konrad Henlein. Because Amstatter had long before 1938 been a marked man to the Nazis, he left the Sudetenland soon after the results of the Munich Conference became known. Fleeing first to Prague and then to Sweden, he eventually immigrated to Canada. Amstatter arrived at Tomslake in late July 1939. Establishing himself as a farmer, he remained in the Sudeten settlement there until 1959.

The author of *Tomslake* has divided his book into two sections. The first portion, comprising the first five chapters, describes the dramatic European background. Drawing heavily upon personal experiences, Amstatter illustrates the environment of Nazi terror which surrounded the social democrats at the time of Munich. After sketching the initial flight into the interior of Czechoslovakia, he then discusses the problems confronting the refugees in leaving Czechoslovakia. These ranged from finding other countries willing to accept them to arranging for visas and securing transportation that would carry them to safety. Next, the author narrates how Canada was selected as a refuge. He details the complex means by which the immigration was financed; he outlines the role which the Canadian railways played in settling the Sudetens in western Canada. Of the 1,000 or so Sudetens who fled to Canada, the CNR located half of the refugees in Saskatchewan; the CPR settled the other half in northern British Columbia.

At this point in his account (chapter 6) Amstatter leaves off describing the entire group and concentrates on the British Columbia settlement. In the following twelve chapters he elaborates on the obstacles faced and overcome by the former industrial workers and urban dwellers in their new land. More specifically, the author describes how the refugees were located together on an abandoned and only partly developed ranch amidst the bush of British Columbia's Peace River district. For the first year, life had to be lived on a co-operative basis until enough land was broken to provide each family with its own quarter-section farm. Often with touching humour, Amstatter recounts how the new farmers struggled to learn how to milk a cow, handle a breaking plow, dig a well, or plant a crop. All these tasks, the author points out, were complicated by other difficulties such as the severe weather or the language problem. In addition, Amstatter touches on the role played by the CPR management which purchased the land, dispensed the household goods, and controlled the farm implements. These officials, he admits, were often somewhat obtuse, refusing until 1942, for example, to allow the refugees a voice on the committee which directed settlement policies and activities. From this time, Amstatter insists, a steady improvement in the settlement occurred. Although a few members moved out during the war and some additional ones drifted away after 1945, the settlement continued to prosper to the present time. To Amstatter, this success represents a tribute to the intelligence, the determination, the flexibility, and the toughness of the Sudetens — both men and women.

In large measure, the shortcomings in Amstatter's eye-witness account stem from the author's too heavy reliance upon himself and his own experiences. Much of the book is merely recollections. After nearly forty years, a portion of what did take place was bound to have been forgotten or, when recalled, recalled inaccurately. For example, in chapter 5 the author asserts that two representatives of the refugees, Frank Rehwald and Willi Wanka, were sent to Canada to negotiate for the acceptance of the Sudetens. Wanka never made such a trip. Moreover, Amstatter's account of the settlement's evolution is overly sanguine. A more complete airing of the slights and needless sufferings inflicted on the settlers by insensitive bureaucrats and hostile government officials should have been provided. If the author had considered some of the defamatory reports filed by CPR officers and officials in the Immigration Department, his understanding of the difficulties faced by the settlers would have been expanded. No doubt his book would have been more critical of how the settlers were dealt with by those supposedly responsible for them.

Finally, Amstatter has described his own experiences and those of his associates at Tomslake in such a fashion as to imply that their saga constituted if not the whole story at least the most important part of the Sudeten presence in Canada. There is more. Besides Tomslake an equally significant and successful Sudeten settlement developed in and around St. Walburg, Saskatchewan. Moreover, those refugees who left the original settlements in Saskatchewan and British Columbia later formed an important Sudeten colony in eastern Canada (dispersed among Hamilton, Toronto, and Montreal). These other two Sudeten groups are as important as the Tomslake settlement in the overall history of the Sudetens in Canada.

Such shortcomings notwithstanding, Amstatter's work, which is the first book-length effort to describe Canada's Sudeten refugees, is important. For all its one-sidedness, it represents an invaluable historical document. The anecdotes, the colourful narratives, the sensitive impressions Amstatter provides are exciting, amusing, pathetic and always real. But the book is more than a telling primary source. From the onset, the author sets out to write a work on Canadian history which is transatlantic in scope. One cannot understand the German settlers of Tomslake, the author is saying, without knowing them first in their European context. Their trials, their strengths, their joys, their gratitude toward Canada cannot be fully grasped without knowing who they were before they became Canadians. There is a strong lesson here for those who might wish to write history dealing with other ethnic groups who have come to this country from abroad.

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Vancouver: Western Metropolis, edited by Leonard J. Evenden. Western Geographical Series Volume 16: Department of Geography, University of Victoria, 1978. Pp. xxii, 277; tables, graphs, maps and plates.

A collection of articles — thirteen in this instance — makes it difficult for a reviewer to discharge an obligation and distribute all of the laurels. Not every article can be discussed in detail. Therefore, much of this review considers the volume as a single work, particularly since Professor Evenden has taken a variety of research interests and edited a cohesive collection. The over-arching theme that Vancouver is a metropolis — a unique one — conveys a unity of purpose. The editor, in a generally

thoughtful and clear introduction, is careful to keep open the debate about the degree of Vancouver's metropolitan influence. This issue is raised in the first section concerning the economy and relations with the hinterland. Larry McCann presents Vancouver as a metropolis by 1914; Kenneth Denike's work on banking points to an ambiguous status with decisions about risk investments involving local autonomy but secured investments being made "at the sufferance of head staffs . . . in Toronto and Montreal"; Roger Hayter likewise describes a complex situation in the forest industries. Along with Charles Forward's solid description of port activities and the significance of bulk exports, these are fine pieces of interest to students of the Canadian economy as well as geography. Regrettably, a second section examining the internal geography lacks theoretical discussion in the introduction. The articles all touch upon numerous American and Canadian studies; therefore the current volume's position in the literature could have been delineated. Ann McAfee's claim that the housing problems of Vancouver "seem to differ" from "those being faced in the United States" is the form of general statement that requires comment or questioning from the editor.

Having directed attention to the problem of discerning the metropolitan status of Vancouver, it would have been stimulating to have opened controversy about whether in its internal geography Vancouver is especially unique. The land market operations ably analysed by Stanley Hamilton may have application for North America. On the other hand, the editor's contribution on suburbs points to the impact of accesses across inlet and estuary on the city's morphology; thus the peculiarities of site are given emphasis. Therefore, in the second section, it seems that the opportunity to have drawn attention to what truly has been singular and what has been commonplace about the Vancouver experience was passed over in favour of a synoptic approach to introducing the articles.

Despite a formal dressing in the nature of occasional technical phrases and the use of tables and graphs, the articles do not represent trailblazing in the discipline of geography. Sources, methods and theories are conventional. Narrative and a "no-surprise" documentation rather than tentative exploration and discussions of method dominate the volume; this may leave a few readers unsatisfied. A specific concern of this nature will be raised presently and there are bound to be several more. However, the direct style does make for a lucid introduction to Vancouver for students. Moreover, many of the articles add west-coast examples to urban concerns shared elsewhere. After all, to state that the work has a conventional cast does not ignore the presence of a number of important questions.

John Bradbury indicates the dilemma faced by resource towns needing an undetermined time to evolve social maturity but facing possible termination due to corporate decisions. "The Instant Towns of British Columbia" thereby contributes to the expanding literature on a Canadian social and geographic phenomenon. James Wilson presents a balance sheet in response to the question as to whether electric power development has been an instance of metropolitan dominance at the expense of the hinterland. His concern about informed discussion on energy projects and what he has termed elsewhere as "people in the way" has more than regional pertinence. In central Canada, the dumping of atomic waste already has gone to the stage of site exploration. The hinterland, not "energy-profligate" Toronto, will suffer the consequent community rending disputes and fears.

Bradbury and Wilson, as well as the editor in his study of land use on the lower mainland, remind us that from the hinterland metropolitan status cannot be viewed as benign on all counts. Matters that concern all who have an interest in social policy appear in articles on citizen participation and on housing. Albert Horsman and Paul Raynor draw attention to problems facing local-area planning in a city where there are powerful interests and traditions favouring city-wide decision-making and professional advice. Nonetheless, both they and Shue Wong record the achievements of citizen participation in planning. The point is that *Vancouver* embraces contemporary debate and does it well; in that respect it has much in common with the 1972 publication of the University League for Social Reform, *The City: Attacking Modern Myths*, a Toronto-centred work.

After praising the book both for its instructional value and for its illumination of vital concerns in the realm of urban and regional policy, we return to an elaboration of what it does not do. One area where a fresh theoretical approach now seems in order concerns the critical points in the rise of Canadian metropolitan centres. Larry McCann's work on Vancouver and recently on Halifax moves at the edge of a breakthrough and, because of this and the book's theme of Vancouver as a metropolis, a few lines are in order. McCann properly rejects current American models as eastern oriented; he also has an historian's sense for particular circumstances mentioning corporate shifts from Victoria to Vancouver. However, instead of presenting a new continental theory with regional variations and flexibility, he takes up the cause of the staple thesis. This approach has helped to make us aware of the country's vulnerabilities and quirks. But what about the economic problems imposed by an

economy which also relies upon a provision of settlers' effects and by urban boosterism? The work of Norbert MacDonald has been mined for a few facts, but it could also have suggested a more complex explanation of Vancouver's take-off by 1914.

For what it imparts and what it stimulates, the prospect of this Vancouver collection making an impact on the thinking of central Canadians interested in these questions seems favourable.

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