

## **INDUSTRIA, THE FOURTH WORLD, AND THE QUESTION OF TERRITORY**

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**ABSTRACT:** *Fourth World Theory, the nation-based analysis of contemporary geopolitics, and its practical manifestation in indigenous nationalist movements, carries with it profound implications for the territorial assumptions of the state system. Fourth World territoriality differs in important regards from the static boundaries which define states, and bears a strong resemblance to eco-geographical or bioregional imaginings of post-state territorial forms. In Bella Coola, Turtle Island ("North America"), the Nuxalk nation, occupying traditional, unceded territory, has been one of the most vocal international proponents of a Fourth World political approach. However, insufficient theorizing about the position of non-indigenous residents in contested territories, and the dependence of states upon the exploitation of resources from indigenous territories constitute significant hurdles to be overcome by the Nuxalk and other Fourth World nations in achieving some form of sovereignty over ancestral lands. This paper engages the aforementioned issues, and shows that despite its perils, a carefully articulated Fourth World position can point the way to ecological sustainability. Fourth World theory provides important lessons for those wishing to engage with the issues of indigenous nationalism, bioregionalism, and a post-state world order.*

### **INTRODUCTION**

Geography and geopolitics are at the centre of the problematic relationship between the industrial state system, or what I call here "Industria", and the biosphere. This relationship is so strained that even arguments as bizarre as Martin Lewis' (1994) proposed "decoupling" of humanity from nature have received serious attention (e.g. Cutter 1994: 221). A more considered analysis will emphasize the need to view the dominant mode of geopolitical organization as central to environmental degradation, and to begin work on new territorial configurations. Borders in the modern state are inscribed on the global biospheric Body with little or no consideration of bioregions (biological or eco-geographical regions) and Fourth World or indigenous territories. This has exacerbated international conflict (Homer-Dixon 1994; PRIO/UNEP 1989; Ra'anan 1990), made preservation of ecosystems more difficult, and presented a hurdle to international agreements on global issues such as climate change. By contrast, the

"boundaries" of Fourth World territories tend to follow bioregional lines. In this paper I argue that Fourth World nations, particularly those in what is now called "Canada", embrace land ethics and territorial conceptions which could help wed environmental preservation, economic development, national determination and human rights under the rubric of a neo-territorial sovereignty.

The global "Fourth World" or indigenous experience has profound implications for geographical imaginings of a post-state world order. A close examination of what might be called a Fourth World land ethic is of critical importance to contemporary discussions of territoriality, nationalism, and ecological sustainability, enabling as it does a reformulation of modern notions of territorial organization. A Fourth World approach to territory is not an argument for yet another mutation of the nation-state. Indeed, the very idea of statehood is problematic. Nonetheless, the present existence of a robust state system constitutes a rather unavoidable context for any discussion of territorial sovereignty, and the Fourth World can, through its systemic interactions with states, help to reconfigure

states in a deproblematizing manner. What physical "territory" is considered to be, and how it can be delineated is very much bound up with what kind of ethical stance is taken toward the land. The epistemology and ontology predominant in European civilization at the time of first sustained contact with North America all but precluded an ethical stance toward the land, whereas those of indigenous nations necessitated an ethical stance. This has had causal effects on territorial use, ideas of ownership, and the possibility of boundaries.

The Nuxalk Nation on the north-west coast of Turtle Island ("North America", in the discourse of the colonizers) has long-standing connections to what can be described as "the Fourth World movement", and has made numerous presentations at international fora. The Nuxalk exist beyond the "Treaty frontier", meaning that they never ceded nor sold their territory to colonial governments. In 1984, Saami activist Nils Somby, accused of dynamiting a dam constructed on Saami territory by the state of Norway, escaped from a prison hospital and fled overseas to the Bella Coola valley. He and his family were granted political amnesty by and adopted into the Nuxalk Nation as an act of Fourth World solidarity. What is this Fourth World theory that evidently has the moral force to drive people to acts of sabotage? It is, in essence, a geopolitical counter-revolution.

## **FOURTH WORLD THEORY**

It is not possible to adequately account for the current struggles between indigenous peoples and Industria without reference to Fourth World theory, which had its genesis in Sweden in 1972 at the United Nations Stockholm Environmental Conference. At this conference, North American First Nations delegates found they had much more in common with the Saami of Finland/Sweden, the Bretons of France, and the Basques of France/Spain than they did with Third World delegates. These indigenous delegates saw that their individual struggles for self-determination shared substantial common ground. Subsequently, under the leadership of Shuswap Chief George Manuel, Fourth World theory was born.

Members of individual Fourth World nations have common ancestry, language and territory, and often consider themselves to be under occupation by the

centralized political systems of modern states. By contrast, states are recent legal creations whose authority, Nietschmann (1994: 227-28) argues, "derives from force...intimidation...and "statespeak"" imposed upon national groups. The formation of modern states coincided with the beginnings of industrial civilization. In essence, industrial technology, enlightenment philosophy (rational humanism), and state-based (but not requisitely democratic) political organization are the hallmarks of Industria. Fourth World theory provides a ground-up portrait of international conflicts, focused on the ancient national groups under state domination. Jason Clay (1994: 24) estimates that 5000 nations exist within (or among) 192 modern (First, Second, or Third World) states. Nietschmann (1987: 1) argues that this Fourth World is at war with modern states, whose discursive strategy is to deny their existence as peoples, and characterize their resistance to territorial invasion ("national integration") and occupation ("economic development") as "terrorism".

One result of the domination of every nation on earth by Industrian states has been the hegemony of European peoples and their descendants. This hegemony has not gone un-resisted: 75-80 % of wars being fought in 1993-4 involved Fourth World nations resisting state military forces (Clay 1994: 24; Nietschmann 1994: 237). One primary reason for this resistance is the environmental degradation caused by corporate exploitation of natural resources from indigenous territories for export to the cities of the Industrian core.

While the Fourth World critique of global corporations is similar to a Marxist analysis of global capitalism, many neo-Marxists find Fourth World theory threatening. This is because it conflates North and South into the rôle of oppressors, of thieves arguing over how to divide up loot plundered from indigenous peoples:

The Fourth World representatives [at the Stockholm Conference] saw the tired left-right political discussions as all one Neo-European debate over who reaped the spoils of industrialization while the rights of indigenous people everywhere were ignored. The Neo-Europeans continued to colonize native people around the world and destroy the environment in the name of progress (Weyler 1992: 214).

Marxist opposition to Fourth World theory is due to two factors. First, according to traditional Marxist thinking, in order to participate in a proletarian revolution, indigenous peoples must first modernize (i.e. industrialize), effectively abandoning their cultures (Means in Bedford 1994: 103). This position has alienated many indigenous peoples, resulting in a rejection of Marxist ideas among many Fourth World

nations. Secondly, Marxists have consistently under-theorized indigenous issues, leading many people in the Fourth World to conclude that Marxism is merely committed to "its own, destructive, version of modernity" (Bedford 1994: 110). Capitalism and Marxism alike exhibit the modernist tendencies of the ignorance or obfuscation of difference, the silencing of local voices, and the invocation of dialectical metanarratives. Both approaches to social organization are, after all, the intellectual spawn of Industria.

### **THE MODERN STATE SYSTEM: THE BIRTH AND GROWTH OF INDUSTRIA**

Peter Taylor (1994) pegs the beginning of the modern state system at 1648, with the Treaty of Westphalia which ended the Thirty Years War. Walker (1993: 90), while acknowledging that the temporal origin of modern states remains a subject of debate, agrees that The Treaty of Westphalia "serves as a crucial demarcation." The state system rapidly expanded through the colonial policies of the European powers, and by the 1960s, the last vestiges of empires were gone and virtually every square centimetre of the Earth was divided among what now number 192 states. Referring to strategies of deterritorialization aimed at the Nuxalk and Ts'ilhqot'in nations of north-western Turtle Island, Brealey (1995) has argued that geographers were complicit in the colonial project. Indeed, the continued reification of the state system in contemporary geography, wherein states are taken as a locus of analysis and nation peoples are typically referred to as "ethnic" or "minority" groups (in their own territories!) gives grounds for the assertion that complicity continues today.

Ra'anana (1990: 7) suggests that, given the consolidation of "[n]ation-[d] state" hegemony in the world history, investigations into nationalism should take place at the sub-state level. He notes that "in well over 90 percent of the independent countries existing today, the state is either considerably larger or much smaller than the area inhabited by the corresponding nation or *Staatsvolk*." Falk (1992) has estimated that at least 800 nationalist movements threaten 192 modern states. During the process of the expansion of the state system, the terms "nation" and "state" have been conflated. The state has been reified as the locus of political community (Magnusson 1990: 49). Yet since states frequently

comprise numerous nations (many of them under effective occupation), it became necessary to invent a new, state-based, national identity.

Modern states comprise collectively what I refer to as "Industria". The cultural, political, and economic commonalities within these urban-based states are sufficient to differentiate them *en masse* from Fourth World nations. The philosophical/political orientation of this global culture is Eurogenic, but has now been adopted by states on all continents. Industrial technology has long been recognized as the defining characteristic of modern states:

...industrial man has lost all touch with his natural framework and has to do only with the organized technical intermediary...Enclosed within his artificial creation, man finds that there is "no exit"; that he cannot pierce the shell of technology to find again the ancient milieu to which he was adapted for hundreds of thousands of years (Ellul 1964: 428).

It is important to point out here that while I refer to the state system as Industria, I do not wish to imply that Industria is coterminous with the Earth's surface. The shape of a geopolitical entity is determined by a mapping of areas it controls, and by this reasoning, Industria forms a matrix or web spread across the Earth's surface. Its territory is comprised only of areas it has penetrated by transportation networks. For example, during Mi'kmaq protests against herbicide spraying in forests on traditional territory adjacent to their Reserves in Unama'ki (Cape Breton, Nova Scotia), police sought to prevent activists from gaining access to the forest by setting up roadblocks on forest access roads. The Mi'kmaq activists then simply walked into the forest from their backyards, using game trails to access and occupy the sites to be sprayed. If the true extent of Industrian control over the Earth were to be mapped in light of this sort of anecdote, then it would appear as a web-like array, densest near cities, and extremely sparse in areas still occupied by Fourth World nations. The traditional cartographic technique of shading entire state territories in one colour helps to perpetuate the myth of Industrian control over remote areas. Industrian states are all tied to a web of trans-state corporate interests which Wallerstein (1979) refers to as the "capitalist world-economy". This has led commentators such as Tilly (1985: 169) to suggest that states are "organized crime at its smoothest", "protection rackets" geared to facilitating the theft of resources from Fourth World territories. Ron Johnston (1989: 64), drawing strongly on David Harvey's work, concludes that the inevitable crises generated within a capitalist economy "produce responses that are likely to have particularly severe consequences for the physical

environment.” However, no ecologist who has considered the devastation of the ecosystems in the socialist states of eastern Europe believes that capitalism is unique in its ecologically destructive potential. For the nations of the Fourth World, the problem is Industria itself, regardless of who owns the means of industrial production. Thus, when alarmists issue warnings about “the coming anarchy”, a breakdown into “lawlessness” and the end of “rational” governance in places like Africa (e.g. Kaplan 1994), their real concern is that Industrian state-based hegemony is threatened by Fourth World nationalism. Such heralds of doom overlook the fact that for members of Fourth World nations such as the Ogoni, “anarchy” would likely be a welcome respite from the state terror tactics employed to ensure Shell Oil’s access to their resources.

## **THE ETHICS OF TERRITORIALITY, AND THE TERRITORIALITY OF ETHICS**

The predominant Industrian world-view is predicated upon Cartesian mechanistic ontological assumptions (Rifkin 1991; Callicott 1989; Shapcott 1989). In Descartes’ view, nature is a machine, and animals are devoid of reason, feeling, and emotion (Callicott 1989: 181). His ambition was to use mathematical reasoning to make humanity “masters and possessors of nature” (Descartes in Rifkin 1991: 32). In addition to accepting the atomism of the ancient Greeks, Descartes’ approach is also foundationalist. The language used by Industrian policy makers reveals the persistence of this atomistic foundationalism, which Shapcott (1989: 72) claims is both antithetical and hostile to indigenous values. As she says, the words ““resource” and “management” imply a human superiority incompatible with the holistic values expressed by many Native people.”

Industrian culture wed its mechanistic, atomistic ontology to Judeo-Christian environmental ethics predominant at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia. This marriage of convenience transformed God from Caring Shepherd to Master Technician. In the resulting world-view, land and its non-human biotic inhabitants had utterly lost status as moral objects or agents. M’Gonigle quotes from a background paper by the Tin-Wis

Congress which articulates a Fourth World perception of some of the implications of this Industrian ontology:

Most of the land use conflicts...are a reflection of a certain kind of political-economic system which encourages uncontrolled, widespread, and short-term exploitation of natural resources - a process carried out in British Columbia by large corporations... In economic terms it represents the wholesale liquidation of natural resources capitol [sic], and the diversion of profits into the hands of a few (Tin-Wis Congress cited in M’Gonigle 1988: 122).

The political-economic system of Industria, with its ontological devaluation of the land, is inherently exploitative of the Earth.

By contrast, as one First Nations activist put it, “An aboriginal worldview says all life forms are sacred and part of a universal one” (quoted in Hipwell 1997: 90). This is typical of what J. Baird Callicott characterizes as a broad commonality among North American indigenous cultures:

The concept of the Great Spirit and of the Earth Mother and the family-like relatedness of all creatures seems, however, to have been very nearly a universal American Indian idea, and likewise the concept of a spiritual dimension or aspect to all natural things (Callicott 1989: 186-7).

Indeed, such a world view is common to indigenous peoples around the world. This forms the foundation of the emerging phenomenon of co-operation between some radical ecological activist groups and indigenous peoples. Activists embracing philosophies such as Deep Ecology predicate their arguments on an ontological equation between humans and the non-human world, believing that “...humans should be identified with nature not as a separable organism or set of organisms, but as an integrated part of a greater life/world system” (Light 1997: 256).

More controversial is the question of epistemology. Epistemologies can have significant effects on the way territory and non-humans are perceived. Yet epistemologies as divergent as those of most Industrians on the one hand, and the people of the Fourth World on the other, are, to a large degree, mutually exclusive. There is little question that the core epistemology of Industria is empiricism. What can be said to exist, can be known through the senses and/or measured by instruments whose readings can be sensed. The scientific method demands evidence or proof which meets the epistemological criteria sketched out above. In its extreme form, this epistemology makes very difficult any “spiritual” belief.

Aside from the rich and lively debates in analytical philosophy surrounding the relative merits of

empiricism as an epistemology is the thornier and more easily quantified question of physical capability. One can reject a purely empirical approach because certain patterns, say those of large ecosystems, are too large, too complex, and too interdependent to be fully grasped by humans. For this reason, it has been argued that uncertainty generated by these complexities requires planners in Industria to move away from traditional scientific empiricism and embrace "trans-science" which takes into account the historical context of the development of Western knowledge, and makes room for heterogeneity (Thompson and Warburton 1988). Indigenous North American epistemologies typically include non-empirical evidence for knowledge, such as information gleaned from dreams, or "conversations" with non-human animals or even plants and rocks. British sociologist Hugh Brody provides some convincing examples of such non-empiricist epistemologies from the Beaver nation, especially those concerning "dream-hunting". Dream hunting allows premonitions of the appearance and the location of game animals: real animals show themselves to hunters in dreams (Brody 1988: 44-46). Among other things, such an epistemology creates a mental space for intuition, that very human, but often subconscious awareness of events, processes and outcomes.

## **PROBLEMATIZING TERRITORIALITY?**

Recently, thinkers in the disciplines of geography and political science have launched an attack on territoriality as a causal factor in conflict and environmental degradation. Peter Taylor argues that "...as we approach testing the fragility of the Earth's ecology - anti-territoriality will have to be part of the solution with territoriality the problem" (1994: 161). Certainly, Industrian approaches to territory have been (and are) intrinsically hostile to nature (Shapcott 1989: 57; Mander 1991: 97). This is due largely to mechanistic ontological presumptions. However, Taylor's conclusion is predicated upon the assumption that territory will continue to be administered by Industrian states, and ignores the possibility that a territorially-bounded culture embracing a land ethic would be far less likely to jeopardize the "fragility of the Earth's ecology."

Ruggie (1993: 174) helps to explain why Fourth World nations continue to cling to territorial sovereignty: "On reflection though, the reason territoriality is taken for granted is not hard to guess. Samuel Beckett put it well in *Endgame*: "You're on earth, there's no cure for that"." Ra'an (1990: 14) has argued that in most ancient societies, and in many contemporary "non-Western" communities, nationality was determined not through state citizenship but rather by reference to cultural, religious and historic identity; that nationality is personal identity-dependent rather than territory-dependent. The complication Ra'an overlooks is that for many indigenous people, personal identity is very much bound up with the land. In addition to this vital connection to the land celebrated by indigenous cultures, which undoubtedly strengthens territorial attachments, political pragmatism necessitates that Fourth World nations such as the Nuxalk continue to fight for territorial sovereignty. Problematizing territoriality is a Industrian indulgence which the nations of the Fourth World are utterly unable to afford. During the colonial era, the British Crown acquired geographically delineated areas of land from many First Nations through treaty or purchase. According to legal experts, lands not thus transferred to the Crown or private landowners belong to the self-defined nation that occupied it at the time of colonization. Referring to the Papal Bull *Sublimus Deus* of 1537, Bruce Clark points out that:

From inception it has bound all Europeans and their several governments in terms of settled international law. Ever since the enactment of *Sublimus Deus* existing law has remained straightforward: no purchase equals no non-native jurisdiction or possession (Clark 1995).

Thus, it is necessary for the Nuxalk to refer to something concrete when making territorial claims. Jurisdiction is the key. The Fourth World's experience has been that where Industria has had jurisdiction over lands which traditionally supported their economies and cultures, this jurisdiction has resulted in profound ecological degradation, most notably deforestation, damage to salmon streams, pollution of the water table from mining operations, flooding due to water diversion schemes, and depletion of game animals due to over-hunting. While there have been a few historic examples of ecological degradation under Fourth World "jurisdiction" (usually as a result of economic pressures arising from the dialectic of colonial contact, e.g. the fur trade), they pale in comparison with the collective impacts of Industria.

For these reasons, to the nations of the Fourth World, postmodern discussions problematizing

territoriality are threatening, and smack of intellectual neo-colonialism. Territoriality is the only way they have of gaining (or retaining) access as nations and communities to lands capable of nurturing their cultures, and a resource base capable of supporting their self-determination. To abandon a territorial understanding of Fourth World nationalism, given the ubiquitous distribution of ecologically destructive Industrian culture (and the very long reach of its resource exploitation arms), is to ensure the destruction of Fourth World cultures closely linked to the land and its ecology. Prior to colonization Fourth World cultures could survive without an explicitly demarcated territorial base. Today they cannot. In fact, political geographers' present attack on territoriality can be seen as the latest evolution of the complicity in the colonial project to which I referred earlier.

The key to formulating a sustainable Fourth World territoriality in much of "Canada" will, however, require a flexibility atypical of Industrian territorial conceptions. First Nations will have to confront the reality of non-indigenous people who have lived for generations on unceded indigenous territory, and be prepared to accept compensation for such properties owned by non-indigenous people. The alternative would be forced eviction of non-indigenous people, an action which would almost certainly result in bloodshed. In Bella Coola, there appears to be a willingness even on the part of sovereigntist Nuxalk to accommodate Bella Coolans within the context of a Nuxalk territorial claim. As one Hereditary Chief conceded, "I don't think that's realistic to say that, "Well kick them out." It's very erratic, it's senseless..." (quoted in Hipwell 1997: 86).

Despite this concession, the Nuxalk sovereigntist position has alarmed non-Native local residents. From their perspective, it is essential that the Native and non-Native communities work together on a local level to settle territorial issues. One non-Native Bella Coolan, active in fish and wildlife and conservation issues, said:

I believe in the legal justice system, then I have to believe that they [the Nuxalk] have some claim for some legal redress for what's occurred in the past... But I think that on a local level, people could... get together in a much better way than what the government is presently doing, you know. (quoted in Hipwell 1997: 87).

In this vein, M'Gonigle (1988) urges that the quest for Native self-government be expanded to include a framework for equitable participation in local resource management by all people in a local community.

## TOWARD A POST-STATE TERRITORIALITY: LESSONS FROM THE "PERIPHERY"

Let us return, then, to the problem of state sovereignty, by considering the Mohawk nation's conception of "Canada", which is not that of a nation at all, but rather a legal-political framework for co-operation among nations (Alfred 1995: 104). Such a model of political organization is being attempted in Europe, and to a lesser, more purely economic degree, with the North American Free Trade Agreement. It is informative to consider the development of the European Union in this regard. While the states of Europe have demonstrated a willingness to relinquish sovereignty over health and environmental protection standards to a higher level of government, they cling tenaciously to "cultural sovereignty", for example over education, language, etc., and "territorial sovereignty" in the sense of control over natural resources. In many ways the Canadian federal system reflects such a division of powers under the BNA Act and the Constitution Act of 1982. First Nations sovereignty has been recognized in law (Clark 1995), and guaranteed by treaty (Alfred 1995: 59). Nonetheless, it has not been constitutionalized in the sense that powers one might, on the basis of the European example, reasonably assume to be the sovereign domain of "nations" (education, control of natural resources) rest primarily with provincial governments rather than Band Councils or other forms of indigenous national government.

The importance of the land to indigenous political objectives is clear in this argument for the recognition of land rights:

...in many indigenous cultures, traditional collective systems for control and use of land and territory, including bodies of water and coastal areas, are a necessary condition for their survival, social organization, development and their individual and collective well-being; and that the form of such control and ownership is varied and distinctive and does not necessarily coincide with the systems protected by the domestic laws of the States in which they live (IACHR 1995: Preamble, #6).

There is strong evidence that a lack of such recognition in Canadian government policy has contributed to conflict. Tensions between the territorial/ecological conceptions of the Canadian state on the one hand, and First Nations on the other, have resulted in discursive and physical conflicts which have escalated in recent years, the most prominent examples taking place in Kahnéssetake (Oka),

James Bay, Ipperwash, Barrière Lake, the Old Man River, Kluscap's Mountain, Penticton, and Bella Coola.

One way of reformulating territoriality to address the concerns of both indigenous and non-indigenous residents of Fourth World territories would be a move to bioregionalism. Bioregionalism replaces static, linear Cartesian boundaries with territorial definitions based on watersheds or other eco-geographical features. Because eco-geographical regions often include members of various nations, bioregionalism will be by definition a multi-national political approach:

What is refreshing about bioregionalism is its claim that the "natural" boundary of human social organization need not be the nation-State, or the political borders that have been drawn within states...Making the primary place of political decision-making the ecological context within which we live lends our future towards a "natural" internationalism (Roussopoulos 1993: 79).

Kratochwil (1986) describes a fluid feudal European territorial system which doubtless functioned with a "bioregional" sense of space. It is interesting to note that Descartes' "discoveries" and pronouncements, which in effect ended the medieval era (where humans were still seen as a part of nature) preceded by a matter

of mere decades the Treaty of Westphalia. The death knell of bioregional territoriality in Europe was sounded by the authors of the new Enlightenment world-view.

In his discussion of bioregionalism in "British Columbia", Aberley (1993: 91) argues that indigenous territories are likely to form the basis of governance units in the Northwest, though he notes that overlapping territorial claims among First Nations must first be settled. This is certainly true in the case of the Nuxalk and the Heiltsuk nations (Figure 1). He points out "because aboriginal nations relied so much on localized sources of natural resources for their survival, they tended to array their activities and settlements in patterns that demonstrated intimate knowledge of carrying capacity." This underscores the fundamental compatibility of indigenous territorial claims and a bioregional geopolitics. The bioregional approach is not, however, entirely unproblematic. Alexander (1990: 169) cautions that bioregions are a conceptual construct that do not have meaning external to human perceptions and categorisation. On some levels this is true, given frequently conflicting personal identification with different bioregional definitions. On the other hand, observations of nonhuman behaviour reveal that various species adopt a "regional" or "territorial" approach to life, and are often found exclusively in one area. In this sense, there must be some fundamental biological characteristics of regions, notwithstanding any conceptual confusion over precise definitions. It is perhaps the result of the dualism inherent in Industrial thought that people feel the need to identify a dividing line showing the demarcation between "is/is not bioregion X". Geographers need to introduce fluid concepts of territory, and recognize that there are transition zones between bioregions. Though Alexander argues that bioregions exist at too many different scales to be of much use in political organization, clearly human political organization also operates at a variety of scales.

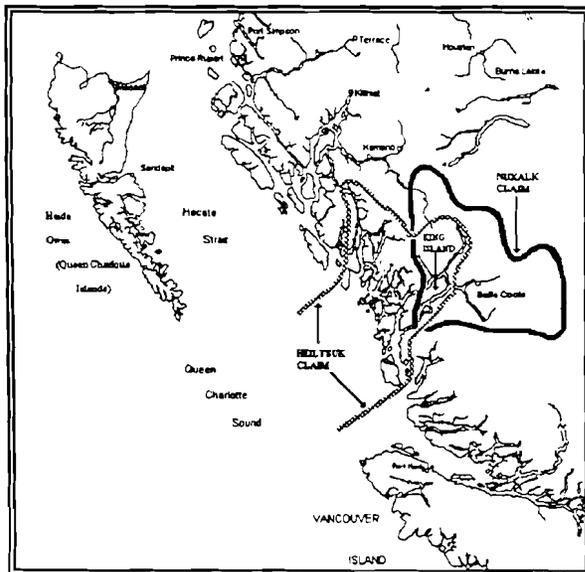


FIGURE 1: Approximate extent of Nuxalk and Heiltsuk territorial claims. Adapted from Department of Indian and Northern Affairs (1992) and (1994).

## CONCLUSION

Debates surrounding national sovereignty are far from over. Critics of Fourth World sovereigntist arguments are certain to ask why a particular situation of historical territorial occupation should be reified. Further, the lack of a clear historical record of territorial occupation by indigenous nations raises questions regarding the precise boundaries of territories presently

claimed by sovereigntists. In the case of the Nuxalk, there is substantial overlap between the territorial claims of the Nuxalk and the Heiltsuk. Moreover, there is a great deal of uncertainty as to whether traditional indigenous territoriality even resembled (problematic) modern notions of the sovereign territorial state. As Ruggie argues: "territory was occupied in kinship-based systems, but it did not define them" (Ruggie 1993: 149).

Traditional (and re-emergent) Fourth World world-views hold that territory - a living, ethically significant kind of territory - is an integral part of Fourth World national identity. A Fourth World territorial sovereignty need not be exclusive, in fact most First Nations Land Claims acknowledge and recognize private property rights of non-indigenous people within their territory, and state that they will not attempt to expropriate such property (M'Gonigle 1988: 124). The Arrow Lake Okanagans, for example, are explicit in their respect for private tenure:

Privately owned lands within our territory shall stay in their owners' possession without hindrance. We reserve the right to first option to purchase lands if any owners decide to sell at any time (George 1997).

In "Canada", a step toward defusing growing tensions between First Nations and colonial governments would be for the Canadian federal government to resolve First Nations territorial claims quickly and fairly while promoting itself, as it were, to the status of the European Parliament, devolving "national" powers to the provinces, and equally to First Nations. This kind of enhanced federalism would give First Nations control over natural resources in their territories, power over immigration, etc. Clearly, the Nuxalk and other Fourth World nations are not going to be satisfied with mere "municipal" powers when that will entail continued expropriation of mineral and biotic wealth from their traditional lands, and the legacy of this expropriation in the form of a degraded environment and degrading poverty.

The nations of the Fourth World will, in their re-articulation of national identity, need to guard against the narrow, racist nationalism that has characterized Eurocentric politics for several hundred years. As Ruggie (1993: 149) puts it, "Even where systems of rule are territorial, and even where territoriality is relatively fixed, the prevailing concept of territory need not entail mutual exclusion." Indeed, exclusivity is not characteristic of traditional forms of indigenous territorial organization (Brody 1988: 172). The political success of Fourth World struggles for recognition and territorial

sovereignty will hinge on their ability to come to peaceful settlements with their non-indigenous neighbours. One option would be for Fourth World nations to offer "citizenship" in their nations to non-indigenous local residents. This would allow a new formulation of a shared territorial identity. The key is location: a neo-nationalist territoriality that includes everyone in a bioregion, regardless of their racial background, a revitalized territorial sovereignty re-establishing local control over ecosystems and the wealth they harbour, in short, a bioregional approach, may well paint the path to ecological sustainability and multi-national harmony within the context of a more mature geopolitical order.

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