KANATA

VOLUME 3

KANATA

UNDERGRADUATE JOURNAL OF THE
INDIGENOUS STUDIES COMMUNITY OF
MCGILL

VOLUME 3   WINTER 2010

McGILL UNIVERSITY
MONTREAL, QUEBEC

Acknowledgements

KANATA

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Forward- Editor's Note

Pamela Fillion

Post-Oka Kinda Woman

Here she comes strutting down your street.
This Post-Oka woman don't take no shit.

She's done with victimization, reparation,
degradation, assimilation,
devolution, coddled collusion,
the 'plight of the Native Peoples.'

Post-Oka woman, she's o.k.
She shashay into your suburbia.
Mackenzie Way, Riel Crescent belong to her
like software, microwave ovens,
plastic Christmas trees and lawn chairs.

Her daughter wears Reeboks and works out.
Her sons cook and wash up.
Her grandkids don't sass their Kohkom!
No way.

She drives a Toyota, reads bestsellers,
sweats on weekends, colors her hair,
sings old songs, gathers herbs.
Two step Tuesdays,
Round dances on Wednesday,
Twelve steps when she needs it.

Post-Oka woman she's struttin' her stuff
not walkin' one step behind her man.
She don't take that shit
Don't need it!   Don't want it.
You want her   than treat her right.

Talk to her of post-modern deconstructivism
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She'll say: 'What took you so long?'

You wanna discuss Land Claims?
She'll tell ya she'd rather leave
her kids with a struggle than a bad settlement.

Indian Government?
      Show her cold hard cash.

Tell her you've never talked to a real live 'Indian'
      She'll say: 'Isn't that special.'

Post-Oka woman, she's cheeky.
      She's bold. She's cold.

And she don't take no shit!
No shit.

Beth Cuthand in Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English (ed.
Daniel David Moses & Terry Goldie)

      KANATA is an annual publication by McGill's Indigenous Studies Community also named KANATA. This third volume of KANATA highlights the 20th anniversary of the Oka Crisis.

      The Oka Crisis of 1990 had a deep impact on many levels in North America and even abroad. What began as a local dispute between the municipality of Oka, Quebec pushing for the expansion of a golf course at the expense of the burial grounds and sacred pines of the Kanien:keha'ka (Mohawks) of Kanesatake quickly and dangerously escalated into a stand-off between a community and the strong-hand of the State. Public response to the crisis demonstrated a disturbing lack of understanding by the general public and by the State about the First Peoples' of North America. The many hate riots evidenced and thus triggered a demand for change to a deep-seated problem in Quebec and in North America. Indeed, the Oka Crisis was a watershed moment for change in native-newcomer relationships in North America. Twenty years after the events which began on July 11, 1990 and ended on September 26, 1990, so much has changed and yet so little has changed in terms of how the Indigenous Peoples' of Canada are understood by the public and by the State.

The main focus of KANATA's mandate is to create a community of support for the sharing, discovering, and discussion of knowledge relating to Indigenous Peoples' of North America. KANATA creates the space for and networks for, as well as facilitates the learning opportunities for students and individuals who are interested in Indigenous Studies . Furthermore, KANATA aims to make the knowledge shared by, discovered by, and exchanged by students and individuals in the community readily available on- campus and off-campus through events and more importantly through publishing (thus promoting pride in) the productions of knowledge of its members and contributors. Lastly, the mandate of KANATA is to operate within academic institutions but to widen and reflect on the nature of what is considered "academic". For KANATA, "academia" is defined more in terms of a search for knowledge and understanding rather than a claim to expertise. Ultimately, KANATA aims to strengthen and better Native and Non-Native relations in North America through the search for and advocacy of knowledge both in the academic setting and for the wider North American public.

The cover art, *Jolene*, is part of an artwork submission by Young Artist Warriors and is painted by artist Jeska Slater.

20 ans après la crise d'Oka
Mon voyage vers la réconciliation

Francine Lemay

Avant la crise d'Oka, je ne savais à peu près rien des Indiens. Les mots « autochtone » et « Premières nations » ne faisaient pas partie de mon vocabulaire, comme c'était le cas pour bien des Québécois. Mes connaissances se limitaient à ce que mon livre d'histoire du Canada m'avait enseigné : les Hurons étaient les bons Indiens et les amis des Français, et les Iroquois étaient les méchants Indiens, alliés des Anglais. Mon livre parlait aussi du massacre de Lachine et de Dollard des Ormeaux qui avait péri avec plusieurs autres fiers soldats au fort Long Sault, et présentait les images effroyables des pères jésuites Jogues, Lalemant, de Brébeuf et Goupil attachés à un poteau au milieu d'un feu dévorant.

Tragédie dans la pinède

Le 11 juillet 1990, un événement tragique et bouleversant vient renforcer ma perception négative des Iroquois. Un membre de ma famille me téléphone pour m'annoncer que mon jeune frère Marcel, alors caporal pour la Sûreté du Québec et membre du Groupe tactique d'intervention, vient d'être tué par balle à Oka lors d'un raid policier. Je n'en crois pas mes oreilles; je suis atterrée. J'ignorais tout de ce qui se passait à Kanehsatake depuis quelques mois, ou plutôt depuis quelques siècles. Tout ce que je savais, c'est que j'avais perdu mon frère dans un échange de coups de feu à cause de barricades dressées par les Mohawks, que la police avait reçu l'ordre de démanteler. Jeune homme téméraire de 31 ans, Marcel, le seul à avoir perdu la vie dans cet affrontement, laisse dans le deuil sa femme enceinte de leur deuxième enfant, sa mère, trois frères et deux sœurs.

Pendant des mois, les médias ne parlent que des événements entourant la crise qui durera 78 jours. Des images saisissantes dans les journaux ne font qu'empirer la situation, ainsi que la perception que la population a des Indiens, la mienne y comprise. Des cauchemars d'Indiens ravageant des maisons et tuant des Blancs viennent perturber mes nuits. Mais en *bonne chrétienne*, j'étouffe toutes les pensées négatives qui m'assaillent pour « pardonner » à celui qui a tué mon frère. J'ignore tout de la nature des revendications à l'origine de la crise, soit un terrain de golf que

le maire d'Oka veut agrandir en empiétant sur le cimetière et la pinède des Mohawks. Cependant, mon pardon n'est qu'intellectuel, superficiel. Certes, il repose sur un principe chrétien fondamental, mais il n'est pas profond; je ne le ressens pas vraiment. En outre, toutes sortes de propagandes racistes et d'informations tendancieuses réussissent à implanter fermement en moi des préjugés que je me garde bien de révéler.

Découverte d'un nouveau monde

Quatorze années s'écoulent quand un jour deux étudiants, qui travaillent pour la radio communautaire de l'Université McGill, me téléphonent et désirent me rencontrer pour m'interviewer sur la crise d'Oka. Hésitante et le cœur battant, je leur demande de m'accorder trois jours pour y réfléchir. Je croyais ce chapitre de ma vie clos. Je m'empresse de communiquer avec Céline Bastien-Genest, une amie qui prend des cours sur la culture autochtone et étudie la langue mohawk, pour lui poser quelques questions sur les « Indiens » en général.

Voyant mon ignorance et soucieuse de mieux m'informer sur l'historique particulier des Mohawks de Kanehsatake, Céline me prête un livre assez volumineux qui s'intitule *At the Woods'Edge*. Assoiffée d'en apprendre plus sur ce peuple et toutes les circonstances qui ont mené à la crise d'Oka, je dévore le livre en quelques jours. Connaître l'autre côté de la médaille, à savoir les tromperies, l'exploitation, l'injustice et les déplacements forcés que ces gens ont subis, me touche et me bouleverse. J'entendais un autre son de cloche. Je savais que les livres donnent deux interprétations de l'histoire du Canada, celle des Canadiens anglais et celle des Canadiens français, mais je venais d'en découvrir une troisième, celle des Autochtones.

Mon premier contact avec des Mohawks

La préposée à l'accueil de l'Église que je fréquentais dans l'Ouest de Montréal m'avait demandé de la remplacer le dimanche suivant, ce que j'avais accepté volontiers. Je savais qu'un groupe d'autochtones étaient invités pour présenter leur projet de traduction de la Bible en mohawk auquel Céline participait. En les voyant arriver, je ressens quelque chose d'inexplicable, comme un pincement au cœur. Mine de rien, je leur souhaite la bienvenue comme à toutes les autres personnes qui entrent dans la salle. Quelques minutes après le début de la réunion, je m'assois, et les autochtones en question montent sur l'estrade et se présentent. Tour à tour,

ils expliquent la raison du projet de traduction et quel rôle respectif ils y jouent.

Même s'il fait chaud en cette journée de juin 2004, je tremble de la tête aux pieds durant toute la présentation. Deux amies qui remarquent mes tremblements viennent s'asseoir à mes côtés. Elles savent que ces Mohawks réveillent en moi de douloureux souvenirs. Après que les invités reprennent leur siège, poussée par un désir soudain et pressant, je demande à prendre la parole, ce qu'on m'accorde. Je monte sur l'estrade et je remercie calmement les invités de nous avoir fait part de leur projet. Puis, une pause. Je m'identifie comme étant la sœur du policier qui a été tué lors de la crise d'Oka et je demande sincèrement pardon aux Mohawks présents pour tous les torts qu'ils ont subis au cours des siècles depuis l'arrivée des Européens, entre autres ceux des gouvernements et des Sulpiciens en particulier. Je ne peux retenir mes larmes, et l'assistance non plus.

Mavis Etienne, responsable du projet et négociatrice durant la crise de 1990, revient sur l'estrade et m'offre ses condoléances, ainsi que ses excuses pour avoir omis de prier pour la sécurité des policiers durant l'assaut commandé par le gouvernement. Plus tard, elle m'invite à participer à un événement, appelé Trail of Prayers (Sentier des prières), qui a lieu la semaine suivante à Kanehsatake. Cet événement consiste en un parcours comprenant quatre endroits stratégiques sur le territoire mohawk où les gens sont invités à prier et à chanter en mohawk, en anglais et en français, pour la paix et la guérison de la communauté.

Sur le chemin de la guérison

Notre premier arrêt a lieu derrière l'école secondaire, en bordure de la rivière des Outaouais. La journée est magnifique et le site enchanteur. Une cinquantaine de personnes élèvent leurs voix vers le ciel. Le vent qui souffle très fort m'inspire l'espoir de jours meilleurs. Au dernier endroit où nous nous arrêtons, soit la pinède où ont été tirés les 95 coups de feu en 20 secondes, je suis prise de malaises et de nausées. Me voyant accroupie au sol, quelques personnes viennent me réconforter. Quatorze ans après la mort de mon frère, je pleure librement, je me permets finalement de vivre mon deuil. Le processus de ma guérison intérieure avance, progresse, mais beaucoup de questions me trottent encore dans la tête et me tourmentent : *Pourquoi Marcel? Pourquoi la balle est-elle entrée par un endroit non protégé par sa veste pare-balles?*

Le parcours se termine par un cercle d'amitié où tous les participants se saluent et se serrent la main. Tracy Cross, le frère du fameux Lasagne,

vient m'offrir ses condoléances et me donner l'accolade. Le geste est observé par une jeune femme autochtone de 25 ans, qui a été élevée parmi les Blancs. Comme elle se sentait déchirée entre les deux nations qui se sont affrontées durant la crise, ce qu'elle voit dans ce geste lui procure la paix et la guérison dont elle avait besoin depuis plusieurs années.

Lors d'un buffet servi à tous les participants, Mavis s'approche de moi pour m'inviter à une réunion d'Église le dimanche suivant à Kanehsatake, invitation que j'accepte malgré des craintes et des inquiétudes inexplicables et persistantes. Mais une fois sur place, je vois des gens comme moi, avec les mêmes besoins d'amour, les mêmes préoccupations et les mêmes espérances. Au fil des mois, je développe des amitiés et accepte une autre invitation de Mavis, cette fois pour l'accompagner à Ottawa où a lieu une conférence organisée par My People International, un organisme ayant pour mandat de contribuer à la guérison des autochtones d'une manière culturellement pertinente, c'est-à-dire, dans le respect de leur identité. J'y rencontre Daniel Lacasse, l'homme que j'allais épouser deux ans plus tard.

Soif d'en connaître davantage

Ce n'est qu'à partir de ce moment que je commence à m'intéresser de plus près à tout ce qui concerne les autochtones d'Amérique. J'achète les livres *People of the Pines*, ceux de Crying Wind, de Kent Nerburn, et bien d'autres, et je regarde les deux documentaires produits par l'ONF, *Kanehsatake – 270 ans de résistance* et *Pluie de pierres à Whiskey Trench*, ainsi que le film *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*. En même temps, Daniel m'initie à la musique autochtone traditionnelle et contemporaine, à la Grande loi de la paix et au gouvernement de la confédération des cinq nations iroquoises. Je remarque que ma façon de penser se transforme peu à peu. Ensemble, nous regardons aussi la série des *Chefs amérindiens* également produite par l'ONF, ainsi que celle intitulée *500 Nations* produite par Kevin Costner. J'apprends peu à peu à apprécier leurs traditions, leurs coutumes et leur mode de vie et je ne considère plus la terre comme un bien à exploiter ou à posséder, mais comme une mère nourricière que nous devons respecter et avec laquelle vivre en lien étroit. Je comprends davantage l'opposition des Mohawks au projet d'agrandissement du terrain de golf à Oka qui empiète sur le territoire où leurs ancêtres reposent.

À l'hiver 2008, durant la période des Fêtes, je commence à lire un livre écrit par Donald Gingras, dont le titre *Fenêtre d'espoir… et de réconciliation* avait piqué ma curiosité. Ce livre, qui venait d'être publié pour coïncider avec le 400e anniversaire de la ville de Québec, suscite en

moi une forte envie de relire *At the Woods'Edge* qu'on m'avait prêté cinq ans plus tôt. J'en fais donc la demande au Centre culturel de Kanehsatake et, après m'être identifiée, Hilda Nicolas, responsable du Centre, m'en fait cadeau. Dès le début de ma lecture, mon cœur est rempli d'un désir d'en communiquer le contenu à la population francophone et, quelques jours plus tard, je propose à la responsable de le traduire bénévolement, puisque je suis traductrice de métier. Malgré ma perte, je considérais mon geste comme un moyen de contribuer à faire connaître celles que les Mohawks avaient subies.

Au boulot!

En mars 2009, Hilda convoque Arlette Kawanatatie Van den Hende, une des deux auteures du livre, ainsi que d'autres Mohawks de la communauté, dont deux chefs de bande. Je leur communique mon offre de traduire le livre en un an et leur explique en gros mes motifs et mon souhait qu'il soit publié pour le 20ᵉ anniversaire de la crise d'Oka, ce qu'ils acceptent. Un travail long et ardu s'amorce durant mes temps libres, et je suis remplie d'enthousiasme et de zèle.

Le Centre culturel de Kanehsatake avait fait une demande de subvention auprès du gouvernement provincial pour couvrir les coûts liés à la révision et à l'impression du livre, mais au bout de neuf mois, nous n'avions toujours aucune nouvelle. Le fédéral nous avait déjà cordialement invités à nous adresser aux organismes appropriés. C'est alors que je commence à ressentir des doutes, du découragement et un épuisement total. Dues aux nombreuses heures passées à l'ordinateur, des crises aiguës de fibromyalgie se déclenchent le jour et me réveillent chaque nuit, et je me résigne même à avoir accompli tout ce travail laborieux et astreignant pour rien. Mais j'avais pris un engagement envers des autochtones et je me rappelais tous les engagements qui leur avaient été faits et qui n'avaient pas été tenus. En outre, je croyais réellement au bien-fondé et à la nécessité de rendre ce livre accessible en français.

En janvier 2010, le gouvernement provincial nous répond négativement : pas de subvention. Mais quelques jours plus tard, Rola Helou, chargée de projet dont une partie du travail consiste à sensibiliser la population à la culture et aux coutumes mohawks à Kanehsatake, apprend par Hilda que le livre *At the Woods'Edge* a été traduit en français, mais que, faute de fonds, il ne peut être publié. Rola fait une demande de subvention auprès de l'organisme qui l'emploie et l'obtient. Le lancement du livre *À l'orée des*

bois, grâce auquel je suis sortie de mon ignorance, aura lieu au début de l'été 2010. Pour moi, ce sera un jour de grande récompense! Mais l'information contenue dans ce livre n'est qu'une étape préliminaire vers un but à plus long terme qu'est la réconciliation entre deux peuples qui se connaissent mal.

Le long processus de la réconciliation

Aujourd'hui, beaucoup d'organismes et d'individus se penchent sur la question de la réconciliation, mais la première étape du processus de réconciliation commence d'abord par l'information; c'est là où se situe ma participation par la traduction du livre. Le lecteur désireux d'apprendre ne pourra franchir les autres étapes menant à la réconciliation – révélation, conviction et réparation – que s'il est ouvert d'esprit et sensible à la condition de ceux qui ont accueilli nos ancêtres sur leur territoire il y a plus de quatre siècles et qui ont été dépossédés de ce qu'ils chérissaient le plus, c'est-à-dire leurs terres, leur langue, leur héritage et leurs moyens de subsistance.

Ce livre très bien documenté a servi à changer ma compréhension et à transformer mon cœur envers le peuple de Kanehsatake et tous les autochtones en général. C'est l'instrument dont le Créateur s'est servi pour chambarder ma vie de fond en comble et élargir mes horizons. Il m'a incitée à chercher à en connaître davantage sur les Premières Nations, à découvrir la richesse de leur culture, de leurs traditions, et à participer à leurs joies, à leurs peines et à leurs rêves. Il m'a de plus conduite à de nouvelles amitiés et même à un mariage! Les auteures, qui y ont travaillé pendant trois ans, ont consacré des centaines d'heures non seulement à l'écriture, mais aussi à la recherche. Elles m'ont fait découvrir un peuple riche en histoire, mais aussi fort, généreux et courageux.

Démantèlement des barricades

Même si les barricades ont été démantelées après les 78 jours de crise, force est de constater qu'il y a encore beaucoup de barricades érigées dans le cœur des gens, Blancs comme Autochtones. Il y a encore des douleurs, de la frustration, de la colère et de l'incompréhension de part et d'autre. Des préjugés basés principalement sur l'ignorance ou la mauvaise information en sont souvent la cause et persistent avec le temps. On ne peut aimer ce qu'on ne connaît pas. Les miennes, mes barricades, sont démantelées à jamais. Le seul moyen de commencer un processus de réconciliation entre

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les deux nations est notre volonté à écouter la douleur de l'autre, à essayer de la comprendre par une communication ouverte et sincère et à admettre nos torts. Il ne s'agit pas d'éliminer nos différences, mais de les accepter et surtout de les apprécier.

La paix n'est pas gratuite : elle nous coûte notre orgueil, notre égoïsme, notre indifférence et nos préjugés. Pour construire des ponts entre nous, il faut chercher honnêtement et activement la réconciliation par toutes sortes de moyens, comme des activités médiatiques de sensibilisation, des conférences sur l'histoire des Premières Nations et sur les répercussions laissées par les pensionnats indiens, des ateliers sur la réconciliation, sans oublier des contacts personnels. En ce sens, la Commission de vérité et de réconciliation au Canada fait de l'excellent travail depuis sa création en 2008.

J'aime l'expression « artisan de paix » qui traduit le mot *peacemaker*. Les peuples autochtones sont reconnus pour leur artisanat unique, des objets faits de leurs mains et non manufacturés. De même, la paix ne peut être manufacturée; comme l'artisanat, elle nécessite temps, consécration et amour. Bien que la perte d'une vie semble toujours inutile, celle de Marcel, même si elle est déplorable et toujours affligeante, n'a peut-être pas été vaine. Une tragédie sert parfois à un bien ultérieur, à un but qui dépasse souvent notre compréhension humaine limitée. Skén:nen (paix)!

20 Years After the Oka Crisis
My Journey to Reconciliation

Francine Lemay

Before the Oka crisis, I knew almost nothing about the Indians. The words "Natives" and "First Nations" were not part of my vocabulary, as was the case for many Quebecers. My knowledge was limited to what my schoolbook *Histoire du Canada* had taught me: that the Hurons were the "good Indians" and allied with the French, and the Iroquois, allies of the English, were the "bad Indians." There was also the story of the Lachine massacre and Dollard des Ormeaux, who had perished with many other courageous soldiers at Fort Long Sault and the terrifying pictures of the Jesuit fathers Jogues, Lalemant, de Brébeuf and Goupil tied to a post being consumed by fire.

Tragedy in the pines

On July 11, 1990, a tragic and shattering event only reinforced my negative perception of the Iroquois. I received a phone call from a family member telling me that my younger brother Marcel, at the time a corporal at the Sûreté du Québec and member of the Groupe tactique d'intervention (SWAT team), had been killed by gunfire at Oka during a police raid. I couldn't believe it; I was appalled. I knew nothing of what had been happening in Kanehsatake in the last months, or rather in the last centuries. All I knew was that I had lost my brother in a gunfire exchange because of barricades the Mohawks had erected and that the police were ordered to dismantle. A bold 31-year-old man, Marcel, the only one who lost his life in this confrontation, leaves a wife pregnant with their second child, his mother, three brothers and two sisters.

For months, the media talked only about the events surrounding the crisis that would last 78 days. Striking pictures in the papers only worsened the situation and the public's perception of Indians, mine included. Nightmares of Indians destroying houses and killing Whites disrupted my sleep. I was unaware of the nature of the claims which was a golf course that the mayor of Oka wanted to enlarge by taking land on the Mohawk cemetery and the pine area. As a "good Christian", I suppressed all the negative thoughts besetting me to "forgive" the one who had killed my brother. My forgiveness, however, was only intellectual, superficial.

It certainly stood on a basic Christian principle, but it was not heartfelt. Besides, all kinds of racist propaganda and biased information managed to firmly implant in me prejudices which I kept to myself.

Discovery of a new world

Fourteen years passed when one day two students working for the McGill University community radio called me and wanted to meet with me for an interview on my views of the Oka crisis. Hesitant and heart pounding, I asked them to give me three days to think about it. I had thought this chapter of my life behind me. Immediately, I called Céline Bastien-Genest, a friend who was taking courses on native culture and the Mohawk language to ask her some questions concerning the "Indians" in general.

Noticing my ignorance and wanting to inform me on the specific history of the Mohawks of Kanehsatake, Céline lent me a book titled *At the Woods'Edge*. With a thirst to learn more about these people and all the circumstances that led to the Oka crisis, I avidly read it in just a few days. Another side to a story unfolded and I was touched and deeply moved in learning the deceptions, the exploitation, the injustice and the forced removals the people had endured. I knew there were two interpretations to the history of Canada, the one told by the English Canadians and the one told by French Canadians, but I had just discovered a third point of view, the one told by the Natives.

My First Contact with Mohawks

The next Sunday, the greeter at the church I was attending in the Montreal West Island asked me to replace her and I accepted. I knew that a group of natives had been invited to present their project of translating the Bible into Mohawk in which Céline participated. When they arrived, I inexplicably felt tightness in the chest. Despite appearances, I just greeted them like I did everyone else. When the meeting began, I sat down and the Natives in question went on the stage and introduced themselves. They explained the objective of the project and their respective roles in it.

Although it was a hot day in June 2004, during the whole presentation I was trembling all over. Two friends who noticed my shaking came and sat by my side. They knew these Mohawks woke painful memories. After the guests took their seats, I was moved by a sudden urge and desire to talk. I asked to address the audience. I went up the stage and calmly thanked the guests for having shared their project with us; then a pause. I identified myself as the sister of the policeman who had been killed

during the Oka crisis and sincerely asked forgiveness to the Mohawks present for the wrongs they had endured since the arrival of the Europeans, in particular from the governments and especially the Sulpiciens. I could not hold back my tears neither could the audience.

Mavis Etienne, who was in charge of the project and one of the negotiators during the 1990 crisis, came back on the stage and offered her condolences and her apologies for not having prayed for the security of the policemen during the assault in the pines ordered by the government. Later, she invited me to participate in an event called Trail of Prayers that would take place the week after in Kanehsatake. This event consisted in a walk through the Mohawk territory covering four strategic locations where people were invited to pray and sing in Mohawk, English and French, for peace and healing of the community.

A trail of healing

Our first stop was behind the high school, on the shore of the Ottawa River. The day was beautiful and the site enchanting. About fifty people raised their voices to the heavens. The strong wind blowing gave me hope of better days to come. The last stop was at the pines, where 95 gunshots were exchanged in 20 seconds. As we stopped there, I was overtaken by nausea and weakness. Seeing me crouching down, people came to comfort me. After 14 years, I freely wept the death of my brother and truly mourned. The real healing process started but still many questions were haunting me: *Why Marcel? Why did the bullet reach this small unprotected area of the bullet-proof vest?*

The Trail of Prayers ended with a Friendship circle and everyone greeted each other. Tracy Cross, the brother of the famous Lasagna, came to me and offered his condolences and embraced me. This gesture was seen by a young 25 year old native woman, who had been raised among Whites. She had been torn between the two worlds colliding during the crisis, and the gesture observed helped her to heal and find the peace she needed for so long.

During the buffet served afterwards, Mavis invited me to a church meeting in Kanehsatake for the next Sunday. Although I had inexplicable and persistent shortcomings, I accepted. Once there, I realized these are people like me, with the same need for love, the same daily worries and the same hopes. As months went by, I developed friendships and accepted another invitation from Mavis this time to go to Ottawa where a conference was organized by My People International. This group holds for mandate

to help healing in Native communities in a culturally relevant way so as to respect their identity. This was where I met the man I would marry two years later, Daniel Lacasse.

Thirst to know more

It was at that moment that I started to really be interested in the North American Native culture. I bought books like *People of the Pines*, those of Crying Wind, of Kent Nerburn and many more. I watched two documentaries produced by the National Film Board (NFB) of Canada, *Kanehsatake – 270 years of resistance* and *Rocks at Whiskey Trench*, and the film *Bury my Heart at Wounded Knee*. All the while, Daniel explained to me principles of the Great Law of Peace, the Government of the Iroquois Confederacy and made me discover traditional and contemporary Native music. I noticed that my way of thinking and my worldview were slowly changing. Together, we watched another series from the NFB called *Five Great First Nations Chiefs* as well as one produced by Kevin Costner *500 Nations*. I gradually started to appreciate their traditions, customs and ways of life. No longer did I see the earth as an object to exploit and possess; I then considered the earth as a caring mother that we must respect and learn to live in relationship with. I had a greater understanding of the opposition the Mohawks bore with the Oka project of enlarging the golf course by destroying the cemetery where their ancestors are buried.

During the 2008 Christmas season, I started reading a book written by Donald Gingras whose title *Window of Hope…and Reconciliation* had piqued my curiosity. This book, which had been published to coincide with the 400th anniversary of Quebec City, aroused a desire to read again *At the Woods'Edge* that had been lent to me five years earlier. I requested the book from the Kanehsatake Cultural Centre, and after identifying myself to the person in charge, Hilda Nicolas, she offered it as a gift to me. As soon as I read it again, my heart was filled with the desire to share the content with the francophone community. Being a chartered translator, a few days later I proposed to Hilda Nicholas to translate the book free of charge. In spite of my loss, I considered that my contribution was in letting the losses the Mohawks had suffered be known.

The work begins

In March 2009, Hilda called a meeting with one of the two authors of the book, Arlette Kawanatatie Van den Hende, other Mohawks from the community and two Band Council Chiefs. I explained my reasons to

translate the book in one year and my wish to have it published for the 20th anniversary of the Oka crisis. They accepted and I was filled with much enthusiasm and zeal, and the long and arduous work of translation during my free time began.

The Kanehsatake Cultural Centre had requested a grant from the Provincial government in order to cover the cost of revision and printing. After nine months, there was still no response and at the Federal level we already had been politely directed to address our request to other established organisations. At that point in time I got discouraged, exhausted and felt doubtful of the project coming to fruition. With the many hours spent at the computer I got acute daily attacks of fibromyalgia that also woke me during the night. More and more, I believed that I had done all this work in vain. Still, I had made a commitment to the Natives and remembered all the broken promises these people had lived through. Besides, I truly believed in the necessity to have the book available in French.

In January 2010, an answer from the Provincial government finally arrived; grant refused. A few days later, Rola Helou, learned from Hilda that the book *At the Woods' Edge* was translated in French but without funds it could not be published. As a Project Manager, part of Rola's mandate is to develop awareness among the general population of the culture and customs of the Kanehsatake Mohawks. She requested a grant from the organisation that hired her and obtained it. The book that brought me out of my ignorance is scheduled to be launched early summer 2010 and is titled in French *À l'orée des bois.* For me, it will be a great reward! The information contained in the book is but a first step towards the long-term goal of reconciliation between two peoples that know little of each other.

Reconciliation: A work in progress

Today, many people and organisations are looking into the process of reconciliation of which the first step is providing information, and the book's translation is my contribution. The reader desiring to learn can only crossover each step of the reconciliation process—revelation, conviction and reparation—by staying open and sensitive to the conditions of First Nations who welcomed our ancestors to this land over four centuries ago and have been dispossessed of what was most precious to them: their land, their language, their heritage and their means of providing for themselves.

This well-documented book helped in changing my comprehension and softened my heart towards the people of Kanehsatake and all Natives. It was the instrument the Creator used to deeply transform my life, my views

and widen my horizons. The book had incited a desire in me to know more about the First Nations, to discover the richness of their culture, traditions and provided a means to share in their joys, their sorrows and their hopes. It brought me to new friendships and even a marriage! The authors worked on the book for three years and sacrificed hundreds of hours not only in the writing but also in the compiling of the information contained. They made me discover a people rich in history but also a strong, generous and courageous people.

Bringing down the barricades

Even if the barricades were dismantled after the 78-day crisis, we must confess there are still barricades up in the hearts of both Whites and Natives. There is still pain, frustration, anger and misunderstanding on either side. Prejudices, based mainly on ignorance or misinformation, are often the cause and persist over time. We cannot love what we know not. My barricades have been brought down forever. The only way to start the reconciliation process between the two nations is by our willingness to listen and understand the others' pain with openness and honest talk and admit our wrongs. It is not by erasing our differences but by accepting and appreciating them.

Peace is not free; it costs us our pride, our selfishness, our indifference and our prejudices. To build bridges between us, we must search honestly and actively reconciliation by varied means such as, awareness gatherings through the media, conferences on First Nations history and on the repercussions of the residential schools, workshops on reconciliation, and more importantly through personal contacts. In that way, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in Canada has done excellent work since its inception in 2008.

I like the French phrase "artisan de paix" which translates the term *peacemaker*. The Native people are artisans recognized for their unique crafts, objects made by hand not manufactured. Peace cannot be manufactured; as in crafts, it needs time, dedication and love. Although the loss of a life always appears useless, that of Marcel, even if it is highly deplorable and still afflicting, might not be in vain. A tragedy can sometimes serve a greater good for a purpose that can surpass our limited human understanding. Skén:nen (peace)!

MY BOYS
Michael Loft

Someday the teddy bears and toys will be gone.
And we won't need babysitters anymore
Because there will be just me and Mom
Remembering you guys when you were so young.

Little boys with wonder in their eyes
Looking towards the future and blue skies
You've got it all boys, strength/ Indian pride
I say "Good luck now" with tears in my eyes

Quand survie égale crise : La crise d'Oka
Aude Leroux-Chartré

Introduction

Le 11 juillet 1990, tous les yeux étaient tournés vers Kanesatake près de Montréal alors que la Sûreté du Québec affrontait des Mohawks dans un combat de tirs menant à la mort du caporal Lemay. La Commission des droits de la personne et la Fédération internationale des droits de la personne ont toutes deux été présentes lors du déroulement de la crise d'Oka du 11 juillet au 26 septembre 1990 et sont d'accord sur un point : les gouvernements n'ont pas joué leur rôle.

Ce conflit en lui-même est vieux de trois siècles et pourtant aucun gouvernement n'a encore tenté de régler le litige. Jusqu'en 1945, il concernait les Amérindiens et les missionnaires du Saint-Sulpice. Cependant, Ottawa est devenu impliqué lors de son acquisition des terres. Le conflit moderne tourne autour du projet d'expansion du Club de golf d'Oka sur un territoire mohawk, plus particulièrement sur un cimetière ancestral. La question autochtone a toujours relevé du gouvernement fédéral. Cependant, le Premier Ministre à l'époque, Brian Mulroney, a refusé de participer. Il a ignoré le conflit, tout comme ceux avant lui.

Ainsi, la crise d'Oka souligne le manque d'outils nécessaires des Mohawks de Kanesatake afin d'assurer leur survie et leur développement en tant que peuple. Le conflit sera exploré à travers les obstacles à la souveraineté mohawk et les revendications territoriales.

Qui sont les Mohawks de Kanesatake?

La nation mohawk, ou agnier en français, fait partie de la famille des Iroquois et compte plus de 16 000 membres, ce qui en fait certainement la nation autochtone la plus populeuse au Québec. Les Mohawks se désignent comme étant le «peuple de la pierre de feu (silex)» ou Kanienkeh. La réserve de Kanesatake est située à 53 kilomètres à l'ouest de Montréal, enclavée dans la municipalité d'Oka. Sa superficie est de 907,7 hectares pour 2 032 Mohawks selon les données des Affaires Indiennes et du Nord de 2009.

Il y a de cela six siècles, cinq nations iroquoises, soit la nation onondaga, la nation seneca, la nation mohawk, la nation oneida et la

nation cuyuga, se seraient regroupées en une confédération communément appelée Confédération des cinq nations. La nation tuscarora se serait jointe au groupe vers le 18ème siècle et l'organisation changea son nom pour Confédération des six nations, ou encore *Haudenosaunee*. Toutes étaient sujettes à la Grande loi de la paix, *Gayanerakowa*, basée sur des principes de pouvoir, justice et vertu. Selon cette loi, chaque nation, ainsi que chaque communauté, avait le droit de déterminer ses affaires internes sous le principe de la démocratie. Les décisions affectant la Confédération était adressée au Grand conseil des chefs situé à Onondoga. Les *Haudenosaunee* archiviaient les traités et accords sur des ceintures longues et étroites ornées de rangées de perles, les wampums, symboles de force dans l'unité.

Afin de comprendre les motivations derrière la crise d'Oka et son importance dans la lutte des Mohawks pour obtenir les droits de possession de leur territoire et la souveraineté, il est important de noter les obstacles rencontrés dans cette dite lutte.

Les obstacles aux droits du territoire et à la souveraineté Mohawks

Plusieurs éléments nommés dans le magazine *Bridges & Barricades*, édité par Trefor Smith en collaboration avec le groupe de solidarité Kanienkehaka pour la défense des terres Mohawks, nuisent à la survie et au développement de la nation Mohawks de Kanesatake. Certains articles portent sur les revendications territoriales et d'autres à la souveraineté des Mohawks sur leur territoire. Il est à noter ici la nuance entre souveraineté et revendication territoriale. Selon le Petit Robert, souveraineté signifie «caractère d'un état qui n'est soumis à aucun autre État», impliquant la juridiction sur «l'éducation, le développement économique, la justice, la sécurité interne et les relations extérieures.» Les revendications territoriales sont, quant à elles, la réclamation d'un territoire vu comme sien. D'ailleurs, à ce sujet, la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme et la Commission des droits de l'homme du Québec sont d'accord; le conflit d'Oka «trouve sa cause fondamentale dans les questions de souveraineté et de revendications territoriales des Mohawks» qui ont été ignorées par les gouvernements.

Les revendications territoriales

Les problèmes liés aux revendications territoriales ne sont pas limités qu'aux Mohawks de Kanesatake. Les Nisga'a de la Colombie-Britannique, par exemple, ont obtenu en 1996 le droit de souveraineté et de propriété

commune sur leurs terres. Par contre, la situation à Kanesatake, entre autre un conflit vieux de trois siècles, est particulière. Un historique des événements antérieurs à la crise d'Oka, incluant celui des revendications territoriales, permet de comprendre la particularité de cette situation. Selon la commission des droits de la personne du Québec, les «revendications non résolues en réclamations répétées, de portes closes en refus et d'injonctions en injonctions explique comment les Mohawks en sont venus à défier l'ordre d'un tribunal et à faire appel à des guerriers armés pour réclamer ce qu'ils estiment leur être dû.» Bref, ces problèmes irrésolus ont entraîné la crise d'Oka.

L'événement déclencheur du conflit, selon la Commission des droits de l'homme du Québec, est sujet à controverse; certains historiens affirment que la mésentente trouve source lors de la période suivant la Conquête britannique, et d'autres, lors du refus du colonel Campbell et de la couronne britannique de reconnaître les Mohawks comme propriétaire de la Seigneurie du Lac des Deux-Montagnes en 1781. Cependant, dans *Bridges & Barricades*, Smith retrace le conflit au 17ème siècle.

Au début du 17ème siècle, les Mohawks effectuaient la traite des fourrures avec les Européens. Entre 1606 et 1666, les Iroquois s'allièrent avec les Britanniques dans quatre grandes guerres contre les Français et leurs alliés, les Hurons, les Algonquins, les Outaouais et les Montagnais. Pendant la durée de la guerre, des Jésuites résidaient avec les Iroquois dans le but de les convertir à la religion catholique. Puis, en 1664, ils signèrent un traité à l'aide d'un wampum avec leurs alliés déclarant que «le territoire de la Confédération ne sera pas réclamé ni par le Roi d'Angleterre, ni par le Roi de France.» Ils établiront un accord similaire avec les Français en 1701. Suite à la paix avec la France, des Kanienkeh s'établirent près de Montréal. Par contre, vers la fin du 17ème siècle, la croissante persécution et violence forcèrent les Amérindiens à s'éloigner des terres occupées par les Européens, augmentant la population de Kanesatake et Kanawake.

Puis, en 1676, après une trêve, les Jésuites délogèrent les Mohawks du centre-ville de Montréal pour les relocaliser à l'endroit où se trouve présentement Kanawake et quatre ans plus tard ils obtinrent du Roi de France la Seigneurie du Sault-Saint-Louis. En 1717, les Mohawks reçurent une promesse écrite du roi Louis XI de France leur accordant un territoire situé sur la Seigneurie du Lac des Deux-Montagnes. Les Sulpiciens, quant à eux, se retrouvaient avec une petite bande de terre. Désireux d'obtenir toute l'étendue, ils communiquèrent avec les autorités françaises sans en aviser les Amérindiens et obtinrent la Seigneurie des Deux-Montagnes, territoire de chasse des Mohawks. Une des conditions afin d'obtenir ce territoire était

qu'ils amènent les Indiens avec eux et que le terrain accordé ne soit pas sujet au droit de propriété des Mohawks. Un autre groupe de Mohawks fut relocalisé à Kanesatake en 1721, comprenant que leurs droits territoriaux étaient défendus par la subvention des terres de 1717 aux Sulpiciens. Un wampum a été effectué afin de souligner l'entente de droits aux terres entre les Sulpiciens et les Mohawks.

Un événement tournant dans l'histoire amérindienne fut la Proclamation royale en 1763 lorsque le Roi d'Angleterre George III garantit la libre possession de tout le territoire que les Indiens occupaient et qui n'a pas été concédé par le roi de France. Une année plus tôt, la Couronne avait concédé aux Iroquois la Seigneurie du Sault-Saint-Louis. Ainsi, les années 1760-1780 furent marquées par les diverses tentatives des Mohawks de Kanesatake de se faire reconnaître comme légitimes propriétaires de leurs terres. Cette période fut aussi marquée par la tension entre les relations Amérindiens et Sulpiciens.

Les Mohwaks durent réaffirmer leurs droits au territoire avec un wampum en 1781 devant un représentant britannique, le colonel Campbell. Il fut réexpédié sous la mention «comme n'ayant nulle valeur» et ne pouvant «servir de titre de propriété à la Seigneurie des Deux-Montagnes». Une plainte fut déposée en vain par les chefs du Lac au surintendant des Affaires indiennes en 1787.

En fait, la plus grande menace à l'autonomie mohawk à l'époque était les prêtres. Au fil du temps, ils devinrent de plus en plus assoiffés de territoires et voulaient retirer les droits aux Amérindiens. De plus, des colons européens s'établissaient dans la région, ajoutant de la pression sur les Mohawks au point où ils devaient constamment repousser les invasions. Plusieurs réclamations territoriales eurent lieu entre 1794 et 1851, sans toutefois être fructueuses.

Le territoire de la seigneurie devint une propriété absolue selon les lois britanniques en 1840, permettant ainsi aux Sulpiciens de demander une cotisation pour les terres occupées par les Mohawks. Puis, dans les années 1860, les prêtres commencèrent un projet de construction domiciliaire, enrageant les Mohawks. La pétition amérindiennes fut refusée et par les religieux et par le gouvernement.

En 1875, la municipalité d'Oka vit le jour et dès 1876, des plaintes des Mohawks affirmant que les habitants coupaient les arbres et érigeaient des barrières sur des terres ne leur appartenant pas furent reçues par le gouverneur de Québec.

Les années qui suivirent furent imprégnées de tension entre les villageois et les Amérindiens de Kanesatake. Les Sulpiciens, après l'abolition

du régime seigneurial, obtinrent de la Cour Suprême en 1911 le droit à la propriété de la Seigneurie afin de pouvoir vendre les terres. Les Mohawks décidèrent d'en appeler au Conseil Privé à Londres en 1912 et perdirent.

En 1945, le gouvernement fédéral devint impliqué lorsqu'il acheta les terres restantes afin de permettre aux Amérindiens d'y rester. Kanesatake portait alors le titre de réserve, sans toutefois être reconnue comme telle par la loi. Le territoire mohawk de 828 hectares est encore aujourd'hui situé sur onze différentes parcelles séparées les unes des autres, et certaines dans la municipalité d'Oka. Ce «long processus de dépossession et de réduction» affaiblit les Mohawks , fortement désavantagés dans un cadre de développement régional. L'année 1945 est charnière dans le conflit puisqu'elle constitue le point de départ de l'implication du gouvernement fédéral. Les acteurs de la crise d'Oka ont commencé à se mettre en place à partir de ce moment.

Par la suite, la municipalité d'Oka a annoncé en 1961 qu'elle souhaitait développer un circuit de golf de neuf trous En réaction à cette annonce, les Mohawks de Kanesatake ont déposé deux demandes de revendications territoriales en 1975 et 1977, toutes deux refusées, une sous prétexte qu'ils ne vivaient par sur ces terres depuis des temps immémoriaux. Les années 70 ont été marquées par la prise de conscience et le militantisme d'organisations indiennes. Puis en 1985-1986, un nouveau dépôt de revendication territoriale, appuyé cette fois par le gouvernement fédéral, est fait dans le but de créer un centre de désintoxication pour la clientèle amérindienne. Les citoyens d'Oka ont réagi négativement, alors qu'ils possédaient un centre de désintoxication pour les Blancs à proximité depuis 1982, et le projet a été abandonné. L'annonce de l'agrandissement du terrain de golf et de la construction d'un projet domiciliaire à Oka est effectuée en mars 1989. Les Mohawks l'apprennent par les journaux. Une partie de ces terrains sont situés sur un ancien cimetière ancestral des Mohawks. Le mois suivant, le chef du Conseil de bande, M. Clarence Simon a envoyé une lettre aux maires des environs affirmant qu'ils vivaient sur leurs terres. Oka a répondu : «Les Mohawks veulent nous exproprier.»

L'historique des années 1988 et 1990 de cette crise sera discuté plus en détail dans la section « La crise d'Oka » à la page 15.

Selon la Commission des droits de la personne du Québec, le conflit résidait toujours autour des droits d'usage des ressources de la Seigneurie par les Indiens : coupe de bois de chauffage ou de construction, choix des champs à cultiver ou empiètement des Blancs sur les terres indiennes. Toutes ces activités relèvent de la survie et du développement de la communauté. De plus, les Mohawks semblent avoir été privés des titres

juridiques de la Seigneurie en tout temps, alors que le pouvoir colonial niait la tradition orale indienne et le wampum d'Oka. Il est donc logique de dire que les Mohawks de Kanesatake ont été privés de leur bon développement économique et de leur survie en tant que communauté autochtone.

Refus des gouvernements de reconnaître la souveraineté Kanienkehaka

Les gouvernements ont entrepris diverses actions dans le but de nier la souveraineté aux Amérindiens de Kanesatake. Ces actions nuisent au développement, voire même à la survie de la communauté. Les gouvernements ont employé deux tactiques différentes, soit une attaque directe à la souveraineté ou encore une attaque à l'économie des Mohawks ayant un effet indirect sur leur survie.

Attaque à la souveraineté

Les attaques à la souveraineté ne sont pas limitées au refus des gouvernements fédéral et provincial de reconnaître la souveraineté Kenienkehaka, mais se sont également concrétisées à travers diverses méthodes utilisées pour assimiler les Mohawks à la société canado-européenne, ce qui nuisit certainement à son développement et à sa survie. Ces différentes techniques sont la Loi sur les Indiens et ses débouchés par l'imposition de gouvernements étrangers, des écoles résidentielles et du vol de territoire. Smith voit ces actions comme des actes de destruction.

La première Loi sur les Indiens traitant du statut d'Indien, de gouvernement local, de gestion des terres des réserves et de l'argent détenu en commun a été établie en 1876, mais elle a été revue à maintes reprises. Celle en vigueur date de 1985. La première version été fondée sur des principes d'assimilation afin de prévenir toutes demandes autochtones au gouvernement, qui était conscient que les Amérindiens possédaient des droits territoriaux sur de larges territoires d' Amérique du Nord.

Par le biais de cette loi, Ottawa a pu établir un procédé de « contact avec la civilisation» afin de confiner les enfants dans des écoles missionnaires, rétrécir les réserves, et éventuellement, avec une nouvelle politique, d'affranchir les Indiens de leur statut. Cette loi a également eu comme but de remplacer les gouvernements autochtones avec un système de conseillers de bandes élus, que Ronald Wright qualifie de « poupées du département des Affaires Indiennes. » Des agents indiens ont été assignés

aux différentes réserves afin de contrôler le nouveau gouvernement mis en place, tout en possédant les pouvoirs de la justice. De plus, ces agents avaient comme objectif d'assurer la dépendance politique et économique des communautés envers Ottawa, ainsi que d'assurer le contrôle gouvernemental des ressources de la réserve.

Les religieux comme les Jésuites et les Sulpiciens ont régulièrement assumé l'éducation des enfants amérindiens, et ce jusque dans les années 1960. Souvent, leur enseignement était additionné d'un désir de conversion à la religion catholique. Les écoles industrielles et résidentielles retiraient l'enfant du milieu autochtone afin de couper le lien entre l'enfant et les valeurs, traditions et croyances de la communauté, ainsi que de sa langue maternelle et de l'histoire de sa nation. Smith considère cela un vol d'enfants.

Aussi, en 1876, la descendance et la nationalité des Iroquois étaient matrilinéaires et Ottawa voulait retirer le pouvoir aux femmes autochtones. Ce changement de gouvernement allait perturber, voire annihiler, la descendance par la mère. De plus, les femmes amérindiennes perdaient leur statut si elles mariaient un non-Indien. Elles ont donc été retirées des positions de pouvoir, et elles ont été affaiblies par la possibilité de perdre leur statut d'Indiennes.

Par cette loi, plusieurs rituels religieux comme la danse du soleil et les potlatchs ont été bannis. Bien que cet aspect de la loi touche majoritairement les Amérindiens des Plaines et de la Colombie-Britannique, les missionnaires et les gouvernements ont toujours travaillé de concert afin de convertir les autochtones, et ce même à Kanesatake.

Finalement, il est argumenté que la raison principale du désir d'assimilation des Amérindiens était d'obtenir les terres qu'ils occupaient, soit pour la construction du chemin de fer ou encore pour que les colons européens puissent s'y établir. Selon La loi sur les Indiens, les réserves étaient «tenues en confiance» que les Amérindiens pouvaient prendre des décisions concernant leur bien-être, par contre, si tel n'était pas le cas, le propriétaire était le gouvernement. De plus, les Mohawks de Kanesatake considèrent que le terrain de golf d'Oka de neuf trous a été construit en 1958 sur leurs terres, et ce qui constitue un vol. À cela s'ajoute la construction de la voie maritime du Saint-Laurent en 1959, empiétant aussi sur leur territoire.

Bref, le but de La loi sur les Indiens et des autres politiques était de détruire les communautés autochtones en éliminant leurs structures politiques et familiales.

Attaque à l'économie Mohawk

En passant la Loi sur les Indiens, le Canada s'est également assuré de contrôler l'économie des autochtones. D'abord, les agents indiens contrôlaient l'allocation de lots de terre aux Indiens. Les Mohawks de Kanesatake se sont toujours battu contre les Sulpiciens pour le droit d'exploiter les ressources naturelles telles que le bois pour la coupe et les terres pour l'agriculture. Cependant, le territoire n'était et n'est toujours pas assez grand pour assurer la survie économique de ses occupants. Il faut donc que les Mohawks trouvent de nouvelles solutions pour parvenir à leurs besoins. Selon Smith, leur source de revenu principale est le versement de salariés en dehors de la réserve vers celle-ci. Récemment, les gouvernements ont interdit aux Amérindiens d'agrandir leur économie par la construction d'une entreprise et par l'arrêt de l'établissement de bingo et du commerce de cigarettes.

En effet, en septembre 1989, la communauté décide de construire une salle de bingo. La Sûreté du Québec intervient rapidement en affirmant que cette action est illégale. Bien que certains individus considèrent le bingo comme une intrusion dans la communauté, d'autres pensent pouvoir en bénéficier. Quoiqu'il en soit, selon les Mohawks, cette activité aurait pu leur permettre d'obtenir l'autosuffisance économique. Le même processus s'est produit avec le commerce de cigarettes, et le Canada ainsi que le Québec ont étiqueté ces activités d'illégales.

Puis en mars 1990, les Amérindiens décident de construire une entreprise, la *Oka Steel Manufacturing*, fournissant 14 emplois attendus aux Mohawks. Le gouvernement fédéral refuse et considère le territoire comme le sien. Pourtant, la firme privée Pluritec-Environnement en 1987 avait étroitement lié le développement économique de la communauté autochtone à leur territoire. Il est étrange de constater que la municipalité d'Oka, qui est située selon les Amérindiens sur leurs terres, a l'autorisation du gouvernement de construire un terrain de golf, mais que les Indiens n'aient même pas le droit de construire une entreprise dans le but de survivre.

Les gouvernements ont privé les Mohawks de Kanesatake des outils nécessaires pour assurer leur survie et leur développement en tant que peuple, et ce sur deux plans, soit les revendications territoriales et la souveraineté.

La crise d'Oka

La crise d'Oka qui a eu lieu entre le 11 juillet 1990 et le 26 septembre 1990 souligne ces manipulations gouvernementales. Elle représente l'ingérence d'Ottawa par rapport aux revendications territoriales et de souveraineté des Mohawks, qui n'ont eu d'autre choix que de «défier l'ordre d'un tribunal et à faire appel à des guerriers armés pour réclamer ce qu'ils estiment leur être dû ».

Elle se produit également dans un contexte où le Québec tentait de faire reconnaître sa propre souveraineté aux yeux du Canada.

Historique des événements qui se sont produits entre 1988 et 1990

Le Club de golf d'Oka annonce en 1988 qu'il souhaite étudier la possibilité d'agrandir pour passer de neuf trous à dix-huit. Automatiquement, en mars, les Amérindiens somment les employés de la municipalité d'arrêter les travaux d'inspection sous raison qu'ils sont sur leurs terres. Une injonction est obtenue par la ville afin de procéder aux travaux.

Le 8 mars 1989, le projet d'agrandissement du Club de golf est approuvé et c'est par le journal *La Concorde* que les Mohawks apprennent la nouvelle. Le 1er avril suivant, une marche organisée en guise de protestation contre ce projet regroupe 300 Mohawks, ainsi que des partisans non amérindiens et des groupes environnementalistes. Le Chef de bande Clarence Simon envoie une lettre aux maires des municipalités environnantes pour affirmer les droits des autochtones sur le territoire en question et invite les autorités concernées à conclure une entente. Une réunion de représentants du gouvernement fédéral, du gouvernement de la province de Québec, du Conseil de la bande de Kanesatake et de la municipalité a lieu le 27 avril. Le gouvernement provincial affirme qu'aucun développement ne sera autorisé avant que les revendications autochtones ne soient réglées. Ainsi, le Comité Désilets est mis sur pied pour pouvoir définir un meilleur emplacement commun pour Kanesatake. En juillet, la municipalité prévoit couper des arbres pour faire avancer le projet et le Conseil de bande se plaint au gouvernement québécois , arguant que la promesse qu'il a fait n'est pas respectée. Les travaux sont arrêtés par Québec en début août. Le 29 septembre 1989, la Sûreté du Québec fait une descente sur la réserve afin de mettre fin aux «présumées activités illégales du Riverside Bingo Mohawks» en employant une force excessive.

Le chef de bande Clarence Simon est destitué de son titre par les mères de clan au profit de George Martin le 26 janvier 1990. Le 11 mars suivant

des barricades sont érigées sur le Chemin du Mille lorsque le moratoire sur l'expansion du golf est levé. Une injonction de la part du district de Saint-Jérôme est déposée puisque les Amérindiens bloquent le chemin au district. Le mois de mai est marqué par la tension entre les citoyens qui désirent déloger les Indiens par la force et les Mohawks qui affirment qu'ils s'agit d'un conflit basé sur des préjugés raciaux. De plus, une deuxième barricade est érigée avec l'aide de la Société des guerriers, ou *Warriors*, provenant d'une réserve à proximité. Certains Amérindiens auraient demandé leur intervention puisqu'ils défendent les droits autochtones. L'injonction pour retirer les barricades est émise le 29 juin. Le Conseil de bande de Kanesatake prie ses membres de se plier à l'injonction, mais les membres de la Longue Maison dénoncent cette prise de position. Le 9 juillet, le ministre John Ciaccia demande au maire Ouellette d'interrompre définitivement le projet d'expansion du golf tant que le conflit ne sera pas réglé. Deux jours plus tard, la Sûreté du Québec intervient et, dans un échange de tirs, le caporal Lemay meurt. La même journée, les Mohawks de Kanawake décident de bloquer le pont Mercier, que 100 000 personnes empruntent tous les jours, à la demande de Kanesatake. Après la mort du caporal Lemay, la Sûreté du Québec a commencé à obstruer le passage de nourriture et de médicament de l'autre côté des barricades vers Kanesatake et Kanawake. Le conflit a pris une nouvelle tournure passant de la reconnaissance des droits territoriaux à une demande de reconnaissance de l'indépendance autochtone. Le ministre John Ciaccia, responsable des Affaires autochtones, arrive le 13 juillet à Oka afin d'entamer des négociations. Par contre, les gouvernements ont refusé de négocier tant et aussi longtemps que les barricades étaient érigées, et ils ont exigé un groupe de personnes élues comme négociateurs. Lors de la durée du conflit, la Commission de droits de la personne du Québec a été impliquée et a tenté de régler le litige concernant le golf, malgré le refus de la Sûreté du Québec de les laisser passer le 20 juillet. Le 24 juillet, Québec et Ottawa en font une affaire de loi et d'ordre. Le Premier Ministre Brian Mulroney refuse de s'impliquer, malgré le fait que ce soit un problème de juridiction fédérale, et nomme un responsable le 8 août. Il a même affirmé plus tard que les demandes des Mohawks étaient devenues bizarres et qu'il enverrait peut-être l'armée pour arrêter de force le problème. Donc, l'armée canadienne «s'infiltre dans les coulisses» du conflit. Le 12 août, les pré-conditions émises par le gouvernement du Québec et les Mohawks pour ouvrir les négociations sont acceptées par les gens derrières les barricades. Quatre jours plus tard, des représentants de la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme arrivent sur place et critiquent le non-respect des conditions de négociation par les gouvernements. George

Erasmus, président de l'Assemblée des Premières Nations, désire rectifier la désinformation volontaire des gouvernements par un communiqué de presse le 21 août. Le premier ministre du Québec Pierre Bourassa demande à l'armée de démanteler les barricades le 27 août. Lorsqu'une caravane d'enfants et d'aînés sort de Kanawake pour raison de sécurité, 250 protestants lancent des roches et la police a été critiquée pour n'avoir rien fait. Les barricades du pont Mercier sont démantelées le 29 août alors que le chef de bande de la communauté rappellent à l'armée qu'elle avait promis de ne pas envahir le territoire autochtone. La nourriture et les médicaments ont été retenus par la Sûreté du Québec jusqu'au 31 août alors qu'un hélicoptère se rend sur place. Le pont n'est toutefois rouvert que le 6 septembre. Le mois de septembre est un mois de négociations et de témoignages. L'entente est signée le 26 septembre 1990, les dernières barricades sont défaites, les *Warriors* se rendent et la Crise d'Oka prend officiellement fin.

La crise selon les médias

Les médias ont créé une image de la crise d'Oka basée majoritairement sur les informations des gouvernements et des officiers de l'armée, créant ainsi une version largement biaisée des événements. La plupart des journalistes ont d'ailleurs omis l'histoire et le contexte dans lesquels le tout s'est déroulé. En tout temps, les gouvernements ont contrôlé les informations.

Valérie Koporek dans son mémoire «Crise et représentation médiatique; Analyse de cas : Étude des éditoriaux du journal la Presse sur la crise d'Oka-Kanesatake de 1990» affirme que le quotidien La Presse a présenté la crise sous deux entités : les *Warriors* ou la Société des guerriers, et les institutions politiques. Les *Warriors*, ainsi que les Amérindiens en général, auraient été victimes de préjugés racistes et de stéréotypes. Ils étaient souvent associés à la force et la violence, plutôt qu'aux revendications territoriales. Quant aux institutions politiques, elles ont été présentées comme incapables de prendre des décisions et manquant de fermeté. Les éditorialistes s'intéressaient davantage «à l'esprit ''décisionnel des gouvernements qu'aux enjeux et aux intérêts liés aux revendications territoriales des autochtones''.»

La crise d'Oka n'a jamais été limitée à un conflit concernant l'expansion d'un club de golf, mais elle représente plutôt la lutte des Mohawks de Kanesatake pour faire reconnaître leurs droits de souveraineté et de possession de leur territoire dans le but de survivre en tant que

communauté et de se développer sans être brimés par les gouvernements.

Conclusion

Après avoir évalué les différents obstacles que les gouvernements ont posé à la souveraineté Kanienkehaka et tous les refus de ces mêmes gouvernements face aux revendications territoriales, il est normal que la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme soit venue à la conclusion qu'Ottawa et Québec privent volontairement la communauté de Kanesatake des outils nécessaires pour sa survie et son développement.

Ces Amérindiens tentent depuis le 17ème siècle de faire reconnaître leur droit au territoire en vain. Pourtant, la Loi sur les Indiens, les écoles résidentielles et le vol de territoire ont tous porté gravement atteinte à leur souveraineté. De plus, le contrôle par les gouvernements de leur économie a nuit à leur développement.

La crise d'Oka a été pour eux un cri du cœur pour affirmer une fois de plus leurs revendications, et faire connaître leur cause au public.

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Les relations politiques entre Amérindiens et Européens : des conceptions divergentes

Marie-France Barrette

L'arrivée des Européens en Nouvelle-France a engendré le contact de deux communautés culturelles bien différentes. Les différences entre Européens et Amérindiens se sont entre autres manifestées à travers le thème de la politique, qui sera discuté ici. Plus particulièrement, il s'agira de cerner certains aspects des relations politiques entre Amérindiens et Européens au Québec à la fin du XVIIe siècle et au XVIIIe siècle. Afin de mettre en lumière cette problématique, il sera soutenu que certains éléments de la conception que les Amérindiens avaient de la politique différaient de ceux présents dans la vision des Européens. Afin d'expliquer certaines de ces différences, il sera vu qu'à l'époque où la loi d'une seule personne dominait en France, c'était la loi de l'unanimité qui dominait chez les Amérindiens. Par la suite, il sera examiné que l'analogie de la famille par rapport aux pratiques politiques peut s'appliquer aussi bien aux Européens qu'aux Amérindiens. Par contre, la conception qu'avaient les deux sociétés à l'égard de la famille et des divers rôles occupés au sein de celle-ci fait en sorte que l'application de ces rôles à la sphère politique divergeait d'une communauté à l'autre.

En premier lieu, le fonctionnement des organisations politiques françaises et amérindiennes était fondé sur des principes complètement différents. Un portrait de la conception française s'impose d'abord. Peter Cook présente cette vision comme fondée sur l'ethnocentrisme. En effet, un des buts de la présence des Français en Amérique du Nord était de doter les Amérindiens du mode de vie européen, comme Cook le fait voir par l'analyse de l'attitude de Lescarbot, un avocat et poète français de l'époque de la colonisation :

> For Lescarbot, the Native peoples of the Americas were without religion, without law, and without kingship—*sans foi, sans loi, sans roi*. His ideology of empire was therefore premised on a gift, from Europe to America, of all that is good ("ce qui est beau")—a supreme act of liberality, from those with a king, a law, and a faith, for the benefit of those without.

Il est évident avec ce passage que la mentalité des Européens était imprégnée d'ethnocentrisme; ils croyaient détenir, de par leur culture supérieure, la vérité sur la façon de vivre, et considéraient donc l'assimilation des Autochtones comme souhaitable. Cet aspect de la mentalité française aura nécessairement un impact sur la façon de pratiquer la politique de ce peuple. Cook présente la conception politique française selon une trinité : un roi, une foi et une loi. Cette trinité était le point de référence et l'idéal politique à atteindre pour les Français, c'est pourquoi ils essayèrent de répandre ce fonctionnement chez les Autochtones de l'Amérique du Nord, dépossédés des trois éléments selon eux. L'élément clé pour le présent cas est le roi, car le concept de royauté a fait en sorte que la règle d'une seule personne a régné en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Dans le système monarchique, les décisions étaient prises unilatéralement par le roi.

Quant aux Amérindiens, leurs pratiques politiques différaient des «hierarchical, inegalitarian, and coercive features of European societies». Si l'on observe la façon de faire des autochtones, il est aisé de constater que le processus décisionnel prenait une toute autre direction. La Fédération des Sept-Feux, créée vers 1660, est un regroupement fédératif de sept communautés amérindiennes catholiques. La Fédération était une alliance entre les gouvernements autochtones de chacun des sept villages, qui se réunissaient au grand conseil de Kahnawake afin de prendre des décisions entre eux sur différentes questions politiques et commerciales puis de les négocier avec les Européens par la suite. Les réunions autour du conseil ne prenaient fin que lorsque le but était atteint : arriver à un consensus. Ce n'était pas la loi de la majorité ou d'une seule personne qui dominait l'organisation politique, mais bien la loi de l'unanimité. Jean-Pierre Sawaya décrit cette règle comme suit :

> Que veut dire unanime? Dans les documents, on le décode à partir des métaphores suivantes : «un esprit», «une voix», «un cœur», «un corps», «une nation»… Toutes ces images insistent sur l'unité. Il faut l'obtenir avec les délégués qui participent au processus politique et qui conservent tous un droit de veto sur chaque proposition avancée devant les conseils ou le grand feu de l'alliance. Tous doivent s'accorder; en conséquence, la majorité n'a pas le pouvoir sur les autres.

Si l'unanimité n'est pas atteinte sur une certaine question, le conseil est ajourné. Le processus pouvait donc être très long et laborieux

avant d'adopter une décision. L'idée était de tenir compte de chacun des membres afin que la Fédération soit complètement unie dans les positions adoptées, augmentant ainsi le poids politique de l'organisation. Si ces sept communautés avaient été divisées entre elles, elles auraient négocié individuellement avec les Européens et auraient ainsi perdu l'influence que leur donne la formation d'une entité. En France au même moment, la question du poids politique ne se posait pas réellement, puisqu'il résidait dans son entièreté en la personne du roi. Il est donc clair que la conception du processus de décision qu'avaient les Européens et les Amérindiens est un aspect sur lequel ils différaient au niveau politique.

Il est possible d'appliquer une analogie familiale aux conceptions politiques des Européens et des Amérindiens. À première vue, ce fait pourrait être perçu comme un élément rapprochant les deux visions, mais puisque les rôles familiaux ne sont pas les mêmes pour les deux sociétés, c'est l'effet inverse qui se produit, c'est-à-dire que l'analogie de la parenté consiste en un élément différenciateur entre les deux conceptions du politique. Denis Delâge montre bien les différentes étapes de liens de parenté en tant qu'analogie du politique par lesquelles les Européens et les Amérindiens ont passé. Au XVIIe siècle, les Autochtones auraient considéré les Européens comme des cousins, car les chefs Amérindiens se considéraient comme égaux au roi français. Bien sûr, leurs pouvoirs n'étaient en réalité pas les mêmes. C'est pourquoi la métaphore du père et des enfants a vite été substituée à celle du cousinage. Il est possible de retrouver des exemples de cette analogie du père et des enfants dans plusieurs relations diplomatiques entre Européens et Amérindiens qui ont eu lieu aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles. Par exemple, Onontio, le gouverneur français, représentait le père de ses enfants amérindiens. Également, les traités que la Fédération des Sept-Feux a conclus avec les Britanniques après la conquête de la Nouvelle-France par ces derniers sont teintés de cette analogie. Elle semble être restée importante même au XIXe siècle, comme il est possible de le constater à travers un extrait d'une requête des Iroquois envers le gouverneur britannique en 1828 : «Comme tu es le seul maître dans cette province, ainsi Mon Père à l'égard de ce qui nous arrive, nous tes enfants du Lac des deux Montagnes.» Le fait que l'analogie du père et des enfants ait perdurée jusqu'à une époque plus tardive et malgré l'arrivée d'un nouveau colonisateur, l'Angleterre, montre que cette tradition était bien ancrée dans les relations politiques entre les Amérindiens et les Européens au Québec.

Le problème de cette métaphore réside dans la perception très différente des rôles familiaux qu'avaient respectivement les deux communautés. Selon la conception des rôles familiaux européenne,

un père possède l'autorité sur ses enfants. Cependant, chez les nations amérindiennes, le père n'occupe pas la même importance, comme l'explique Delâge : «Dans le système de parenté matrilinéaire des Hurons, en effet, c'est l'oncle maternel qui avait autorité sur ses neveux utérins et non pas le père sur ses enfants comme c'est le cas dans la famille patriarcale européenne.» Puisque c'est l'ascendance maternelle qui était reconnue et non paternelle, le père tient alors un rôle de moindre influence en tant que figure familiale. Cela fait en sorte que lorsque les Autochtones qualifient le gouverneur européen de père, ils ne lui accordent pas du tout la même signification que les Français ou les Britanniques le croyaient. Chez les Amérindiens, c'est le statut d'oncle qui est comparable au rôle du père dans la société européenne, donc le gouverneur français ou anglais en tant que père de ses enfants amérindiens ne représentait pas pour ces derniers une figure de forte autorité, alors que pour le gouverneur, être considéré comme père auprès des Amérindiens signifiait détenir une influence beaucoup plus grande. La mentalité ethnocentrique des Européens qui a été mentionnée précédemment vient soutenir davantage la présomption selon laquelle les Européens se considéraient réellement comme les pères des Amérindiens, au sens européens de ce rôle; puisqu'ils détenaient la référence sur les pratiques de vie, ils se voyaient comme devant montrer aux Autochtones comment faire, tel le ferait un père envers ses enfants. Un autre aspect que Cook fait ressortir en ce qui a trait à la métaphore de la famille est que la pratique de la politique telle que perçue par les Européens a probablement fait en sorte qu'ils n'appliquaient pas d'analogie de la parenté dans leurs relations diplomatiques avant d'être en contact avec les Amérindiens : «the French who came to North America in the sixteenth century did not expect to create kin relationships with the indigenous inhabitants and were not attuned to symbolism of this kind.» Il est certain que, par exemple, le roi de France peut être perçu comme le père de ses enfants, les citoyens français; c'est en ce sens que l'analogie de la famille peut être appliquée à la société européenne. Le point de rupture entre les deux traditions est qu'il n'est pas habituel chez les Européens d'insérer cet aspect dans leur conception de la vie politique. Donc, en plus d'avoir une conception de la famille qui soit différente de celle des Amérindiens, les Européens n'étaient pas accoutumés à intégrer l'analogie de la famille dans leur pratique du politique. Il est clair que ces malentendus dus à l'analogie de la parenté quant à la diplomatie entre les deux sociétés ont modelés de façon considérable les relations politiques au Québec aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles.

Bref, le but de la présente recherche était de mettre en lumière certaines caractéristiques des relations politiques entre Amérindiens et

Européens à la fin des années 1600 et dans les années 1700 à l'endroit qui est aujourd'hui le Québec. Ces relations étaient teintées du fait que la conception que chacune des sociétés avait du politique différait sur plusieurs aspects. Entre autres, en Europe, la monarchie, donc la règle d'une unique personne, dominait la politique. À l'inverse, pour les communautés amérindiennes, la façon de pratiquer le politique reposait sur la règle de l'unanimité de tous les membres des organisations. L'ethnocentrisme marquait aussi la mentalité des Européens, et cette perception se fera voir au sein de la pratique des relations politiques. De plus, l'analogie de la famille était une source de divergence de conceptions entre les Amérindiens et les Européens, d'abord parce que la vision de la famille et des rôles attribués à chacun des ses membres n'était pas pareille d'une communauté à l'autre, et ensuite parce que les Européens n'étaient pas accoutumés à se servir de ce type de métaphore dans la formation de leur conception politique, contrairement aux Autochtones. Ce qu'il est possible de conclure en regard de cette analyse des différences entre Amérindiens et Européens au niveau des pratiques et conceptions politiques est que les relations diplomatiques de l'époque du Canada primitif ont été teintées par ces différences, et qu'il est probablement possible de dire que les deux cultures se sont chevauchées de manière à s'influencer mutuellement.

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Membership Politics in Kahnawake: The Inter-Group & Intra-Group Dynamics of Identity

Eloise Ouellet-Décoste

Being born Indian is being born into politics
Alfred, 1995

Aboriginal identity has been legally and politically salient since the foundation of Canada. Upon Confederation, the exclusive jurisdiction over "Indians and Lands Reserved for Indians" was transferred from the British crown to the federal government, under Section 91(24) of the 1867 Constitution Act (Department of Justice Canada, 1867). In 1876, the Canadian parliament enacted the *Indian Act*, the consolidation of various statutes into a single policy defining entitlement to Indian Status and band membership as well as the rights and legal disabilities specific to registered Indians. The original document emphasized male lineage, defining the Indian as "any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band; any child of such a person; and any woman lawfully married to such a person" (Department of Justice Canada, 1876). Throughout the twentieth century, numerous amendments were made to the *Indian Act,* transforming the criteria determining who an Indian was under the law. Consequently, aboriginal communities across Canada were subjected to "shifting federal regulations concerning Indian Status and periodic re-definitions of the criteria of Indianness under the *Indian Act*" (Alfred, 1995). Nevertheless, the fundamental goal of assimilation and the sexist and racist provisions of the act were not addressed by the federal government until Bill C-31 in 1985. The Bill was an attempt to redress the discriminatory provisions of the *Indian Act*, notably to reinstate women who married non-Indians and to allow their children to acquire status under the *Indian Act*. Bill C-31 also ended enfranchisement and recognized the right of bands to determine their own membership. Thus, since 1985, being a registered Indian no longer ensures band membership. By 1999, 234 of the 610 First Nations in Canada had developed their own membership laws, ranging from open policies to restrictive codes, following criteria such as one or two-parent descent rules, blood quantum criteria or an Indian Act-based regulation (Furi & Wherret, 2003). The recognition of the right of bands to control membership is a significant advancement for First Nations in Canada.

However, Bill C-31 failed to receive unanimous support. Many First Nations resisted the implementation of the new bill based on social, cultural, political, legal and economic concerns. The Mohawks of Kahnawake are among those rejecting the unilateral imposition of Bill C-31 by the Canadian federal government, because of "the lack of consultation in the legislation's design phase and the complete lack of consideration for impacts upon the social and political life of the communities in the implementation phase" (Alfred 1995). Traditionally, membership in Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) society was determined through the clan of the mother and was based on commitment to culture, the knowledge of the Mohawk language and a sense of belonging (Deer 2008). Just as it is today, the clan system was central to identity, tied people together, and ensured survival through unity. Those who did not have a clan were adopted into one, which was an adaptive means to ensure group survival (Deer 2008). Colonization has disrupted the traditional membership system. The *Indian Act* dictated membership in Kahnawake for more than 100 years. Since the 1940s, the Mohawks of Kahnawake have asserted the community's inherent right to jurisdictional control over nationality and membership, but it was not until 1981 that the intention of controlling band membership was made concrete by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawake Membership Department. In 1981, a moratorium on mixed marriages was established, followed by the implementation, in 1984, of the Kahnawake Mohawk Law, which set a requirement of 50% "blood quantum" or more for future registration (Alfred 1995). There is a general consensus among the community regarding the goals of the membership policy to safeguard the rights of Mohawks over non-Mohawks within Kahnawake and to ensure the perpetuation of Kahnawake as a distinct Mohawk community in the face of political and cultural pressures of assimilation coming from the non-Native society. But there has also been significant dispute regarding the preferable means to achieve these goals, particularly because "blood quantum" requirements are seen as the legacy of the colonial *Indian Act*. In 1996, a task force was established to begin the process of community consultation, resulting in the 2003 Membership Law. However, the new law did not succeed at resolving the internal strife concerning membership in Kahnawake, notably because the restrictions on intermarriage were maintained and the "blood quantum" requirements were replaced by a rule determining membership on whether or not the individual had four Mohawk great-grandparents, another race-based criterion (Mohawk Council of Kahnawake Membership Department, 2007). What explains Kahnawake's Membership Law? Why would a First Nation committed to

traditional revitalization establish a membership law based on racial criteria that contradicts the traditional clan-based matrilineal system of membership, which included practices of adoption of foreigners into the Mohawk nation? The politics of identity in Kahnawake is complex and multifaceted. Understanding Kahnawake's controversial membership law requires an in-depth appreciation of the inter-group and intra-group dynamics of identity as well as the relationship between the two. First, it will be demonstrated that the nature of the relationship between Kahnawake and Canada as well as the goal of self-government increase the salience of membership to contemporary Mohawk politics. The fear of assimilation, antagonism and the sentiment of threat, as well as Mohawk view of external relations will be addressed as factors reinforcing the perception that community control over membership is essential. Second, the peculiarities of traditionalism in Kahnawake and its relationship to the nationalist project will be discussed to highlight the challenges of establishing membership criteria when traditional practices do not necessarily correspond to current needs.

The Inter-Group Dynamics of Identity

All individuals possess various intersecting identities, but not all identities are political. The link from identity to politics requires mobilization of a group. Kahnawake's membership code defines a collective identity, which does not necessarily correspond completely to the way individuals self-identify as Mohawks. Membership is about determining the criteria that makes one belong to the Mohawk nation, it is not about how one feels as a Mohawk. However, a shared racial and ethnic label does not mean that a given population will engage in collective politics. The link from identity to politics involves a series of overlapping processes that can be boiled down to five steps: definition, identification, consciousness, venue selection, and choice (Lee 2008). The formation of collective politics around the Mohawk identity has brought the *Kahnawakero:non* (people of Kahnawake) to engage in these processes, and the challenge of reaching consensus for a membership law shows the difficulty of reconciling the five steps, particularly definition, identification, and consciousness. Mobilizing identity in Kahnawake is not simply about gaining benefits from the State in the form of resources; it is also a matter of recognition, which is essential for the pursuit of self-government. The historic relationship between indigenous peoples and Canadian society has been one of misrecognition, characterized by racism and the assimilation-oriented *Indian Act*: "A group of people can suffer real damage, real distortion, if the people or society around

them mirror back to them a conflicting or demeaning or contemptible picture of themselves" (Taylor 1994). Misrecognition has been harmful to indigenous people in Canada. Therefore, identity in Kahnawake is not solely about intra-group politics; it is also influenced greatly by the Mohawk nation's relation with Canada. Understanding the inter-group dynamics of identity in Kahnawake is essential to capture the salience of the Mohawk identity and the challenges of designing a membership law that reconciles the definition, identification, and consciousness of collective identity while supporting Kahnawake's struggle for self-government.

Various factors may influence the formation of a political group. A common language or religion, the pursuit of a common goal, or attachment to a specific geographic location are all positive factors that bring people together politically. However, all political groups have one common feature: "an essential part of what brings their members together is their common difference from an outside entity" (Evrigenis 2008). Negative association, defining the group in terms of what it is *not*, is a crucial element of group identity. This is particularly true in the case of political groups, because their objective is the promotion of group interests in relation - or opposition - to others outside of the group's boundaries, as Evrigenis states: "groups are political because they form with reference to an antagonistic relationship with other entities" (2008). The main driver of the formation of political groups is the fear of an external threat to self-preservation. The inter-group dynamics of identity, namely negative association and a sense of threat to cultural survival are central to the political struggles of indigenous peoples in North America. The relationship between the western society that developed in what is known as Canada today and the indigenous societies that existed on that same territory prior to the arrival of Europeans has been one of "internal colonisation" (Tully 2000). In Canada, the colonizing society was built on and exercises exclusive jurisdiction over the territory and members of the formerly sovereign indigenous societies, which continue to resist and refuse to surrender their freedom of self-determination. Indigenous societies have been "incorporated" or "domesticated" as subordinate under the dominant structure of the western society. "The ground of the relation is the appropriation of the land, resources and jurisdiction of the indigenous peoples, not only for the sake of resettlement and exploitation (which is also true in external colonization), but for the territorial foundation of the dominant society itself" (Tully 2000). The claim to self-determination is not simply about the desire to return to a purely traditional value orientation; it is about challenging the perception that indigenous values are inherently inferior to European values, a perception that has been used to rationalize

the prevalence of state authority over indigenous self-determination and sovereignty (Alfred & Wilmer 1997).

Indigenous peoples across North America have mobilized around their collective identities to assert their rights to land and self-government. In Canada, the Mohawk community of Kahnawake has been among the leading forces in a traditional revival movement, seeking the reconstruction of aboriginal political institutions as an alternative to the externally imposed Euro-American institutions. "In Kahnawake, aboriginal self-government means progress toward the ideal of complete autonomy and the realization of the Mohawk right to self-determination" (Alfred 1994). Thus, the political struggle in Kahnawake is simultaneously about rejecting the legacy of an unjust history of internal colonization and reintegrating traditional values in the community. The idea of poisonous contact of Western civilization disrupting native harmony is an important part of the historical narrative in Kahnawake, where the legitimacy of the *Indian Act* is denied (Harrison 1994). This legislation is seen as an assimilationist law, enforcing the authority of the Canadian federal government over indigenous nations and impeding on the ability of Mohawk traditional laws to govern political life in Kahnawake. Although there is some disagreement within the community regarding the impacts of the *Indian Act* today, there is a general consensus that its imposition has been detrimental to the social fabric and survival of traditional values and institutions (Alfred 1995). The rejection of the authority of the *Indian Act* has lead to the expansion of Kahnawake's jurisdictional control beyond the legal parameters established by federal policies and the establishment of community institutions drawing their legitimacy from the collective will of the Mohawk people (Alfred 1994). Since the 1960s, the establishment of institutions and social services based on traditional Mohawk values, i.e. the *Kaienerekowa,* has been at the heart of the contemporary nationalist project in Kahnawake, including the administrative control of various services related to culture and education, justice and security, health and social welfare, and economy and finance (Mohawk Council of Kahnawake 1990). This approach is based on the premise that "since the time of first contact with the Europeans, native peoples have seen their values, principles, ceremonies and structures diminished" (Kahnawake Shakotiiatakehnhas Community Services 1994) and that to ensure the survival and further development of the Mohawk nation, Kahnawake must reject European practices and institutions that are ineffective and no longer acceptable for the needs of native people. Thus, the role of social services is to provide resources to meet human needs and to restore community health in general through the integration of aboriginal

values (Kahnawake Shakotiiatakehnhas Community Services 1994)**.** Additionally, Kahnawake Mohawks have reasserted their jurisdiction over the aspects of community life considered essential to sovereignty, notably membership. "Control over membership and the definition of Mohawk status was recognized as the core power necessary to recreate a community based upon traditional Mohawk values" (Alfred 1995). The authority over the establishment of criteria determining entitlement to community membership and the rights to reside on Mohawk territory are considered to be central to the realization of the Mohawk right to self-determination.

The experience of the Mohawks as part of the Haudenosaunee confederacy serves the people of Kahnawake as an example of how political co-operation does not necessarily limit the sovereignty of the participating parties (Alfred, 1994). The ideal model of external relations defended by the Mohawks of Kahnawake is the concept of *Kahnswentha,* where the Mohawk nation would interact with other nations, including Canada, on a nation-to-nation basis. Taiaiake Alfred explains it thus: "for the Mohawks, co-operating with Canada at present to maintain their community implies no surrender of sovereignty" (1994).

The information associated with the Two-Row Wampum dictates to *Kahnawakero:non* the proper relationship with the Canadian state is and what it ought to be. According to Kahnawake Mohawks, to overcome the legacy of internal colonization, the Native-Canada relationship must be fundamentally restructured to be based on the principles of the *Kahnswentha*, following the commitments depicted on the Two-Row Wampum treaty belt, a broad belt constructed of quahog shells in the design of two parallel purple rows separated by a white row, symbolizing an Haudenosaunee canoe and a European vessel navigating side by side. The belt is a record with an oral component of the treaty established upon the arrival of the first Europeans into Mohawk territory, and represents a lasting relationship agreed upon by the Mohawks with all subsequent Europeans; co-existence, sharing of resources, mutual respect, and non-interference in the cultural and political autonomy of each society based on the recognition of distinctiveness (Alfred 1994). "Implementing the philosophy of the Two-Row Wampum as the guiding principle of relationships with other governments ensures that none of the internal progress toward traditional government would be jeopardized by further impositions upon community flowing from compromises to Kahnawake's sovereignty" (Alfred, 1995). Hence, the political project in Kahnawake, the exercise of authority and control over reserve affairs, is one of nationhood localised around the critical axis of membership in relation to a foreign

nation, Canada (Simpson, 2000).

Furthermore, Kahnawake's proximity to non-native communities, such as the multicultural city of Montreal and the neighbouring municipality of Chateauguay, exacerbates the sense of urgency about sovereignty and identity. "'Behaving as other nations do' requires that *Kahnawakero:non* maintain a strong sense of themselves as a distinct people with rights and obligations that flow from their distinctiveness" (Simpson, 2000). In the face of external pressures and increasing interaction with outsiders, defining the Mohawk identity becomes extremely salient. However, establishing group consciousness in terms of a positive expression of common beliefs and shared cultural features is difficult. At the beginning of the documentary *Club Native*, filmmaker Tracey Deer asks community members to tell her what it means to be Mohawk; none of them is able to explain what constitutes the Mohawk identity. One of the subjects in the film expresses the problems with a simple Mohawk identity: "I cannot grasp on anything that makes me Mohawk. I have no idea what it means to be Mohawk" (Deer, 2008). Turning to negative association provides a much easier answer: being Mohawk means not being white or a member of the dominant Euro-American society. In the case of Kahnawake, where the fear of assimilation into the dominant western society is prominent, negative association is an important element of identity for two reasons. The shared differences to an outside entity reinforce the sense of social cohesion among community members and legitimize the claims for an inherent right to self-governance vis-à-vis the Canadian state.

In Kahnawake, historical events have fostered the fear of assimilation into the dominant society and contemporary experiences have fuelled this sense of antagonism towards outsiders. Mohawk traditionalist Charles Patton explains: "The government of Canada['s] … basic function is to eliminate us from the surface of the land. To eliminate us, our title of ownership of this land, control of the earth, so they can own it, finally" (Alfred & Wilmer 1997). The Oka Crisis exacerbated this sentiment. The events of the summer of 1990 are seen in Kahnawake as an example of "how 'development', as conceived by a dominant European-Oriented or Western society, continues to rationalize intrusions into indigenous self-determination" (Alfred & Wilmer 1997). During the summer of 1990, the protest lead by the Mohawks of Kanesatake against the expansion of a golf course onto a traditional burial ground and a sacred grove of pine trees, a territory for which Kanesatake had been pursuing a comprehensive land claim, turned into an armed standoff between the Canadian military and the Mohawk Warriors. Moreover, the events became of symbol of

indigenous struggle for recognition and self-determination. For Ellen Gabriel, a Kanesatake leader, the protests were about "the recognition of who we are as a people, not just as Mohawks, but as the first people of this continent" (Obomsawin 1993). About 25,000 indigenous people came from across North America in support of the Mohawk nation establishing a peace camp in Oka (Obomsawin 1993). In solidarity with the Kanesatake Mohawks, the *Kahnawakero:non* blockaded all the major highways passing through their reserve as well as on the Mercier Bridge connecting the island of Montreal with its suburban South Shore. The blockades caused enormous traffic jams and the tension between Kahnawake and the neighbouring municipality of Châteauguay rose. The residents of Châteauguay and Oka protested against the Mohawks and racial hatred was expressed on both sides of the fence. For example, in Châteauguay, some residents burnt giant puppets symbolizing the Mohawk "Warriors" and threw stones at Mohawk cars (Obomsawin 1993). Among the Mohawks, the sentiment of antagonism and the sense of threat coming from the "Whiteman's society" peaked. The massive display of force from the Canadian government during the Oka crisis also showed the persistence of the structures of domination vis-à-vis any direct confrontation by the colonised population (Tully 2000). For example, the Canadian military promised that they would leave the Kahnawake reserve once the barricade on the Mercier bridge was dismantled, but instead they raided the Longhouse after the bridge was re-opened (Obomsawin, 1993). The message sent by the federal government was clear: indigenous peoples are dependent minorities within the dominant society. Moreover, in Kahnawake, the Oka crisis also reinforced the sense of antagonism towards the dominant society for indigenous peoples and members of the Mohawk nation. For example, for Waneek Horn-Miller, a Mohawk woman who was 14 years old and behind the line during the Oka crisis, as for many other Mohawk youth, being raised as a Mohawk as well as the experiences during the Oka Crisis made them wary of non-natives (Deer, 2008). The fear of assimilation, the sense of threat coming from Euro-American institutions throughout history and reaffirmed during the Oka crisis, and the antagonism to the dominant society exacerbate the salience of identity in Kahnawake and the urgency for self-government based on traditional Haudenosaunee values as the alternative to ensure community health and self-preservation.

The inter-group dynamics of identity have been central in shaping the issue of community membership in Kahnawake. The Mohawk identity has been defined partly as a negative association with the surrounding non-Mohawk population. The fear of assimilation and the threat to cultural

survival and community self-preservation coming from the dominant society have exacerbated the sense of urgency regarding the control of membership and identity as an essential component of self-determination. Asserting the distinctiveness of the *Kahnawakero:non* is essential to legitimize Kahnawake's assertion of self-government. Therefore, controlling membership is extremely salient, because it is at the heart of the nationalist project of Kahnawake, which aims at "maintaining for *Kahnawakero:non* what they have in the present, while guaranteeing a space for them in their future" (Simpson, 2000). The historical memories in Kahnawake as well as the memories of contemporary events, notably the Oka Crisis, also speak of the community's antagonistic relationship with the government of Canada, contributing to the politicization of the Mohawk identity. Hence, understanding Kahnawake's membership law and the salience of identity politics requires first an in-depth understanding of the community's views on external relations and the nature of its relationship to the dominant Canadian society.

Part 2 – The Intra-Group Dynamics of Identity

The salience of the politics of identity arises primarily from the relationship between Kahnawake and Canada. However, the content of the membership law results from the Mohawk political ideology, traditionalism. The unique history of Kahnawake and the recent process of traditionalism revival help to understand the challenges of establishing the criteria of membership, notably the tension between the racial and the cultural markers of the Mohawk identity. Moreover, the interplay between traditionalism and sovereignty highlight the fact that the inter-group dynamics of identity constrain and shape the meaning taken by Haudenosaunee traditions in membership issues.

Kahnawake is one of seven Mohawk communities still existing today in North America and a leading figure of the contemporary *Haudenosaunee* (Haudenosaunee Confederacy). However, the historical evolution of Kahnawake followed a unique synthesis of tradition and modernity, which sets the community aside both in terms of its traditionalist views and its relation to the Canadian state (Alfred, 1994). In 1762, the new English governor of Montreal declared Mohawk lands to be retained by the Crown for the exclusive use of the Mohawks. Until the 1920s, the *Kahnawakero:non* farmed, participated in trades and practiced Catholicism. In the 1860s, the city of Montreal built the Victoria Bridge, connecting the city to the south shore of the Saint-Lawrence River for the first time. The Mohawks of

Kahnawake took this new economic opportunity to learn high steel work, for which they have become legendary (Harrison 1994). Thus, at the turn of the nineteenth century, Kahnawake was on the road to integration into the dominant Canadian society. However, two important events catalyzed the revival of traditionalism in the community and the rejection of the authority of the Canadian state. In 1926, Paul Diabo, a Kahnawake high steel worker, was arrested in the United States as an illegal alien. The arrest was seen by the entire Haudenosaunee community as a "direct challenge to the concept of Haudenosaunee sovereignty and indeed to the very idea that the various nations making up the Confederacy still existed apart from the United States and Canada" (Alfred 1995). The arrest was taken to court and the judges ruled in favour of the Mohawks. The Diabo case united Kahnawake back to other Haudenosaunee communities after hundreds of years of separation. The following year, to celebrate the victory, the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was held in Kahnawake and a longhouse was built for the occasion. Kahnawake's realignment with the traditional Haudenosaunee political institutions had begun, but it was not until the 1950s that the transition to traditionalism was complete, after Canada and the United States united in a joint venture to make the St. Lawrence Seaway navigable by large ships. The project required the expropriation of 1 250 acres of Kahnawake's land, which included 900 acres of prime farmland, many homes and the longhouse, an important meeting place for the community (Harrison 1994). The construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway was seen as a major assault on the Mohawk land base and sovereignty and as a clear indication of what further integration into Canadian society meant for the survival of the Mohawk nation (Alfred 1995). The expropriation was perceived as an example of the threat the Canadian society represents to the cultural survival of the indigenous peoples. As Kahnawake means "by the rapids", the construction of the seaway was also a fundamental assault on the identity of the *Kahnawakero:non*. "The river was part of our life. It changed and we changed, but it was always there. When we let the Seaway get put in, we let them take away part of our life" (Mohawk Council of Kahnawake 1981). By the 1960s, traditionalism had become the dominant political and cultural orientation in Kahnawake and it meant a complete rejection of non-Indian society and European-style government (Alfred 1995). The Mohawks of Kahnawake had learned that integration into Canadian society would lead to assimilation and erosion of cultural practices. Canada had cheated them; this represented an imminent threat to the community's self-preservation. Insisting on Mohawk sovereignty and re-implementing traditionalism on the reserve

was the only viable alternative for Kahnawake.

After a few hundred years of participation in the dominant society through trade, changes in subsistence activities, and the adoption of Christianity, traditionalism was revived as the alternative to Euro-American institutions. The Great Law of Peace, *Kaienerekowa,* was rediscovered as the political and social organizing principle in Kahnawake. "The *Kaienerekowa* moved from latency to saliency in response to broad changes in the political context as a result of both the Seaway and the membership crises" (Alfred, 1995). Three unified messages form the Great Law of Peace: 'righteousness, health, and power', on which the democratic, federal political system of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy was founded (Harrison, 1994). The *Kaienerekowa* is comprised of detailed instructions on social and political organization, international relations, leadership selection, and decision-making processes that today form the essential components of the Mohawk political culture (Alfred, 1994). Along with the principle of *Kahsentha,* the *Kaienerekowa* is inherent in the conceptualization of sovereignty in Kahnawake. "Mohawk sovereignty is conceived of not only in terms of interests and boundaries, but in terms of land, relationships and spirituality" (Alfred, 1995). Harmony is the essence of sovereignty, for balanced relationships based on respect for differences are to be achieved between individual and community needs, people and the Earth, and the Mohawk people and other communities. Thus, in Kahnawake, intra-group politics and external relations are closely related and can hardly be divorced when looking at the issue of membership. Traditionalism in Kahnawake is simultaneously based on the idea that the *Kaienerekowa* is the only viable pragmatic and symbolic organizing principle for the Mohawk nation and that Mohawk sovereignty needs to be based on traditional Haudenosaunee values because Euro-American institutions can only lead to the social and cultural erosion of the Mohawk nation.

Although traditionally membership in Haudenosaunee society was organized around matrilineage and the practice of clan adoption was common, the current membership law, including the racial criterion and the restriction on mixed marriages, does not necessarily contradict Kahnawake's traditionalist political orientation. In order to truly understand Kahnawake's membership code, one must first consider the meaning and utilization of traditionalism in Kahnawake as well as realize the interplay of the intra-group traditionalist politics with the external relations goal of self-government. The Mohawk political ideology is based on the revitalization of key aspects of tradition, not on the complete and unquestioned return to Haudenosaunee traditional ways. The revival of

traditionalism after the construction of a longhouse in Kahnawake in 1926 and the seaway expropriation in the 1950s brought the *Kahnawakero:non* to embark upon an "intensive immersion into the culture in a conscious effort to re-learn and re-implement traditional ways in their own community" (Alfred 1995). After 250 years of political separation from the other Haudenosaune communities, the *Kahnawakero:non* found that the cultural practices of other communities were a modified expression of the Haudenosaunee tradition changed as a response to shifts in the political and economic environment. The most significant modification was the integration of the Christian-influenced teachings of the prophet Handsome Lake during the 19th century. According to the stories, Handsome Lake was an alcoholic who, after experiencing visions of God while in the coma, telling him the Haudenosaunee had to be saved from the destructiveness of alcoholism and bad living, became a religious reformer among the Haudenosaunee (Parker 1913). His teachings became integral to the Longhouse religion and the contemporary expression of the *Kaienerekowa* among most Haudenosaunee communities (Harrison 1994). The *Kahnawakero:non* were dismayed to find Christian teachings had been adopted into the Longhouse religion and the *Kaienerekowa* political message. In Kahnawake, since the revival of traditionalism was stimulated by the rejection of Euro-American institutions, including Christianity, "the Mohawks of Kahnawake saw Handsome Lake's synthesis of indigenous thought with Christian morality as a corruption of the original concept" (Alfred, 1995). Some *Kahnawakero:non* have rejected the Handsome Lake code. The evolution of Kahnawake from the main body of the Haudenosaunee confederacy created some tension at times between the community's traditional reorientation and the Haudenosaunee values and principles. Indeed, traditionalism in Kahnawake must be understood as recognition of the power and significance of the Haudenosaunee structures and symbols combined with a modification of Haudenosaunee values and principles to suit the needs of the local culture that was shaped by more than 250 years away from the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Alfred expresses the irrelevance of cultural criteria on sovereignty: "[Indigenous peoples'] claim to self-determination and rights flowing from inherent sovereignty are unimpaired by the possibility of deviating, for whatever reason, from the purely 'traditional' value orientation" (Alfred & Wilmer 1997).

Traditionalism guides Kahnawake's internal politics, but was revived as a reaction to external events. Therefore, the goal of self-government plays an important role in shaping the way traditionalism is interpreted and determining the key aspects of tradition to be revitalized.

Issues of adaptation and tradition are not necessarily antagonistic in the political discourse of indigenous peoples, especially in the context of the struggle for autonomy vis-à-vis the authority of the Canadian state. But the current political context within which Kahnawake is evolving is quite different from that of the pre-colonial Haudenosaunee confederacy. The unresolved legacy of internal colonization is that "the dominant society coexists on and exercises exclusive jurisdiction over the territories and jurisdictions that the indigenous peoples refuse to surrender" (Tully 2000). The long-term aim of the administrator of the dominant society was the disappearance of indigenous societies, through extinction, unilateral and voluntary extinguishment of rights to territories and self-government and assimilation as members of the dominant society (Tully 2000). Today the dominant society has arguably shifted away from this aim, but the legacy of these efforts are deeply felt by indigenous peoples. The idea of modernization implies a hierarchy of values, where the European values, instrumental views of natural resources, the prerogative of growth and creation of surplus wealth, and the development of complex hierarchical social structures supersede all manifestations of traditional Indigenous values regardless of the tremendous diversity in cultural practices and social organization that exist among them (Alfred & Wilmer 1997). The Mohawks participated as equals in the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the principle of *Kahnswentha* served as a guarantee of non-interference and mutual respect. In the absence of imminent external threat, defining membership was not particularly salient. However, today the Mohawks are politically subordinated to the Canadian State and still experience the legacy of hundreds of years of racial discrimination and assimilation-oriented policies. Thus, the intra-group politics of membership has taken a completely different significance than what it enjoyed 300 years ago. The issues at stake being different, the effectiveness of traditional membership practices becomes questionable. "Kahnawake's abandonment of traditional Mohawk values regarding membership and its adaptive "racial" biological approach is rooted in an effort to counter recent attempts by the federal government to impose membership criteria upon Mohawk people" (Alfred 1995). Considering that traditionalism has emerged in Kahnawake through revitalization in thecontemporary period and has been used strategically to fulfill local needs, it is not surprising that the current membership law does not mimic traditional practices.

Furthermore, although the 2003 Membership Law includes both race and participation in custom or cultural commitment as the markers of the Mohawk identity, race has been privileged has the prevailing criterion

for membership, even though it contradicts the Haudenosaunee tradition and follows the logic of the *Indian Act.* In the face of the decreasing legitimacy of political mobilization based on cultural differences within a multicultural state and the challenges posed by historical accounts, race has become increasingly salient to justify aboriginal distinctiveness. Canada's 1981 Multiculturalism Act was designed to incorporate ethnic minorities into the Canadian society while promoting the persistence of cultural diversity. The Act assumes that the role of the State is to be neutral, i.e. to unite society around the commitment to procedural equality rather than to adopt a particular substantive view about the ends of life (Taylor, 1994). Citizenship becomes "a way of cultivating unity in the face of increasing social diversity" (Kymlicka, 1995). At the same time, it relegates culture, along with religion, to the private sphere. The problem with multiculturalism in Canada is that it fails to differentiate between the national minorities striving for self-determination and the polyethnic communities seeking inclusion (Kymlicka 1995). As a result, political mobilization based on cultural differences appealing to the distinctiveness of aboriginal traditions has lost legitimacy, since the Canadian population is perceived as constituted of ethnic minorities and little differentiation is made between aboriginal peoples and immigrant ethnic groups. Therefore, within the context of Canadian multiculturalism, it becomes increasingly difficult for indigenous peoples to make land claims and demands for the recognition of the right to self-government based on cultural differences.

The idea of the nation is "a partnership between the dead, the living and the unborn ... [and] historical memory also plays an important part in the creation of nationalism" (Stevenson 2004). The nation is a "cultural artefact" and the discourse of nationalism is one contiguous to a particular space in time, "a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present" (Anderson 1991). In Kahnawake, the current nationalist project is rooted in the memories of the past and is justified by the narrative of an uncertain future (Simpson 2000). Historical and contemporary experiences have been used by the *Kahnawakero:non* to construct, shape, and maintain, through discursive practices, a Mohawk identity tied to social and cultural praxis. Simpson says:

> "The people of Kahnawake(...) use this experience [participation in the *Haudenosaunee* Confederacy] to construct and maintain their collective identity as a distinct people within the larger political social geographies of Canada and the US (...) draw from the confederacy of the

past to recreate alternative forms of religion and government in the contemporary era" (Simpson, 2000).

The collective memory of a glorious past of sovereignty shapes the current identity of Mohawks and a sense of distinctiveness based on pre-contact experiences. However, history is always relative and may be portrayed differently depending on ideology, religion, region, class, or generation (Stevenson, 2004). "The histories of political groups are complicated by the fact that their place in the world and their relations with their members and outsiders change constantly" (Evrigenis, 2008). Given the relative nature of historical memories, it is particularly difficult to justify an alternative political project, such as self-determination, based on historical accounts, particularly in a multicultural state like Canada. Therefore, the mobilization of the Mohawk identity based on historical accounts also does not provide the *Kahnawakero:non* with the necessary political lever to legitimize the goal of self-determination.

Racial features make differences obvious. Conventionally, ethnicity has been defined in terms of associated characteristics such as common culture, history, territory and language rather than one's ethnic attributes. Portraying aboriginality as an ethnicity based on race is a double-edged sword, because while it promotes a sense of authenticity, supporting the claim of distinctiveness vis-à-vis the dominant society, it also denies membership to the individuals that do not look aboriginal, regardless of their cultural orientation and commitment to traditions (Lawrence, 2004). In the past, intermarriages were frequent in Kahnawake. As a result, many *Kahnawakero:non* do not look like the stereotypical Mohawk. Instances of racism based on appearance and blood quantum has become part of the daily life of many mixed-blood Mohawks in Kahnawake. Lauren, an 18 years old woman of Afro-American and Mohawk descent, experienced racism all through her childhood. Other kids would call her names and tell her things such as "get out of here you Negro, you don't belong here, this park is for Indians only" (Deer, 2008). Relying on racial features to define identity might promote a sense of authenticity essential to make claims regarding the right to self-determination in ways that cultural differences and historical accounts cannot, but it also promotes the oppression of intra-group diversity. "Instead of developing a sense of community, [the current membership law has] led to disharmony and anger. Instead of respecting the principles of dignity and compassion, they have promoted accusations and resentment" (Mohawk Council of Kahnawake Membership Department, 2007). Unlike Canada and the province of Quebec, where nationalism

has been gradually transformed from an ethnic to a civic definition of citizenship (Breton, 2005), the racial markers of identity have been reinforced in Kahnawake, undermining the importance of cultural markers such as commitment to the Mohawk nation or practice of tradition.

Traditionalism is the guiding principle of internal politics in Kahnawake. However, the revival of the Haudenosaunee traditions occurred in reaction to external events. Therefore, traditionalism in Kahnawake is first an ideological orientation shaping the political agenda in accordance to the goal of self-determination. Because Kahnawake was politically separated from the other Haudenosaunee communities for a few hundred years, traditionalist policies do not always correspond to Haudenosaunee traditional practices, particularly given the fact that the current political context is very different from the time of the *Haudenosaunee.* As a result of the influence of the inter-group dynamics of identity on Kahnawake's unique traditionalism, the definition of membership has been based primarily on racial criterion, although the traditional Haudenosaunee way is otherwise and is generally preferred among the *Kahnawakero:non.*

Conclusion

The politics of identity in Kahnawake is complex. Understanding Kahnawake's controversial membership law requires an in-depth understanding of the inter-group and intra-group dynamics of identity as well as the interplay between the two. First, the relationship of Kahnawake to Canada has enhanced the salience of identity in Mohawk politics. The persisting fear of the politics of assimilation of the Canadian government and the events of the Oka Crisis of 1990 have reinforced the antagonism between the two societies. Guided by the principles depicted on the Two-Row Wampum treaty belt, the *Kahnawakero:non* are seeking to reassert their right to self-determination vis-à-vis the Canadian State. Thus, control over membership is extremely important to those in Kahnawake, as it is an essential part of the nationalist project. Second, the internal conflicts regarding the membership law in Kahnawake highlight the current tension between the goal of self-determination, the inter-group dynamics of identity, and the Haudenosaunee traditions, the intra-group dynamics of identity. However, it is important to recognize that traditionalism in Kahnawake is first a political orientation. The revitalization of Haudenosaunee tradition is strategically guided by the struggle for autonomy vis-à-vis Canada. Although, traditional Haudenosaunee means of determining membership might be preferred by the *Kahnawakero:non*, the necessity of legitimizing

Mohawk nationalism and sovereignty has made the transition away from racial criteria for membership difficult. Moreover, considering that the political context today is quite different from that of 300 years ago, the appropriateness of traditional membership laws is questionable. Therefore, from the interplay of internal and external politics arises the challenge of establishing a membership code that promotes unity, harmony and compassion in Kahnawake.

"Any Mohawk who married a non-native after 22 May 1981 would lose the right to residency, land holding, voting and office-holding in Kahnawake" (Alfred, 1995)

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Education in Kahnawake:
An Interview with Rose Anne Beauvais
Nicholas Moreau

Education is the transmission of civilization – B. F. Skinner

The chief object of education is not to learn things, but to unlearn them
   – G. K. Chesterton

Introduction

Education has been a creative and highly destructive force for Canadian Aboriginals. Historically, the federal government in Canada has utilized education as one of many tools aimed at ending aboriginal ways of life. Aboriginal families throughout Canada were leveraged to send their children to off-reservation residential schools under the threats of withholding federal obligations and imprisonment for non-compliance (Zimmerman 1992). These schools were seen by the government as the way to 'civilize' the Indian (Miller 1996). However, for many aboriginals, 'education' became an impetus in the destruction of their culture (Phillips 2007).

Under the assumption that language is one of the fundamental pillars if culture, it is illustrative that children were forbidden from speaking their native language at any time at these schools. This everyday experience epitomizes the extent of destruction experienced within aboriginal communities. However, despite the extent of these, and many other atrocities that took place in residential schools, education has slowly been reclaimed by aboriginal communities (Miller 1996, McGill CE 2008). Many Aboriginal communities are currently engaged in the arduous process of repairing the damage that have been driven into many aboriginal cultures through disruption in education.

The Kahnawake community adjacent to Montreal is one such community. In recent years, they have demonstrated positive gains through taking a proactive approach to education. In an interview conducted with a resident, former student, and current faculty member in Kahnawake, Rose Anne Beauvais, the community's education system was discussed. This

community took possession of their education system 30 years ago and since then has utilized a multitude of resources available to them to create a positive education environment for their children.

This paper will first outline the history of Kahnawake's educational system. This will include an overview of the school system today and a discussion of various barriers to education that have existed through time. Next, advantages of the present education system will be discussed along with some of the challenges currently facing Kahnawake as the community pursues its educational goals. These will be compared to other educational paradigms that exist in North America. Some of the comparable advantages to Kahnawake's system will be then be presented. Finally, attention will be drawn to the future of Kahnawake's school system and how the community is going about achieving its future educational targets.

Origins of the Kahnawake School System

The present Kahnawake school system began thirty years ago. In 1977 the Quebec government passed the Charter of the French Language which required all students in the province to receive their education in French. Those wishing to teach or be taught in another language needed to apply and receive special exemption from the provincial government (1977). When this charter was passed, Kahnawake students were receiving their education off the reservation at a school where instruction was carried out in English. Rather than go to the government to get permission to continue this practice, the parents of Kahnawake responded by pulling their children out of the school system. This was done due to the belief that education was a right and not an institution they needed permission to attend.

The parents in Kahnawake at this time had little or no means to educate their young themselves. In retrospect, one might wonder why such a drastic measure was taken. To understand this decision, it becomes necessary to recall the damage that educational institutions such as residential schools caused to indigenous cultures in the past. This can be looked at as a huge step in the direction of self determination as the people of Kahnawake decided to no longer be coerced into complying with legislation which threatened to compromise their community's survival. They felt it was more important to educate their children themselves within their community, regardless of their means to do so, rather than comply with government stipulations with which they did not agree.

There were few resources at the hand of the community when they

first pulled their children out of the Quebec school system. There were no schools or certified teachers, no books or curriculum. But the choice had been made by the members of Kahnawake that community control over education was more important than having these assets. Basements in homes became classrooms while community members became teachers. Rose-Anne's mother was among the original teachers in the community. She worked with other community members with little more than their determination to build up an educational system. She kept with the school system through its more formal establishment until her recent retirement.

The School System Today

Rose-Anne's mother was one of many actively contributed in the transformation of the school system into what it is today. The Kahnawake school system currently consists of two primary schools and one secondary school. One of the preliminary schools is taught in English while the other is Mohawk emersion. The English emersion school is called the Kateri School and the Mohawk emersion school is called the Karonnoiannonha School after the lady who donated the land on which the school is built. In both schools the curriculum is the same, except English language is a subject at the Mohawk school whereas Mohawk language is a subject at the Kateri School. Parents entering their children into the school system have the option of sending them to either school or to a private school outside the community. If they chose the latter, tuition and related expenses are compensated by Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs under the parameters of the Indian Act (IANC 2008).

The Survivor School is for students between grades 7-11. Children from both primary schools enter this school after grade 6. Curriculum is taught in English, but French and Mohawk remain required classes. Besides the Mohawk language course, Rose Anne points out the biggest difference between traditional Canadian institutions and the Survivor School is that typical Canadian history is not taught. Mohawk history is taught instead. Otherwise, subjects like math, science and social studies are taught in similar fashion with similar books. The structure of the Survivor School allows for the fulfillment of both general educational requirements as well as considerations for culturally relevant and unique curriculum such as Mohawk language and history.

The Mohawk language has been threatened by many forces over the years, perhaps most notably in the field of education. As recently as one generation back, the religious institutions which supplied education

in Kahnawake prohibited students the use of their native language. This had the desired result of drastically reducing the amount of people in the community who were fluent in Mohawk. Creating the Karonnoiannoha School is one of the ways that those in Kahnawake are working to regain their language and assure that a crucial aspect of their culture is preserved for the future. Each year, Kahnawake also runs an adult Mohawk emersion program, in which 15 students are currently enrolled (Philips 2007). Here one sees the power of education to destroy as well as create. Education transitioned from a means to destroy language (at residential schools) to the principle means of preserving that same language.

Advantages to the system and challenges facing Kahnawake

As mentioned previously, when children are of age to enter primary school, parents have the option of sending them to either of Kahnawake's schools or to a private school outside the community. The structure of Kahnawake's education system is advantageous because it allows parents to choose among multiple educational options. This structure also enables the community to exercise flexibility in their school's organization and affords them ultimate control over decisions regarding their school. Parents not only have a multitude of options, but the power to make these decisions lays in their hands rather than the provincial or federal government. While this may not seem significant, recall that not long ago, no other options exist besides residential schools. Moreover, this institution was forced upon most aboriginal communities, regardless of their desire to send their children. This is an example of the increased empowerment individuals in Kahnawake now have.

Not only are parents in control of where they send their children, but the greater community is in direct control of how their school system is operated. All of the school's administrators are members of Kahnawake, as well as a little over half the faculty. Additionally, a board of parents exists (of which Rose Anne is a member) that serves as a venue to allow parents to be involved in the school's decision making process. Having control over their school's curriculum allows the community to actively determine how and what is taught to their youth. They also have the flexibility to tailor curriculum to meet these desires. An example discussed earlier was the fact that Mohawk history is taught in place of 'Canadian' history. Rose Anne also gives another example: if the school has a set of math books they don't like or the students are not responding well to, they are able to purchase new books and change the curriculum to fit these new books without

having to go to a higher authority such as a provincial school board to get permission.

Kahnawake's local autonomy in regards to education is quite a rarity compared to non-aboriginal schools in an era of widespread federal and provincial regulations. Perhaps the strongest indicator of this trend is the 2001 passage of the No Child Left Behind Act in the US. The Act requires all schools wishing to receive federal funding to participate in state wide standardized tests (Boehner et al 2001). Schools that fail to show progress or simply meet minimum requirements lose funding. Many schools, especially those in low income areas, are utterly dependent on federal funding and are forced to alter their education methods and curriculum to prepare students for these tests. This is known as 'teaching to the tests' and it has been shown to cause degradation in areas such as the fine arts and physical education because they are not covered on standardized exams (McKenzie 2003). These and other areas can be vital for an individual to develop into a well-rounded adult. By not being subject to these types of standardized tests, Kahnawake's school system is able to focus on student development rather than test scores.

Standardized testing also draws heavy criticism for not allowing for differences in culture. Different geographic areas and cultures may value different subjects to varying degrees and also may view subjective disciplines such as history very differently. Manuelito argues that 'one-size fits all' standards of the No Child Left Behind propagate assimilationist standards due to the interpretive nature of education (2005). For instance, it is very doubtful that the people of Kahnawake view Canadian history the same way as many other Canadians. A survey of multiple Québécois students at McGill showed that standardized provincial exams required for graduation from secondary school barely covered aboriginal history, containing at most one question, and often none at all. Standardized tests simply do not allow for cultural variation and relative valuation of subject matter. Since Kahnawake's students are not subject to these tests or dependent on the subsequent funding that results from them, they are able to maintain control over what they teach and how they teach it.

Unfortunately, standardized tests like those carried out in Quebec are used as a way to ensure post-secondary institutions that students are at a certain level of proficiency. Since Kahnawake's school system doesn't comply with these regulations, their students are vulnerable to having their secondary school's certificate of graduation rejected by CEGEPs, colleges and universities. However, according to Rose Anne, except in one case, every higher institution that a Survivor School graduate has ever applied

to has accepted the student's certificate. The list of schools which have accepted the Survivor School certificate includes highly ranked universities in both Canada and the US such as McGill and Dartmouth. Not having a provincially accredited certificate has not prevented Kahnawake's students to go onto higher education.

With high school behind them, students from Kahnawake move onto CEGEP or University. Like all students from all backgrounds, there are certain challenges facing them when they arrive. For Rose Anne, difficulty was experienced when she went from the structured environment of the secondary school to the more scattered environment of CEGEP at Dawson. At the Survivor School, like most secondary schools, students have a regimented school day with a block of classes, lunch between, and so forth. When Rose Anne went to Dawson, she was confronted with a sporadic schedule and lots of down time in between classes. These factors caused her to eventually leave Dawson and go to O'Sullivan. In order to help students gain more experience and avoid some of the hardships Rose herself faced after the Survivor School, Rose Anne has suggested extending the Survivor School another year to encompass a grade 12.

The advantages of Kahnawake's education system seem to outweigh the set backs. Community control over administration and curriculum has allowed Kahnawake to teach students what they feel is relevant in their culture, rather than teaching to culturally skewed standards. Additionally, the schools provide culturally relevant holidays such as the Harvest Festival and the Mid-Winter Festival which would not be recognized at other schools. Moreover, not having a provincially sanctioned certificate has not stopped students from being accepted to post-secondary schools and some of the challenges met once in CEGEP are not necessarily unique to Kahnawake students. Also, parents such as Rose Anne are able to have an impact in regards to improving the school system for future students. This is possible due to the freedom present in their school system, which is uninhibited by the demands and bureaucracy of the provincial and federal government. Moreover, parents who do not want to send their children to Kahnawake's schools have the option to send their children elsewhere with tuition reimbursement. Despite this option, Rose Anne pointed out that there is actually a greater percentage of Kahnawake students going onto higher learning who went through the community's school system compared to Kahnawake students who went to private schools outside of the community. Overall, Kahnawake's system has many positive attributes, perhaps most significant is the ability to adapt and change as members of the community see fit.

Goals for the Future

Rose Anne stated the goal of Kahnawake in regards to their education system is to eventually have the entire curriculum taught by community members. This seems to be one of the final steps of reclaiming education for themselves. The Karonnoannonha School is already staffed completely by community members due to the nature of the school (Mohawk emersion). Elsewhere, all administrative roles such as principals as well as slightly more than half of the teaching positions are held by community members. This is a trend that has been increasing steadily as more and more students pass through the education system and return to teach. Rose Anne's educational trajectory represents such a case. She went through the education system at Kahnawake and later McGill where she received her certificate in education. She has now returned to Kahnawake (not literally since she already lived there) and holds a position in the school system.

The program that Rose Anne went through is unique to McGill and is a prominent contributor to the goal of getting more teachers to come from within the community. In total, there are five programs which are taught through the center of continuing education by the Faculty of Education which aimed at preparing individuals within aboriginal communities to become proficient educators in their community (McGill CE 2008). This is achieved by tailoring curriculum to help prospective teachers to both learn the skills needed to be good educators and be prepared for unique aspects of education present aboriginal communities such as language considerations. Most of the programs are offered on a full time basis and all are offered on a part time basis. The programs offered part time are actually taught in the various aboriginal communities such as Kahnawake which work in partnership with McGill (McGill CE 2008).

Going to the communities to offer these classes on a part time basis is helpful for addressing the availability of those involved. Rose Anne comments that most students in the program are already in the work force, have families and a multitude of other responsibilities which would hinder their ability to go to McGill full time and take classes. Unfortunately, despite being taught at their communities, there was still a very high drop off rate with student educators in Rose Anne's class due to these previous commitments. According to her, while about forty people were involved when she started the program, only eleven finished. While McGill's continuing education programs are in line with Kahnawake's goal of educational self-determinism, the great attrition rate needs to be examined further in order to figure out how to reduce this current drop off rate.

Discussion and Conclusion

Towards the end of our interview, Rose Anne and I began to discuss what factors lead to the success or failure of students. I commented that many children from where I come from are given all the material goods one could imagine in regards to education such as nice big schools, new books and high paid teachers. Yet many students in my area take education for granted and despite all the comparative advantages they are given, they still don't become successful students. She pointed out that someone's environment is important and can have a huge positive or negative impact on one's success. However, those who have the will and determination to succeed will do so regardless of those other factors, and those that don't have that determination won't succeed regardless of how much is given to them.

If nothing else, a look at Kahnawake's education system gives one insight into the relative importance of material assets and personal determination. Thirty years ago the school system only consisted of a few dedicated individuals backed by an equally determined community. These actors managed to educate their young and work towards making the education program what it is today despite an initial lack of material resources. It is doubtful that even the best schools and books in the world could have had the same effect without the will of the community to carry out these objectives. Other school systems should consider this when making decisions about where to concentrate their resources (such as new computers vs. more and better teachers). Although many challenges still exist to the people of Kahnawake as they move into the future, that future is increasingly in their own hands.

Acknowledgements

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Various Artwork
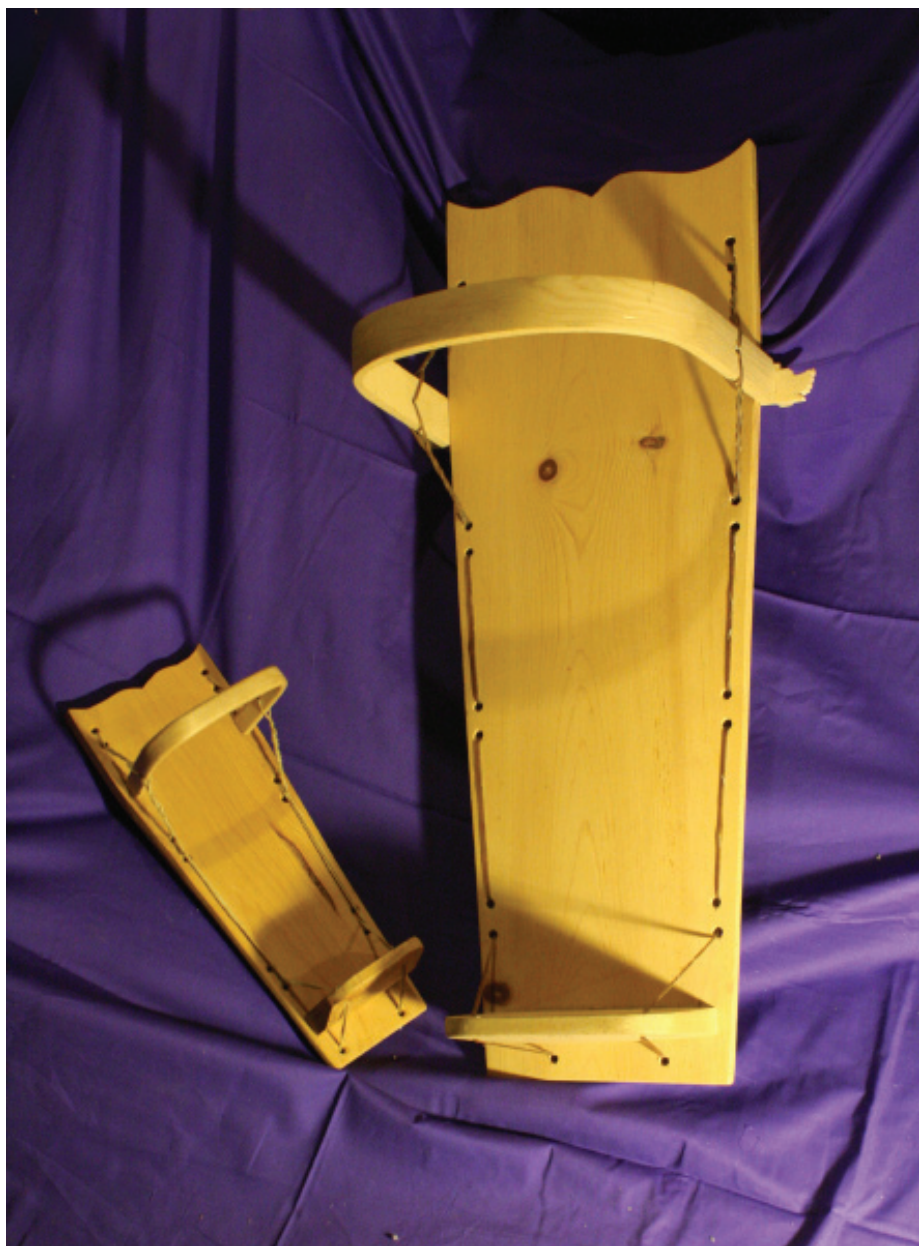
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Apartheid on Turtle Island
Pamela Fillion

"**apartheid** / **paar**tayt/ • **noun** the official system of segregation or discrimination on racial grounds formerly in force in South Africa. — ORIGIN Afrikaans, 'separateness'.

oppress • **verb 1** keep in subjection and hardship. **2** cause to feel distressed or anxious. — DERIVATIVES oppression noun oppressor noun. — ORIGIN Old French *oppresser*, from Latin *opprimere* 'press against'.

genocide /**jenn** sid/ • **noun** the deliberate killing of a very large number of people from a particular ethnic group or nation. — DERIVATIVES genocidal adjective. — ORIGIN from Greek *genos* 'race' " **-CIDE**."

– Definitions from Oxford Dictionary

Recently, a panel discussion was given by Quebec Public Interest Research Group Concordia and Israeli Apartheid Week in Montreal discussing Indigenous Solidarity. This panel, given on March 1st, 2009 was entitled "Apartheid on Turtle Island." The comparison implied by the use of the word 'apartheid' brings up many questions including: Is there apartheid in Canada? Or, is it appropriate to use the term apartheid for the discrimination of Native peoples in what is today known as Canada? Using the testimony of Elisabeth Penashue, an Innu elder from Nitassinan, and Judy Da Silva, an Anishinaabekwe from Grassy Narrows, articles drawn by the United Nations Council as well as the critical works of Bonita Lawrence, Howard Adams and Joan Fairweather on the topic, this paper demonstrates that the use of the term apartheid in Canada is warranted and appropriate in the context of indigenous solidarity.. Native activists, South African activists, Howard, and Lawrence all see the similarities in the policies of segregation based on race implemented in Canada. Fairweather's reminder that the situations differ in terms of context and in action, is an important reminder, but does not substantially negate the use of the term 'apartheid' in political discourses since the word 'apartheid' is never divorced from its original context in its use for Canadian oppression but rather serves as

a referent for racist policies enacted by oppressive colonial states with an ongoing legacy of discrimination.

ISRAELI APARTHEID WEEK BEGINS WITH INDIGENOUS SOLIDARITY: FROM TURTLE ISLAND TO PALESTINE

Many contest the use of the term Apartheid for Israel; however, it is interesting to note that it was reverently used in the context of Israeli Apartheid Week, which began with its first panel event *Apartheid in Canada: Voices of Indigenous Resistance on Turtle Island*. The panel consisted of Elisabeth (Tshankuesh) Penashue, an Innu elder from Nitassinan (Labrador), and Judy Da Silva, an Anishinaabe from Grassy Narrows, and introduced by Laith Marouf of Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights. The speakers highlighted the solidarity between indigenous peoples of Turtle Island [Canada] and the indigenous peoples subjected to what they recognize as the Israeli Apartheid. "We gather this week to assert our oppositions to colonialism and apartheid, and our solidarity with Indigenous struggles for dignity and self-determination" stated the organizers of Israel Apartheid Week in Montreal. As Marouf presented the panel he stated that:

> Canada's reservation system and treatment of Indigenous peoples was closely studiesdby the planners of apartheid in South Africa, although this is a hidden chapter of our history. […]In the face of more than five hundred years of colonialism, Indigenous communities continue to resist and survive. Their multifold and diverse struggles demand our active support, especially in the face of state repression and criminalization. As non-natives, we have a role within our own communities, to further the process of decolonizing Canada. […]If you are with us in opposition to Israeli Apartheid, we encourage your consistent opposition to apartheid right here in Canada. Let us support both the resistance of indigenous Palestinians, and the survival and struggles of Canada's Indigenous nations. From Palestine to Turtle Island: There is no justice on stolen land.

NITASSINAN

Elizabeth (Tshankeuesh) Penashue is an Innu elder who has been influential in protesting against the extensive low level flights conducted by NATO

over the homes and land of the Innu people. Penashue who grew up subsisting off the land and living in the country with her parents has been a major proponent in ensuring the survival of Innu culture by teaching the younger generations the knowledge and stories of her life. Penashue began with an expression of her frustration and sadness with how difficult it has been for her resistance in light of encroaching development projects such as the Churchill River Dam project which threatens to flood her peoples' land.

> Now we are told that there are plans to build two more dams at Gull Island (Tshiashkueish) and at Muskrat Falls (Manitu-Utshu). If these projects go ahead the once mighty Churchill River will die. It will become one long, unnatural lake. There will be no more nesting grounds, no more beaver lodges, no more small animals like porcupine and rabbits… I do not want to see our land damaged anymore. We deserve a full environmental assessment of this project and the results should be available to all Labradoreans

said Elisabeth Penashue, who reminded the attendees of the panel that the life of her community has been ruptured and that the Innu have been and are being dispossessed of their land. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Innu have inhabited Nitassinan for over two millennia and "some scholars believe that they are descended from the first human inhabitants of eastern Canada, who moved into the region around 8,000 years ago, at the end of the last Ice Age."(Samson et al. 10) According to Samson, Wilson, and Mazower, the Innu first encountered Europeans in the 10th century. These Europeans were the Vikings who at the time established for a short period of time a settlement in Newfoundland, close to the mainland of Labrador and Quebec. Following this contact was the 1497 claim of the land by John Cabot for King Henry VIII of England and subsequently the capture of Innu by Gaspar Corte-Real, a Portuguese sailor, who, in 1501, sold the natives as slaves. Over the next century, the Innu, like other Aboriginal peoples of North America, experienced a quickly developing trade as "European fleets swarmed to the western Atlantic to exploit rich fishing grounds off Newfoundland, and sailors began coming ashore."(Samson et al. 14) At the beginning of the 17th Century, "these pragmatic, informal contacts" were replaced as European countries established permanent settlements and trading posts in eastern North America. The fur trade was a fierce agent in the "neutralisation," "assimilation," "destruction," and

"extermination" of the relatives of the Innu in North America. At this time, Paul Lejeune, a Jesuit missionary, attempted to "civilise" the Innu but failed in this attempt. For the following three centuries, fur traders continued to exert their influence deeper and deeper into Nitassinan. However, even when the other Indigenous peoples had been driven from their land, the Innu remained in Nitassinan due to the fact that the "Quebec Labrador peninsula was still valued for what the Innu could harvest from it than for the land itself."(Samson et al. 14) So for the next three centuries, the fur trade acted to slowly diminish Innu self-sufficiency using the politics of creating "artificial wants."(Samson et al. 14) After the Second World War changes began happening at a more rapid pace in the lives of the Innu men and women of Nitassinan. The Church, which had been a presence on Innu land and in Innu life since Paul Lejeune, increased measures of conversion and the tolerance of the different way of life led by the Innu began to diminish. Using influence and coercion, the Church helped to promote (coerce) the eventual sedentarisation of the Innu.

At a time when the United States had abandoned the Residential School programs, Canada began assimilation policies concerning the Innu, aiming its tools of 'civilising', once again, at the children. With promises of 'White education' the Church headlined the pressures that drastically changed the experience and quality of life of the Innu. The treatment received by the Innu children, daughters, sons, nieces, and nephews, was something that their Innu way of life had not prepared them for: from Innu child rearing practices that did not include overt punishment to the strict policies of the Church schools. More so, these schools were a tool of assimilation policies that promoted Western values and ideals over Innu cultural understandings and traditions. Pien Penashue from Sheshatshu said that "the best way to destroy a culture is to train its children in another culture."(Samson et al. 23)

The Innu today number approximately 18,000 (Samson et al. 7) and are, after the sedentarisation of the 1960s, located in eleven communities: Utshimassits, Matimekush, Sheshatshu, Mashteuiatsh, Essipit, Pessamit, Uashat mak Maniutenam, Ekuantshit, Nutashkuan, Unamam Shipit, and Pakua Shipit. Nine of these communities fall under the Quebec administration and two of these are in Labrador. However, the Innu have never signed a treaty nor ceded their land of Nitassinan neither to the Crown nor to the Canadian Government. Presently, at the end of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st Century, the Innu Nation suffers from the highest suicide rate in the world (Samson et al. 7). An Innu is "almost 13 times more likely to kill themselves than the general population

of Canada."(Samson et al. 7) In "How did we get here?" Samson, Wilson, and Mazower write that the way sedentarisation occurred is obscured by politics and has given way to the notion that it "just happened" and desperation all around for the state of the Innu. The Church, schools, the health-services, the Law, political authority of the state and imposition of a certain form of political organisation on the Innu, mining developments, hydroelectric projects, and military training have all contributed and still contribute to the present day conditions of the Innu communities of of Nitassinan, Quebec and Labrador. These conditions, as presented in Samson (2003), Samson, Wilson, Mazover (1999), and Wadden (1996), are horrific and show that the State of Canada, even after the injustices of the Second World War and its decry of human rights violations in China and elsewhere, has been and continues to be in direct violation of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2008).

Contemporary Innu live in bleak conditions of varying degrees of high rates of physical and sexual abuse, addictions, alcoholism, unemployment, and high infant mortality rates. During the 1980s and 1990s, and ongoing today, a wave of activism began in Innu communities led by Innu women, whose past and present the *akunishkue* represents as a symbol of Innu Culture. These women took decisive action in 1987 to protest illegal hunting laws where their ancestors had hunted for centuries before the arrival of Euro-Canadians. In 1988, Innu women and youth once again protested State decisions by peacefully marching on the runways of NATO military test flight air base in Goose Bay. Elizabeth Penashue was amongst them. Then in 1993, a group of Mushua women supported by Chief Katie Rich evicted a judge and his court from Utshimassits, Davis Inlet. There are many defeats but some successes for the Innu. In 1998, more than 100 Innu successfully blocked Premier Tobin of Newfoundland and Premier Lucien Bouchard of Quebec from announcing the beginning of a hydroelectric project that would sufficiently destroy Innu land (Samson et al. 34). These movements have given women, as well as men, hope and courage and have begun a widespread movement towards healing in the community including addiction-treatment services within the communities and in *nutshimit*.

During the panel discussion, Penshue painstakingly told the audience in attendance that although she has dedicated most of her life to fighting for her people, she doesn't feel like she has enough time because of the new wave of projects that threaten her way of life and that of her people. Recently, "the Uashaunnuat, a group of about 4,000 Innu living on two reserves near Sept-Îles, Que., are opposed to Hydro-Québec's $8-billion,

1,550-megawatt Romaine River hydro project. The utility is chomping at the bit to break ground after getting conditional approval [the week of March 5th, 2009] from a joint federal-provincial environmental panel. […]The conflict between Quebec and the Uashaunnuat reflects one of the dozens of lost opportunities unfolding across Canada as governments continue to impose their way of resource development on the natives whose lives are most affected by it. Instead of treating aboriginals as potential partners - with a voice, and even an equity stake in resource projects - governments still see them as problems to be managed." (Yakabuski)

GRASSY NARROWS

Next, Judy Da Silva from Grassy Narrows spoke of her community's resistance to the logging industries and mining industries that threaten the health and way of life of the Anishnaabe people:

> One of the things I've learnt is that we need to go past and across cultures and help one another…Where I am in North Grassy Narrows it is all forests, no squares yet, we have a water dam and they are proposing another dam. We are very invisible and part of that being visible and people stepping on us all has to do with money. Money makes everything go round. But in our land it destroys everything […] I've learned when we are fighting Abitibi and Weyerhaeuser, that no matter how we say that our children are dying of pollution, no matter if I cry, even if I say that our youth is killing themselves has a high suicide rate, that many women are disappeared… the sad story doesn't work. What works is your support. That's why we are here today…Forming that alliance together to fight this big monster that we [natives and non-natives] are all a part of. It is about making this monster work for us.

During the panel, Judy Da Silva who represented the people of Grassy Narrows, told a different yet similar story of discrimination and systemic violence which was framed in a discourse of apartheid-like conditions. Grassy Narrows is also known as the Asubpeeschoseewagong First Nation (Asabiinyashkosiwagong Nitam-Anishinaabeg in Ojibway). The people of Grassy Narrows are the signatories of Treaty 3 (October 3rd, 1873) and live in an area located 80 km north of Kenora, Ontario. In A

Poison Stronger Than Love: The Destruction of an Ojibway Community
Anastasia M. Shkilnyk writes about the community of Grassy Narrows
which she describes as a "community in ruins". Shkilnyk looks at the
alarming number of violent deaths and suicide rates in the community of
Grassy Narrows within a context of alcoholism, illness, public disorder and
criminal offenses, failure to thrive, child neglect, abuse, and abandonment
and family break down. When Shkilnyk asked a woman in the community
why parents whose children died of child neglect were forgiven by the
community, the woman answered: "I can't explain it to you, because I can't
explain it to myself. The only thing I know about alcohol is that alcohol
is a stronger power than the love of children. It's a poison, and we are a
broken people. We suffer enough inside, and therefore we understand each
other" (48). The words spoken by Da Silva during the panel are confirmed
in the words written by Shkilnyk who sees a strong connection between the
"community in ruins" and the relations with the Outside society, mostly
governmental, which forcibly relocated the community in 1963:

> this was a time of extraordinarily rapid change manifested
> by a dramatic alteration in settlement patterns, the breakup
> of the extended family and the shift to nuclear households,
> the beginning of dependency on social assistance, a change
> in the nature and functioning of band governments, a
> sharp decline in the traditional mode of production, and
> the transformation of the economy to one based on the
> exploitation of government programs (123)

Shkilnyk proposes that the connection of the reserve to neighbouring
Kenora bore directly on Grassy Narrows and its relationship with outside
society. Although during the first half of the century the Indian presence
was welcomed in Kenora, following World War II it seems that "the
white population of the town, uniformed about the internal changes in
the economy and culture of many reserve communities, reacted only to
the external manifestation of the "Indian presence" in town, a presence
that rapidly began to be associated with the problem of 'drunken Indians
lying in the streets'" (125) Eventually, "everywhere in town, Indians were
confronted with white prejudice and open discrimination. Kenora became
a hostile place, a racist community." (125) As the federal government's
efforts to improve medical, educational, social, and employment services
for the Natives, trying to bring the conditions closer to that of the Non-
native services, racial tensions paradoxically intensified as Kenora residents

say taxpayer dollars "going down the drain." Before the relocation, "there was a remarkable degree of integration between the spheres of activity that we label social, political, religious, and economic" in the way of life of the Grassy Narrows people (133). For Shkilnyk, the relocation of the community and its link with Kenora are directly related to the subsequent economics of dependency and the breakdown of the community. Following the relocation, training programs instituted by the Department of Manpower and Immigration accelerated the breakdown of traditional patterns of livelihood. The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development soon became the source of the biggest change for the community of Grassy Narrows in the form of a slide into dependency. According to Shkilnyk, "for government officials, on the other hand, welfare was easy to administer, required no new initiatives in program design involved no changes in policy, and was unlimited in terms of a ceiling on expenditures. In spite of the band council's repeated requests to the federal government to provide employment programs as alternative to welfare, social assistance contributed to be a predominant source of disposable income until 1976." (146) Along with the dangers of dependency, other transformations occurred in the Ojibwa way of life with the economic order: increased inequalities and the transformed role of women. The creation of a bureaucracy at the band level added to the "tensions of transition, because the people at the band office are perceived by many in the community to be essentially non-productive." (151) Although the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development were to 'upgrade' the community as a whole their programs resulted in "unprecedented level of inequality in earning opportunity." (151) According to Shkilnyk, "it is the women who have borne the brunt of the shock of being ripped out of a meaningful cultural setting. They are the silent victims of modernisation."(158) Before relocation, the women were equal partners for subsistence and survival and after, the "two areas of her work were swept out from under her immediately: trapping ceased to be a way of life for the family when the children were brought to the reserve school; and gardening was impossible given the soil conditions and space limitations for the new reserve. As if that were not enough, wage employment was not an option open to women."(159) Finally, Shykilnyk addresses the question of how what the people of Grassy Narrows consider as "the beginning of the end of their Indian way of life" came to happen (165). Who made the decisions that had such devastating consequences for this community? In the 1960s, the government wanted to deal with the "Indian problem" and saw it as a problem of poverty. There were many assumptions underlying the entire approach:

first, Indians are on a path from a traditional, backward society to a modern and dynamic one; second, movement along this path is inevitable, irreversible, and of course beneficial to Indians; third, the appropriate government strategy is to assist the transition to modernization primarily by providing physical improvements and social services to Indians on the basis of equality with other Canadians; and fourth, the main barriers along the path to modernisation are the attitudes and culture of the Indian people; therefore, it is incumbent upon government officials to change these attitudes if the war on poverty is to be won. (166)

In a strong statement, Shykilnyk said of the way in which the government dealt with the community that "the arrogance of officials with the legislative mandate to control and administer the lives of Indians and their lack of understanding and respect for Indian culture were reflected not only in the decision to relocate but also in the layout of the new community" (170)

In the last section of her publication, *River of Poison*, Shykilnyk looks at 'Mercury in the Environment' and 'The Last Nail in the Coffin'. Echoing Da Silva's words about unheard pleas of community members becoming sick, Shykilnyk discusses the environmental and health disaster that ravaged the community: mercury poisoning. Only seven years after the relocation, the poisoning of the English-Wabigoon River by methyl mercury forced an already in crisis community to deal with another calamity, brought out by governmental and corporation decisions and actions. Dryden Chemicals Limited, a pulp and paper mill located eighty miles upstream from the community dumped over 20,000 pounds of mercury into the river system as effluent from its chlor-alkali plant (Shkilnyk179). Along with the tangible effects of the disruption in guiding, the loss of commercial fishing, and warnings against taking fish for food, "in the context of their traditional religious beliefs, the contamination of the river could only be interpreted as punishment by the Great Spirit for some serious violation of the laws governing man's relationship to nature." (Shkilnyk 179) Mercury poisoning, according to Shkilnyk and members of the community she spoke with, was the "last nail in the coffin." (181) The community received a settlement and Dyden Chemicals, and its sister company, were bought out by Reed Paper Company but none of the mercury was removed from the ecosystem.

Since the publication of <u>A Poison Stronger than Love</u>, the community of Grassy Narrows has actively protested the logging industry, including Weyehauser and Abitibi, and has teamed up with Rainforest Action Network in their fight to protect the boreal forest against industrial logging, pollution and clear cutting. At the panel, Da Silva spoke about her experiences blockading and the continuing fight to do so as well as her personal struggles with the systemic violence against Natives, women in particular. She related her frustration at the creation of dependency for her people and the devastating blow of poisoned resources. Da Silva's words speak loudly to the issue at hand. Is using the term 'apartheid' appropriate in the context of forming alliances and making this monster work for us"?

IS THERE OR HAS THERE EVER BEEN APARTHEID IN CANADA?

Although the panelists, Penashue and Da Silva, compare the situation of their peoples to the Apartheid in South Africa, Joan Fairweather disagrees with the use of such a comparison. Joan Fairweather's text "Is This Apartheid? Aboriginal Reserves and Self-Government in Canada 1960-82" is an important focal point for the issue of the appropriateness of using the term. Fairweather's thesis is that "the experience of Indigenous peoples in Canada differed in fundamental ways from that of Africans living under apartheid. Moreover, the goals and aspirations of Canada's First Nations and black South Africans testify to their contrasting histories as dispossessed and oppressed peoples"(276). Fairweather adds that "to equate their experience of oppression to apartheid is to misunderstand the uniqueness of a system that received universal condemnation for its flagrant abuse of human rights" and that "the systematic silencing of all forms of resistance, including detention without trial, torture and death squad, has no parallel in Canadian history" (276).

Fairweather quickly defines 'apartheid' as meaning 'separate-ness' and representing an ideology and the political system which was formally adopted by the National Party government in 1948. The laws of apartheid institutionalised racial segregation subjugating what composed the majority of the population, the African majority. In her paper, Fairweather looks quickly at the colonial origins the policy for Natives and for the African majority in South Africa. She looks at a period of time spanning from 1948 to the early 1980s, "when constitutional changes in each country brought about significant changes in Aboriginal-state relations" (277). She sees the

Constitution Act of 1982 and the South African Constitution of 1983 as directly contrasted for the recognition of rights.

In the section entitled *Labour Rights*, Fairweather highlights the exploitation in South Africa as being both one of land and of labour. In South Africa the "empty land" myth muddied land rights and the Boers and the British "penetrated into the interior, a series of wars, annexations and treaties eroded the land bases and powers of resistance of the Indigenous African nations they encountered" (277). Fairweather mentions the *Pass System* in Canada and compares it to the *Natives' Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents Act* (No. 6 of 1952) and uses a quote to say that the Canadian system is a "weak reflection"(281). Fairweather cites the Royal Proclamation of 1763 as a way to state that the crown did recognise the land rights of the Indigenous peoples which were reaffirmed in 1876 in the British North America Act. Here Fairweather addresses some of the oppression felt by Natives in Canada and addresses Bernard Pelot's point about the use of both special status policy and assimilation policy and its "buckskin" curtain effect (283). Fairweather also quotes Marie Smallface Marule's piece which highlighted the manipulation of "special status" of Natives for the benefit of corporations and the state. Fairweather ends by highlighting that the difference that apartheid's main goal was the use the Africans as a cheap labour force and that this was not the case for Native peoples of Canada where they were "free to work and live where they chose" (285). In the section called *Democratic Rights*, Fairweather states that "while the advancement of Canada's First Nations towards self-determination laboured under the heavy hand of paternalism, the history of Aboriginal relations in South Africa was one of political regression and the diminishment of civil rights for South Africa's black majority" (285). Here Fairweather addresses the difference in the situation of oppressing a minority and oppressing a majority of peoples. Fairweather summarises the different policies affecting the rights of both Aboriginal groups as 'citizens' such as the *Indian Act* of 1867 and its subsequent revisions in 1951 for Canadian Natives and the *Separate Representation of Voters Act* of 1951 and the new Constitution Act of 1983 for South African Africans. She continues on to address the White Paper of 1969 and ends the section with the following: "In direct contrast to South African's Bantustan policy, which denied South Africans citizenship in the land of their birth, the basic underpinnings of democracy and constitutional rights offered the hope of full political and legal recognition to Canada's First Nations. This was not apartheid"(289). In the sections *History and Objectives of Resistance* and *Conclusion*, Fairweather discusses the *Citizens Plus* a publication drafted in

response to the White Paper of 1969 in Canada. This document stressed the treaty obligations of Canada's government to its First Nations. Basically, Fairweather highlights all the advancements that have been made by the First Nations of Canada to have their voices heard. Fairweather compares the situation of South Africa and Canada by stating that "Instead of the Anglo-French duality of Canadian nationhood, South Africa's Indigenous majority confronted … the 'two nations' thesis', in which an oppressing nation and an oppressed nation lived side by side in the same territory"(291).

There are many contentions with Fairweather's article including the scope of time used by Fairweather for her comparison of South African apartheid and the Canadian reservation system and oppression of Aboriginal peoples; her interpretation that the comparison is an equation of both situations; the historical link between the South African apartheid and Canada; and the neglectful omission by Fairweather of the United Nation Council's definition of the crime of apartheid in her analysis.

Firstly, the scope of time that Fairweather uses to contrast the two situations is problematic in light of the long-standing colonial relations between the Natives of Canada and the fact that the Indian Act was implemented in 1867 and not in 1948, when Apartheid was legislated in Africa. Furthermore, the constitutional recognition of the rights of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada is a legislative move that until it is proven otherwise is but fleeting words, like much of Canada's promises to the Natives. Furthermore, the fundamental human rights of Aboriginals in Canada were not recognized until the twenty-first century, four centuries after contact and years after the Canadian opposition to South African apartheid. Indeed, The United Nations had not yet drafted the *Declaration for Fundamental Human Rights*, and in effect, these "did not exist" yet as a paradigm of thought and/or law. That the apartheid in South Africa began after World War Two made it a strong target for tactics of the "politics of shame" and therefore the scrutiny of the system. Racial segregation in Canada has become recognised by the same political forums that condemned the Apartheid in South Africa such as Amnesty International and the United Nations.

Secondly, when saying that "to equate their experience of oppression to apartheid is to misunderstand the uniqueness of a system that received universal condemnation for its flagrant abuse of human rights" Fairweather comes dangerously close to mistaking comparison for equation (276). Invariably all forms of oppression are "unique" and even under the same system individuals suffer uniquely. However, comparing oppressive systems is not a misunderstanding of their particularities but a highlighting of

what it has in common with other human experiences. In the case of the Innu, in 1999, Collin Samson, James Wilson, and Jonathan Mazower took part in publishing a document for Survival for Tribal Peoples, which is a worldwide organisation dedicated to the right of choice for tribal peoples concerning development and to the protection of the rights of tribal peoples to their culture and basic human rights, entitled <u>Canada's Tibet: The Killing of the Innu</u>. Arguably, the situation of Tibet and Canada is not one and the same. However, they are comparable, and this is what is more important to foreground. In this case, the comparison remains a referent, not separated from the specific contexts of the oppression in Tibet just as is the case when the situation of the Innu is compared to that of apartheid in Africa. Apartheid in Canada remains contextualised as being connected to the situation in South Africa but not being the same; being a Canadian Apartheid. As such, examples of the use of the term genocide demonstrate the specificity of context attached to various "genocides" while the term is used in all those cases: Darfur, Rwanda, and Former Yugoslavia or "Bosnia".

Furthermore, Fairweather is a non-indigenous scholar and this does affect and situate her argument in a discourse of "who can speak for whom", addressed by anthropologists such as Roger M. Keesing. The interpretation of meaning by so-called 'experts' is a dangerous mine field of the dangers of 'containing' the voices of the 'Other', the oppressed. Bonita Lawrence, a Native scholar, has written on the impact of colonialism on Native identity in her ""Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity in Canada and the United States". In her text Lawrence discusses how "for Indigenous people, to be defined as a race is synonymous with having our Nations dismembered. And yet, the reality is that Native people in Canada and the United States for over a century now have been classified by race and subjected to colonization processes that reduced diverse nations to common experiences of subjugation."(5) In the body of her text, Lawrence uses the term apartheid: "For over a century the apartheid nature of Canadian life and the rigid controls over Native life exerted through the Indian Act allowed for a fairly cohesive sense of Native identity as a highly distinct, and for the most part reserve-based phenomenon (albeit at the expense of the Native identities of Métis and other nonstatus, or urban-based Native people)." (21, rest of passage in appendix III) Lawrence directly stipulates that the "apartheid nature of Canadian life" affected identity and thus, a sense of Indigenous, Aboriginal, and/or Native Nationalism.

Along these lines, Howard Adams in a section entitled "Colonialism" in his *Prison of Grass from a Native Point of View*, wrote the following: "Canadian authorities and historians have nevertheless managed

to perpetuate the illusion that Canada has never been a white-supremacist society, an illusion Canadian people continue to believe. As a result, they have developed attitudes that harmonize well with aparthediesm." (43) Although Adams words are unforgiving, they do highlight a strong point in favour of using the term of apartheid in the context of indigenous solidarity. According to Adams, "Canadians have adjusted to their white supremacy; because they are unaware of their racism, they are self-righteous, arrogant and free from any social conscience with regard to racism. In the past, unless a white was able to break free of his racism and search for the truth, the truth remained hidden." (43) The historical and contemporary oppression of the Native Peoples' of North America can be spotlighted by using highly politicised terms.

In the following excerpt, Adams' text bridges two arguments against Fairweather including that of the question of "whom can speak for whom" and the interpretation of the nature of Native nationalism by Fairweather

> The native people in a colony are not allowed a valid interpretation of their history, because the conquered do not write their own history. They must endure a history that shams them, destroys their confidence, and causes them to reject their heritage. Those in power command the present and shape the future by controlling the past particularly for the natives. A fact of imperialism is that it systematically denies native people a dignified history. Whites claim that Métis and Indians have no history or national identity, or, if they do then it is a disgraceful and pathetic one. When natives renounce their nationalism and deny their Indianness, it is a sure sign that colonizing schemes of inferiorisation have been successful. (43)

There is an inherent problem with Fairweather's statement about the differences in how nationalism was created contrastingly between Canada and South Africa and with the rhetoric she uses to demonstrate this. Fairweather refers to the South African Black Majority nationalism growing out of a call for equality while the Natives of Canada demand 'special rights': "African nationalism is explained as a response to white oppression and racial discrimination, not as a political bid to establish an independent nation or state in the same way as African nationalism did elsewhere in Africa- or as Canada's Native peoples have done" (Fairweather 291). Continue along this line, Fairweather states that "the struggle for

the recognition of Aboriginal rights by Canada's Indigenous peoples stands in direct contrast to the liberation struggle in South Africa." (293) Her argument comes dangerously close to valuating 'equality' and the right to self-determination in a hierarchy of 'rights'. This is a valuation that Fairweather cannot and should not make lightly. Furthermore, in her own text, Fairweather writes that South African activists and Native activists have come together to support one another's causes demonstrating that the parties involved disagree with Fairweather's assessment of difference or at least with her emphasis on differences rather than similarities. On March 3, 1987 South Africa's ambassador to Canada went to the Peguis Ojibway Reserve 150 km north of Winnipeg:

> The main objective of the visit was to attract media attention to the dismal social and economic conditions on Canada's reserves. It was also intended to embarrass the Canadian government, in particular former Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who was currently promoting international sanctions against South Africa while denying any parallel between conditions of the black population in South Africa and Canada's Indigenous peoples. (275)

In this part of her assessment, Fairweather neglects to address the fact that the systemic and institutionalised oppression of South Africans and Natives were 'tailored' to their specific situations. In one situation, the oppressed people was a majority while in the other case, the oppressed peoples were a minority (since after the contact period epidemics wiped out an overwhelming portion of the populations). Thus, politics of assimilation and politics of dispossession had to be tailored differently for a maximum efficiency.

Most importantly, Fairweather neglects reference to the terms of the United Nations Council on Apartheid when addressing the treatment of Natives in Canada. Included in Appendix I and Appendix II are the terms for the crimes of genocide and apartheid, both of which Canada is guilty of in terms of the treatment of the First Peoples' of Canada. Fairweather does not address genocide in her assessment as being an alternate term for the treatment of Aboriginal peoples. However, the term of cultural genocide and genocide is also often used in the context of indigenous solidarity and indigenous activism. Why then, are the terms oppression and genocide acceptable while the term apartheid is not? According to the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the

Crime of Apartheid in 1976, 'the crime of apartheid' includes "similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them." According to this definition it is appropriate to describe the Canadian treatment of Native peoples as apartheid-like. In fact, any close look at the criteria ends in the conclusion that Canada meets criteria *a, b, c, d* of the definition and that perhaps *e* is the one criterion that is less appropriate. Interestingly enough, this is the criteria on which Fairweather bases her understanding of apartheid in South Africa: using a racial group as a source of cheap labour.

In conclusion, this paper has attempted to look at the use of the term apartheid in the context of indigenous solidarity by looking at a specific instance of its use in the panel by Penashue and Da Silva and then at Fairweather's article. The cases of the Innu of Quebec/Labrador and the Ojibway of Grassy Narrows demonstrates the way in which the Government of Canada has made decisions that have had drastic impacts. Fairweather's argument is fraught with problems in terms of "who can speak for whom" and is invalidated by her neglectful omission of the international human rights definition of apartheid. This definition and its criterion are met by the historical and contemporary institutionalised discrimination of the First Peoples' of the North American continents. Ferdinand De Saussure, a linguist and the forefather of semiotics, said of language that it is particular precisely for its ability to be innovative and for meanings to shift to become variable. Words such as oppression and genocide also have their roots in particular historical, local, and contextual occurrences but through speech acts (parole) and over time, the way these words are used has changed and are still changing and so it will also be the fate of the term of 'apartheid'.

APPENDIX I

Article II.

In the present Convention, **genocide** means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

(a) Killing members of the group;

(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."

Adopted by Resolution 260 (III) A of the United Nations General Assembly on 9 December 1948. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide

APPENDIX II

Article II.

For the purpose of the present Convention, the term "the crime of apartheid", which shall include similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination as practised in southern Africa, shall apply to the following inhuman acts committed for the purpose of establishing and maintaining domination by one racial group of persons over any other racial group of persons and systematically oppressing them:

Denial to a member or members of a racial group or groups of the right to life and liberty of person:

By murder of members of a racial group or groups;

By the infliction upon the members of a racial group or groups of serious bodily or mental harm, by the infringement of their freedom or dignity, or by subjecting them to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment;

By arbitrary arrest and illegal imprisonment of the members of a racial group or groups;

Deliberate imposition on a racial group or groups of living conditions calculated to cause its or their physical destruction in whole or in part;

Any legislative measures and other measures calculated to prevent a racial group or groups from participation in the political, social, economic and cultural life of the country and the deliberate creation of conditions preventing the full development of such a group or groups, in particular by denying to members of a racial group or groups basic human rights and freedoms, including the right to work, the right to form recognized trade

unions, the right to education, the right to leave and to return to their country, the right to a nationality, the right to freedom of movement and residence, the right to freedom of opinion and expression, and the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association;

Any measures, including legislative measures, designed to divide the population along racial lines by the creation of separate reserves and ghettos for the members of a racial group or groups, the prohibition of mixed marriages among members of various racial groups, the expropriation of landed property belonging to a racial group or groups or to members thereof;

Exploitation of the labour of the members of a racial group or groups, in particular by submitting them to forced labour; Persecution of organizations and persons, by depriving them of fundamental rights and freedoms, because they oppose apartheid."

- Adopted and opened for signature, ratification by General Assembly resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30 November 1973, entry into force 18 July 1976, in accordance with article XV. International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid

APPENDIX III

Continued except from Bonita Lawrence:
"…The sheer scale of the conflict that developed in many Native communities over the passing of Bill C-31, which redefined Native identity to include the urban mixed-blood children of Native women who had lost their status, demonstrates the extent to which Native people in general tend to fear any "opening up" of the boundaries of Nativeness. A history of colonial control and the reality of ongoing genocide is at the root of this fear on the part of many Native people that to lose collective control over even a colonially shaped Native identity is to lose the last vestiges of Native distinctiveness, the last defence against the colonizing culture that some Native activists refer to as "the Predator."'7 In this resistance to externally imposed change in definitions of Indianness, the role of the Indian Act in actually shaping Native identity over the past century has for the most part been disregarded. (21)

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Conflict and Co-operation in the Grand River Region

Christine Porterfield

Grey Area: Original Haldimand Tract (Approx. 950 000 acres)
Red Area: Current Six Nations reservation (Approx. 46 500 acres)

Introduction

The Grand River region, encompassing several midsized cities, small towns, and the Six Nations Reservation in Southwestern Ontario is both culturally and environmentally rich. It is also, however, a land of great conflict. From the arrival of Europeans in the 1600s to the present day, First Peoples and Euro-Canadians have clashed over the rights to the fertile lands that rim the nearly three-hundred kilometer long Grand River. In this essay, the history of settlement along the Grand River will be briefly addressed, before one of the major conflicts surrounding land rights in the Grand River region, the Caledonia struggle, is discussed in detail. The essay will close with an examination of successful compromises between Six Nation and the non-Native community. This discussion will be particularly informed by efforts taken by both Six Nations and the Grand River Conservation Authority to make environmentally and culturally sensitive development choices. In coordination with the ENGL 440 course material, Brian Maracle's text Back on the Rez will be engaged at several points throughout the essay.

Settlement

The history of Six Nations settlement along the Grand River essentially begins just after the American Revolution. The Haudenosaunee people (from whom Six Nations Confederacy is comprised) were originally scattered from Montreal down throughout New York State, primarily around the Finger Lakes region.[1] Under the leadership of Joseph Brant, a generally well-respected Mohawk man, members of the Six Nations Confederacy were persuaded to give up what was largely a neutral position and begin participating in the conflict as British and Loyalist allies (with the exception of the Oneida nation, who were allied with the Americans). [2] A short time after the end of the Revolution, King George III "awarded" the Six Nations confederacy approximately 950 000 acres of land in Southwestern Ontario.[3] The land's security was formalized on October 25th, 1784 with the signing of the Haldimand Proclamation.[4] Extending six miles out of the banks of the Grand River, from the river's source down the watershed to Lake Erie, this land is referred to as the Haldimand Tract. King George III's offer was supposed to, in effect, replace the Haudenosaunee land lost to the Americans during the Revolutionary War. Although this was a positive gesture from the perspective of many individuals, it largely failed to assuage hard feelings towards the British: many Six Nations people were angered by what they saw as the easy hand-over of Iroquois land following

the revolution.[5]

In the winter of 1784 and spring of 1785, the Six Nations community, let by Brant, quickly began to settle along the banks of the Grand[6] in what Maracle terms "The Great Relocation".[7] The community flourished, with little Euro-Canadian presence (the scattering of whites in the community were men who had married Native women, or disbanded soldiers).[8] Over the next several decades, however, Six Nations solidarity began to wane. Brant fell under heavy criticism from both the Six Nations people and the Canadian government for his willingness to sell large lots of land to non-Native buyers in "bitterly contested land deals" that forced "scattered villages […] to relocate to the present-day reserve".[9] Brant, a Loyalist, was convinced that "Aboriginal people would have to learn white agriculture to survive and thinking that the tract was too small for hunting", he sought "to lease or sell land to whites, which would provide an income as well".[10] Brant's decision to sell land caused disrupted relations with the government over issues of Native land tenure, while simultaneously ostracizing Brant from his followers over issues of wealth control and resource distribution within the community. After this point, relations between the Six Nations communities of the Grand River and the Euro-Canadian government largely soured. The appreciation that the British had held for Six Nations contributions during the Revolution was short term: despite the continued efforts of the Six Nations in the War of 1812, the British government no longer felt compelled to honour the Haldimand agreement, and thus ceased actively securing the land from non-Native encroachment.[11] Mennonites from Pennsylvania seeking religious freedom began to settle within the Haldimand Tract near what is now the city of Waterloo, bringing with them agriculture.[12] In the early 1800s, Scottish settlers arrived as well, founding the towns of Elora, Cambridge, and Fergus.[13] Quickly, the combination of Brant's sold or leased lots and the lands settled illegally by European immigrants or American refuge seekers whittled away the nearly million acres secured as a Six Nations reservation in the Haldimand Agreement to the present Six Nations property of 45 482 951 acres.[14]

Present day conflict

Relations between Six Nations of the Grand River and Euro-Canadians have not improved considerably since the days of early settlement. In fact, the rapid development of the Grand River region, encouraged by its close proximity to Toronto, has fueled disputes with a new urgency. Since 1980,

Six Nations Council has filed 29 land claims for various sizes of allotments along the Haldimand Tract, and has made numerous complaints regarding the Government's mismanagement of Six Nations "trust properties".[15] The proposal that the government should hold the unsettled remainder of the Haldimand Tract in trust was formalized in 1841, with the agreement of the majority of Six Nations chiefs at the time.[16] In 2007, however, it was revealed that the funds in the trust totaled $2,330,637.26.[17] Six Nations Council reflected on the amount of land they had lost (approximately 95% of the original allotment) and concluded that the amount of income the trust had generated was grossly under representative.[18] Six Nations Council has argued that the government has made the following violations: breached statutory responsibilities as outlined in the Indian Act, breached "an obligation arising out of Government Administration of Indian Funds or other assets", illegally sold or leased Indian land under "historic treaties", and committed clearly-demonstrated fraud.[19] The active land claims include the majority of land leases afforded to settlers by Brant: in the mid 1800s, Six Nations requested to see the original leases from these settlers. Out of 172 claims, only 9 could be produced.[20]

Perhaps the most dramatic and temporally relevant example of Six Nations land claims is found in a conflict that erupted in Caledonia, Ontario several years ago. In 1992, Henco Industries purchased a company owning approximately 100 acres of land within the Haldimand Tract.[21] Ten years, later, Henco registered this land for development as a subdivision bearing the name Douglas Creek Estates, despite an active lawsuit between Six Nations and the Federal Government over the land.[22]

The ensuing Native, non-Native conflict that followed Henco's proposal draws close parallels to the taxation squabbles outlined by Maracle in his chapter "Taxphobia". In 1996, Maracle suggested the following: "insisting on a fifty-cent tax exemption is not about saving money or even protecting our rights. What it's about- and I don't think I'm exaggerating or being overdramatic when I say this- is fighting to preserve the little land we have left".[23] Maracle points to this contemporary conflict as sourced from "the racism that has been passed down in this area from father to son and mother to daughter for two hundred years".[24] His subsequent discussion of interracial violence perpetrated by whites against Indians who "stood in the way of development"[25] is a fitting foreshadow to the conflict that came less than 10 years after the publication of Maracle's text.

On February 28th, 2006, a group of Six Nations members took occupation of the Douglas Creek Estates housing project, erecting teepees and makeshift housing.[26] Henco Industries obtained an injunction to have

the protestors removed by the site. They were given until March 22nd to do so, but when the date came, the Six Nations members did not leave.[27] After this point, it did not take long for tensions to escalate between the involved parties. On April 4th, the first rally of approximately five hundred non-Native protestors (some of whom had purchased properties in Douglas Creek Estates) occurred, with no reported violence.[28] Fifteen days later, Ontario Provincial Police were accused of using excessive force towards native protestors occupying the housing development.[29] Although the OPP denied these accusations, tensions were exacerbated by the event: non-Six Nations Native peoples began to organize solidarity efforts, and the OPP admitted that the conflict was beginning to pose a risk to public safety.[30] It did not take long for this prediction to come into fruition: on April 24th, three-thousand Caledonian protesters "voiced their mounting frustration over the blockade" at a community meeting before approximately five-hundred of them moved towards the Native blockade. Although they were stopped before reaching the blockade, the angered locals destroyed a police car.[31] The next day, Caledonia Mayor Marie Trainer fueled the fire by suggesting that non-Native Caledonia residents "don't have money coming in automatically every month" and "got to work to survive and the natives have got to realize that".[32] Although Trainer claimed that this statement was merely illustrative of the economic hardship the protest was bringing upon the community, some Native peoples interpreted her words as exemplifying the "redneck attitude [that is] causing this whole thing".[33] In the months that followed, this combination of bureaucratic misspeaks and mob-mentality became the status quo. The community became progressively more polarized. Non-Native protestors constructed barricades between the Six Nations community and town of Caledonia, and distributed hate literature, while Native protestors constructed highway blockades one after another.[34] Both sides were reported to have committed acts of violence onto the other. The overt conflict lasted until late-October 2006, although the claim itself remains unresolved. In addition to the land claim, bureaucratic agencies now have the burden of answering tough questions from non-Native Caledonians regarding race-based policing and unequal application of the law[35], and addressing accusations of police brutality from the Six Nations protestors.[36]

Future solutions

Using the Caledonia conflict as an example, we can see how the existence of the Six Nations reservation near Brantford, Ontario has been shaped by

a history (and present) of violent conflict. It is not unique by any means for a Native group to take issue with the Government over mismanaged funds and lands. The Six Nations land claims, however, are fairly exceptional for two main reasons. First, many of the native and non-Native settlers have existed as farmers on banks of the Grand River for over two hundred years. Although the legal merit of this is unclear, in terms of community ties and heritage, non-Natives have a great deal of personal and cultural value invested in the land; a sense of identity that they may not part with without a substantial fight. Second, as previously mentioned, the Haldimand Tract is located in a densely populated region of Ontario with high commercial value. Its close proximity to Toronto makes the Tract prime land for development. Thus, given these realities, it is imperative that non-Native communities and Six Nations work towards mutually satisfactory arrangements.

The future for Six Nations and non-Native relations along the Grand River does not look entirely bleak. When looking over the past 20 years of negotiations between Six Nations and non-Native organizations, some excellent examples of inter-community cooperation emerge. In particular, the Grand River Conservation Authority (G.R.C.A) and Six Nations have worked together to find creative solutions to land use dilemmas. The Grand River Conservation Authority was founded in 1932 as a means of curtailing floods along the watershed, which were the result of rigorous farming and industrial development.[37] The G.R.C.A is a corporate, non-governmental organization[38] that values "clear and respectful communication within [the] organization, with [the organization's] partners, and [with] members of the public".[39] In terms of relations with Six Nations, the G.R.C.A has successfully created a productive dialogue. For example, as described by the Six Nations Lands and Resources department, the G.R.C.A and Six Nations reached interim land use agreements in 1993 and 1994.[40] The terms of each of these agreements demonstrate a great deal of creativity. In 1993, the G.R.C.A requested permission to build emergency water-control devices on Six Nations land.[41] The agreement between the G.R.C.A and Six Nations involved no cash; rather, it was a trade of resources. In exchange for permission to construct weirs, the G.R.C.A built a fishway to enhance stocking on Six Nations riverfront, constructed a lamprey-barrier, provided "100 000 specialized Carolinian seedlings" to the Six Nations Forestry department, afforded Six Nations students "free access to G.R.C.A. Education Centres", and agreed to provide training to employees of the Six Nations Ecology Centre.[42] In 1994, similarly creative terms were reached. The G.R.C.A needed to make urgent repairs on a watershed

dam at Dunnville.[43] Six Nations agreed, with the following conditions: permission to use and train on G.R.C.A farm equipment; creation of a shared-responsibility water quality monitoring station; free access to G.R.C.A nature centres, camps, and parks; and a promise of meetings between Six Nations and Grand River Conservation Authority at least every six months to discuss issues of concern regarding the Grand River.

Although these negotiations represent a miniscule element of the resource conflicts that exist within the Six Nations community every year, the resulting agreements are meaningful. They focus on knowledge sharing, a respect for the proper management of environmental resources, and the mutual agreement that the Grand River watershed needs maintenance and care to exist in relative environmental stability. Significantly, as well, these agreements both came into existence without any monetary transactions. By looking to compromises made by the Grand River Conservation Authority, we can see that Native and non-Native parties can reach mutually satisfactory resource-related agreements.

Conclusion

The Grand River territory has, since its formation, caused conflict both within the Six Nations community and between Native peoples and non-Natives. Through Maracle's text, a First People's perspective on the historical sources of these conflicts is addressed. By examining the motivations behind and actions within the Caledonia conflict, an understanding of how historical hardships and animosity is made manifest and perpetuated through contemporary regional conflict can be better developed. Finally, through looking towards past interactions between the Grand River Conservation Authority and Six Nations, a framework for successful and peaceful resource sharing can potentially be established.

Endnotes

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Band-Aid Solutions to Self-Destruction?
Catherine Duclos

Development in Canada and the Case of Grassy Narrows

The discourse of development tends to focus largely and almost solely on the development of the Third World. Amongst the global community, Canada is known as a developed country, a proponent of human rights and equality, and a supplier of global development aid. Yet within Canada, there are communities that have a living standard far below that of the rest of the nation. These communities are in need of some level of development, for they lack the social opportunities that make a "direct contribution to the expansion of human capabilities and the quality of life," which, according to economist Amartya Sen, is what development should enable (Sen 1999: 144). The Grassy Narrows reserve is a prime illustration of Canada's far from perfect system of governance, especially in regard to its treatment of the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. After the trauma of Residential Schools and the forced relocation of the reserve in the early 1960s, the inhabitants of Grassy Narrows were forced to exchange the intangible benefits of independence and cultural freedom for the tangible benefits they received from the federal government. As a result, Grassy Narrows has fallen into a dependency on social assistance. Through this process, the people of Grassy Narrows have lost their ability to make decisions for themselves and have, for the last decades, descended into social disintegration and self-destruction. Grassy Narrows depicts the government of Canada's inadequate treatment of certain Aboriginal communities and its failure to tackle the underlying, multi-faceted problems that resurface through addictions, abuse, apathy, violence, and suicide. In order for equitable development to reach every Canadian community, there is an urgent need for grassroots empowerment that enables individuals to assert their agency, in addition to the current "band-aid" solutions to social symptoms.

The Legacy of Residential Schools

In the backdrop of the cultural disintegration and self-destruction of Grassy Narrows lies the legacy of Residential Schools, which cannot be detached from contemporary existence. The Residential School system of Canada was a nation-wide social development policy designed to assimilate all

Aboriginal peoples into European culture. The schools promoted European values and ideals, and debased all that was Indigenous. Policies expressed the perception of superiority of European ways, the need to raise the 'Indian' to the level of the 'white', and the desire to take control of land out of 'Indian' hands (Haig-Brown 1988: 29). The foundations of the system could be attributed to the pre-confederation Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, which introduced the concept of the mandatory "enfranchisement" of any Indian above 21 years old ("An Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes in this Province, and to Amend the Laws Relating to Indians" 1857). That is, all Indians had to be transformed into British subjects.

The Indian Act was created in 1876, which provided Canada's federal government exclusive authority to legislate in relation to Indians and their lands. The Act defined who was an Indian and contained certain legal disabilities and rights for registered Indians. Subsequently, in order to carry these regulations to terms, it was deemed necessary to create schools where Indians would be taught proper European ways. Residential Schools were first created in the late 19th century, and were run by churches of various denominations. Although Residential Schools were not mandatory during the first thirty years after their creation, amendments to the Indian Act by 1920 made Residential School education mandatory for all children. In the House of Commons in 1920, Deputy Superintendent General Duncan Campbell Scott stated clearly the idea that Indian cultures as such were to be eliminated: "Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department" (Haig-Brown 1988: 31-32). As Native Indian Education specialist Celia Haig-Brown states, "cultural oppression was becoming written policy" (Haig-Brown 1988: 29). By 1948, there were 72 Residential Schools across Canada with a total of 9,368 students enrolled ("History of Indian Residential Schools" 2009). By 1979, 12 schools were left, and in 1996, the last federally-run Residential School was closed.

For Aboriginal peoples, the legacy of the Residential School system is one that has robbed several generations of their identity, traditions, language, spirituality, parenting abilities, faith, and dignity. The schools were overcrowded and lacked sanitation and medical care. Tuberculosis was rampant, often resulting in death. As Residential School survivor Randy Fred explains, "food in the school was rarely fit for swine, but the staff had their own cook and dining room and they ate like kings" (Fred 1988: 18). Religion was strict and obligatory; it "was stuffed down our throats"

(Fred 1988: 18). The children were forced to speak English and were punished when speaking their native tongue. There was an overt attempt to minimize parental influence, and children had thus little or no contact with the world outside the school walls.

In the 1980s, Residential School students began disclosing sexual and other forms of abuse at residential schools. Fred explains that he was first raped by a student of the school, and later by officers and teachers. "Sexual favours brought me protection, sweets (a rarity in the school), and even money to buy booze. But this had its long-term effects… including alcoholism, the inability to touch people, and an 'I don't care' attitude" (Fred 1988: 21). Physical and sexual abuse also left children scarred, aggressive, and looking for ways to cope. "At the age of twelve, booze discovered me," Fred states. "A beautiful escape from hell" (Fred 1988: 23). By the time he turned 15, alcohol was a real problem, which was the case with many people who attended Residential Schools. "Booze was an easy escape" (Fred 1988: 23).

Even though the goals of the system were to assimilate Indigenous children into white society and to elevate them to a 'civilised' state, Fred argues that Residential Schools had the reverse effect. "The institutional environment did nothing to prepare students for assimilation. More students were ignorant about survival. There was no opportunity to learn everyday tasks like cooking or any kind of maintenance" (Fred 1988: 20). Upon completion of their education, Residential School survivors had lost their connection to their own roots, and lacked the tools necessary to adjust to the European lifestyle. They were trapped between two cultures, unable to turn back, and reticent to move forward in a society that had no respect for the culture they had once valued and depended on. Children had never been parented. They had been raised and taught through coercion, prohibition, and abuse. Upon becoming parents themselves, they had no referent upon which to raise future generations.

In Kenora, the town nearest to Grassy Narrows, there were a total of four Residential Schools between 1894 and 1969. The Kenora Indian Residential School, McIntosh Indian Residential School, and St-Mary's Indian Residential School were run by the Roman Catholic Church. The Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School was run by Presbyterian Church ("History of Indian Residential Schools" 2009). Undoubtedly, Residential Schools left scars upon the children of Grassy Narrows for generations, just as they did for thousands of Native children across Canada. The forced assimilation policy instigated a series of problems that have become intergenerational. Grassy Narrows was already suffering from this degrading

legacy – from a cultural trauma – when they were forced to relocate in 1963.

The Relevance of Grassy Narrows

In *A Poison Stronger than Love*, author Anastasia Shkilnyk describes the state of the Asabiinyashkosiwagong Nitam-anishinaabeg (Ojibwa people of Grassy Narrows), who live 1,200 miles northwest of Toronto. Although this ethnography dates to 1985, the degradation of the environment and the community's well-being continue. In past decades, the community has suffered from flooding, mercury poisoning of their waters, and large-scale clearcut logging of their traditional hunting and trapping territories. As described in *A Poison Stronger Than Love*, an amalgam of socio-economic problems began in 1963, when the Department of Indian Affairs began to relocate the people of Grassy Narrows to a new reserve about five miles south of the old settlement. Prior to the 1960s, the inhabitants of Grassy Narrows had lived, as they had for generations, by fishing, trapping, hunting, gathering, and the occasional wage labour (Shkilnyk 1985: 2). For generations, they had maintained continuity with the ancient patterns of Ojibwa life due to the relative isolation and limited contact with white society.

The 1963 uprooting, however, proved devastating to the Ojibwa way of life. The Department of Indian Affairs justified the move by arguing that the new site, which was accessible by road from the town of Kenora, would make it easier to "provide the Indians with some of the amenities of modern life – a school on the reserve, electricity, improved housing, and social services" (Shkilnyk 1985: 2). With the compensation money they were given, the people of Grassy Narrows started a salmon fishery. Before the community had time to establish new roots and adjust to the forced relocation, they were hit in 1970 by another blow: "the river that had sustained them was poisoned by methyl mercury" (Shkilnyk 2985: 2). It was discovered that the Dryden pulp mill, then called the Reed Paper Company, had dumped around 50 tons of mercury in to the English-Wabigoon river. The fishery was wiped out. As the river went from being a source of life to a source of death, the mercury poisoning was the "last nail in the coffin" for the Grassy Narrows community (Shkilnyk 1985: 181). "And the people, finding themselves trapped in a no-man's-land, an abyss between two cultures, had begun to self-destruct" (Shkilnyk 1985: 2).

Despite the ethnography's age, *A Poison Stronger than Love* is still relevant today, for the well-being and living conditions in Grassy Narrows

have continued to degrade since 1963. Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) has created a Community Well Being index (CWB), which is a means of measuring well-being in Canadian communities. It takes into consideration a combination of statistics on education, income, labour force activity, and housing conditions into a single score on a scale of 0 to 100, with 100 being the utmost level of community well-being (Community Wellbeing Index 2008). The highest CWB of any Canadian community is 95. The Non-First Nations Average score is 85, and the average score of First Nations communities is 68, an astounding difference. Yet even with the comparatively low level of First Nations CWB, Grassy Narrows is a mere 51 on a scale of 100 – that is, 17 points below First Nations Average and 34 points below Non-First Nations Average. This CWB index is a result of 2001 census data and thus depicts the perpetuation of the degrading conditions of Grassy Narrows. As Shkilnyk commented in 1985, "the community was headed not toward growth and renewal but toward self-mutilation and death" (1).

According to Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the average unemployment rate of Grassy Narrows has gone from 42.1 in 1996, to 55.3 in 2001, showing an even greater dependency on welfare. (Workforce Statistics 2008). Consequently, the median household income has gone from 16,160 to 8,560 from 1996 to 2001 (Income Census Statistics 2008). The number of households requiring minor repairs has gone from 40 in 1996, to 65 in 2001. The number of households requiring major repairs has also risen from 65 to 70 between 1996 and 2001 (Household and Dwelling Census Statistics 2008). The situation seems to have remained quite similar to that of the 1970s. In *A Poison Stronger Than Love,* Shkilnyk argues that the negligible condition of housing is partly caused by voluntary destruction of property. A schoolteacher from the reserve commented on the severity of the situation in 1976:

> At Grassy Narrows, the kids see their parents getting everything for nothing; the government provides welfare money; the government provides jobs; the government gives free houses. There's no rationale not to get into trouble, and some reasons to do exactly the opposite. Why keep your house in good shape when you can break the windows during the summer and then get paid during the winter to fix them? Why keep the siding on the band store when maybe your father will get the job of putting the siding back on and a fat paycheck, and maybe you'll get

a new pair of jeans out of it? Why not wreck the school? Somebody will fix it. You won't get into trouble for it; you may go to court, but then maybe your mom will finally buy you a new shirt so that you'll look nice in front of the judge. (Shkilnyk 1985: 33).

Clearly, with the statistics and comment provided above, the dependence of Grassy Narrows on government support remains flagrant. Even over 40 years after the relocation that instigated the slow degeneration of Grassy Narrows, the well-being of the community remains threatened and several issues remained unsolved. Still today, the community continues to protest the logging industry, including Weyerhaeuser and Abitibi, and has teamed up with Rainforest Action Network in their fight to protect the boreal forest against industrial logging, pollution and clear cutting. Grassy Narrows suffers from the perpetual destruction of their lands and resources, increasing their dependency on a government that appears to have controlled, alienated, and ignored.

The Deterioration of Grassy Narrows

When Shkilnyk arrived in Grassy Narrows in 1976, then with a population of 520, she took note of the incredible amount of self-destruction: suicide, alcohol abuse, physical and sexual abuse, child neglect, etc. Since the community had been relocated in 1963, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development had become the biggest source of income for inhabitants, and caused them to slide into dependency. For government officials, "welfare was easy to administer, required no new initiatives in program design, involved no changes in policy, and was unlimited in terms of a ceiling on expenditures" (146). In making material goods more readily accessible to the community, and through the accretion of a necessity for those goods, the federal government's welfare checks were being thrown right back outside of the community. Around the time of Shkilnyk's field study, 97.4 percent of the total amount of income received by households left the community on a yearly basis. In 1977, 47 percent of household expenditures when to Hudson's Bay Company, and 21 percent went to Ontario Liquor Control Board, the provincial alcohol retailer (Shkilnyk 1985: 162).

Within a state of dependency on social assistance, education became obsolete because it offered no tangible benefits. In addition, there was no stigma around failure. As a twelfth-grade teacher of Grassy Narrows

explains, children see their parents on welfare and as a result have no higher ambitions than to follow in their footsteps. "They know that when they turn sixteen, they can go on welfare, or get a job, work for six months, and collect unemployment insurance just like everybody else. Getting an education at Grassy Narrows is an ambition that is soon exhausted, because it cannot attach itself to any role or function in this society" (Shkilnyk 1985: 36). A first-grade teacher and daycare supervisor knows that the way people raise their kids in the new reserve is drastically different from how it once was on the old reserve, where children were important and valuable (Shkilnyk 1985: 40):

> [The children] had responsibilities – to haul water, set snares for rabbits, chop wood, and help on the trapline. Now they have no responsibilities, no chores. People used to have children to help them, and to take care of them when they got old. Now they have children because they get drunk and have sex. There is no respect for children any more. And there is no respect for the old either. This has something to do with the fact that in this type of economy, both are 'useless' except or bringing in the family allowance and the old age pension. (40-41)

The new way of life has rid the community of any need for responsibility, accountability, and desire to improve their own conditions. In the eyes of most parents and children, education no longer has value.

As made apparent in *A Poison Stronger than Love,* the school dropout rates – elevated since the 1970s – are the result of parental alcohol abuse and the deterioration of family life. Statistics support the claim and band members of Grassy Narrows readily admit to it. Dropout rates do not increase along with the level of difficulty of each grade, as is usually the case in most communities. Rather, students at all levels have difficulty completing their school year, not by lack of interest, but by lack of support, necessity, and basic standards of living. From 1977-1978, kindergarten students in Grassy Narrows had a 50% dropout rate. That same year, 53% of the fourth grade class stopped attending, and 42% of grades 5 to 8 also failed to complete the school year (Shkilnyk 1985: 33). In all, less than one fifth of the entire population of children enrolled at the Grassy Narrows elementary school achieve regular grade progression (Shkilnyk 1985: 37). The children of Grassy Narrows lack the most basic things: security, food, shelter. How can education be valued when adequate food and shelter are

lacking? As the first-grade teacher adds, the kids are ignored. "No one sits down to tell them stories, no one talks to them about their problems. The kids feel uncared for and unwanted. And how can they respect parents who won't feed them and will beat them when they're drunk? The love is there and it's powerful, but it is unspoken and undemonstrated, on both sides" (41). Another band member of Grassy Narrows believes that kids are not made to go to school because their parents are too busy drinking and the children are thus not cared for properly (35).

As Shkilnyk explains, "the bonds of the Indian family have been shattered," mostly as a result of alcohol abuse (Shkilnyk 1985: 46). Shkilnyk argues that the disintegration of traditional "codes of behaviour in the practice of sexual relations has gone hand in hand with the explosion of spree drinking" (46). Binge drinking at Grassy Narrows is characterised by a few specific traits. Firstly, the majority of heavy drinkers are not necessarily addicted to alcohol in the sense of a "physiological enslavement" (Shkilnyk 1985: 21). Instead, drinking binges offer a sense of temporary communal escape. Second, binge drinking is a social activity that rarely takes place alone. Third, spree drinking is a continuous process; "people drink until they become unconscious. Accidents, or acts of violence leading to death, most often occur in the period of alcoholic 'blackout' (21). And lastly, Shkilnyk described the prolonged binge as a "tornado that tears across the landscape of the community, leaving devastation in its wake" (21). The title of Shkilnyk's case study, *A Poison Stronger Than Love*, refers in large part to the poison of alcohol, which has robbed Grassy Narrows of its moral standards and the importance of the family. Sexual relations have changed under the influence of alcohol, and children are victims of neglect and abuse. In the early 1970s and early 1980s, child/infant death by neglect had reached unprecedented levels at Grassy Narrows. "One mother passed out on her baby while she was drinking and she smothered it to death. Another threw her baby on the wood stove, and the child died from first-degree burns. A third dropped her baby in the snow, and the child froze to death" (Shkilnyk 1985: 48). Between 1974 and 1979, eights infants died of suffocation and four were abandoned by their parents and died of subsequent starvation or hypothermia. "This is a formidable record in a community of only 249 persons over the age of fifteen" (48). One parent of Grassy Narrows stated that parents of children who die of neglect are forgiven by the community: "I can't explain it to you, because I can't explain it to myself. The only thing I know about alcohol is that alcohol is a stronger power than the love of children. It's a poison, and we are a broken people. We suffer enough inside, and therefore we understand each other"

(Shkilnyk 1985: 48).

Violence and suicide rates have also increased dramatically since the relocation of Grassy Narrows, and more specifically, since the English-Wabigoon River was poisoned by mercury. Between 1959 and 1963, the percentage of total deaths from natural causes was around 93 percent. Between 1964 and 1968, the percentage of natural deaths was 78% and that of violent deaths (including suicide) was 22 percent. Between 1969 and 1973, the percentage of natural deaths had dropped to 52 percent. Between 1974 and 1978, that number was down to 24 percent in relation to the abnormally high rate of suicides and violent deaths (including gunshot wounds, stabbings, death by fire, and homicidal drowning) (Shkilnyk 1085: 13). Shkilnyk notes that "the drinking parties become part of a vicious circle in which the mourners often become those who are mourned" (11).

After a death or suicide, what is mourned goes beyond the loss of a cherished individual. Since the 1960s, the imposed changes at Grassy Narrows have culminated into both individual and collective trauma. The uprooting of the community, the disconnect from traditional modes of subsistence, the poisoning of the English-Wabigoon river and subsequent disruption of commercial fishing, the increasing dependency on federal support, and the lack of agency in the face of the government have led to a collective loss of connective ties to the past, to nature, and to their own identity. "The battery on which they depended for emotional recharging, the community, is no longer there" (xviii). That battery has been replaced by coping mechanisms such as violence and substance abuse, which produce cases of individual trauma and perpetuate the cycle of abuse and violence. In 1977, 14 years after the relocation, 78 percent of the adult population of Grassy Narrows said they were not happy spiritually (Shkilnyk 1985: 162). "The majority feel lost, disturbed, ill, and cut off from their roots. They feel terribly insecure in the economic system because jobs are limited and government funding of make-work projects is unpredictable" (162).

For Grassy Narrows, the only positive aspect of 'development' or 'modernisation' has been a betterment of the material conditions in the form of housing, electricity, welfare checks, healthcare and increased access to commodities. This change was not a consequence of their progressive participation, but rather, of their increasing dependence on the government. It pushed the Indigenous people further away from participation in the productive activities of the nation and separated them from the means of production in the form of the land and its resources. Essentially, it

turned the Ojibwa of Grassy Narrows into "men and women who have neither land nor capital nor even a secure place among those Canadians who exchange only their labor for a subsistence wage" (Shkilnyk 1985: 164). In describing development as freedom, Sen emphasises the central role of participation in change. "The rewards of human development go, as we have seen, well beyond the direct enhancement of quality of life, and include also its impact on people's productive abilities and thus on economic growth on a widely shared basis" (Sen 1999: 144). The increase in the material standard of living in Grassy Narrows thus cannot be regarded as a result of free and equal participation in Canadian society, but as a compensation for perpetual exclusion of Aboriginal peoples from the productive processes of the nation. "The ultimate hallmark of this kind of development is not participation but marginality" (Shkilnyk 1985: 164). Furthermore, the word "development" is barely appropriate if individuals do not have the freedom to express their agency. In fact, the absence of non-discriminatory participation led Grassy Narrows to sink into the "total physical, mental, and spiritual breakdown of [its] people" (Shkilnyk 1985: 224).

Canada's 'Solutions'

The government of Canada, and the Canadian public in general, are strayed by misperceptions and an idealisation of their own ways and notions. In placing Eurocentric notions of progress at the forefront of politics dealing with Aboriginal issues, there has been a flagrant neglect of Indigenous agency. In moving the Grassy Narrows reserve in order to attain what non-Native Canada considers desirable and beneficial development, the federal government inevitably waged war against the attitudes and culture of the Aboriginal peoples of the community. The arrogance of officials with the legislative mandate to administer the lives of the Ojibwa of Grassy Narrows and their lack of understanding and respect for Ojibwa culture are reflected not only in the decision to relocate the reserve, but also in the solutions it provided to attempt to "solve" the problems that ensued. In the way the federal government has addressed problems of alcohol abuse and mercury poisoning, it becomes apparent that government programs tend to treat effects rather than causes, offering temporary solutions to multi-faceted problems that cannot be resolved with a sum of money.

As made apparent with the Grassy Narrows case study, alcohol abuse is a social problem. Drinking sprees lead to unwanted pregnancies, child neglect, violence, sexual abuse, destruction of property, health problems,

and death. The government of Canada has taken note of the alcohol at Grassy Narrows, and has allocated funds for this problem. Federal funding allocations from 2001 to 2008, made available to the public by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, show that there has been an increase in funds distributed for "addictions" at Grassy Narrows (Schedule of Federal Funding 2008). In 2001, 48,367$ were given in support of the treatment of addictions. No further details are available to determine exactly how the funds are appropriated, distributed, and used, but the simple fact that "addictions" is the term used to refer to the alcohol problem does portray a misunderstanding of the problem at hand. Shkilnyk noticed that alcohol consumption was not a physiological or physical dependence, but rather, a periodic social event lasting one to five days, that occurred upon reception of welfare checks. It is the manifestation of collective suffering. By 2002, funding for "addictions" had risen to 70,832$. In 2007 and 2008, funding was around 74,000$, and rather than being allocated for "addictions," funding was given to the National Native Alcohol and Drug Abuse Program (NNADAP). The program involves prevention, intervention, and aftercare activities. Prevention activities include public awareness campaigns, meetings, speakers, school programs, news and media work, and cultural and spiritual events. The intervention component consists of dealing with existing abuse problems at the earliest possible stage, by having recreation and discussion activities for youths. Aftercare activities aim to prevent the reoccurrence of substance abuse through support groups, crisis intervention, counselling, and treatment or detoxification referrals.

Although the recent creation of the NNADAP is a step in a more integrative approach that focuses on prevention as well as treatment of abuse rather than addiction, the system itself remains problematic. Treatment centres are generally not community based. The implication of this is that "treatment beds are considered to be national beds" (First Nations, Inuit and Aboriginal Health 2006). In addition, the lack of local control signifies that programs do not address tailored needs of specific peoples with a specific history. They target the problem without allowing the ones suffering to design the treatment programs that best suit their personal needs as well as their community's history, beliefs, approaches, fear, angers, desires, etc. Once again, it perpetuate exclusion rather than allowing for participation. Offering treatment programs that are generalised across Canada puts Aboriginal communities into the same category and inevitably erases differences. The people of Grassy Narrows, for example, may require an approach that is specific to their particular situation, to their uprooting and self-destruction. By offering prevention and treatment that is imposed

from the top, many of the federal government's efforts perpetuate the underlying causes of the very social symptoms they are trying to treat.

Shkilnyk states that alcohol abuse is the manifestation of material poverty: "All the indications of material poverty were there – substandard housing, the absence of running water and sewage connection, poor health, mass unemployment, low income, and welfare dependency – but something more fundamental seemed amiss. Its manifest symptom was widespread alcohol abuse, in the form of prolonged and frequent periods of spree drinking (3). Although alcohol is a "manifest symptom" of "something more fundamental," material poverty is not the underlying cause of Grassy Narrows' social crisis. In fact, the government's perception of material poverty as the weakness of the pre-1963 Grassy Narrows settlement is what has led to the debilitating relocation and restructuring of the community. Alcohol abuse is the symptom of the underlying massive social and cultural disintegration: the loss of identity, the loss of continuity with the past, the loss of agency, the loss of self-sufficiency, and the intensification of dependence on government support. Although federal funding allocations are directed at the prevention, intervention and treatment of addictions, programs that target social and cultural disintegration are absent. The budget does not target programs that would restore a sense of self, or the development, respect, and consideration of the critical agency of the people of Grassy Narrows. The NNADAP, although more holistic than treatment and detoxification centres, prevents and treats a symptom – is it not the antidote to the poison that causes binge drinking or the abuse of other substances.

After the mercury poisoning of the English-Wabigoon river, the government reacted in a similar manner; that is, it provided solutions that further undermined the conditions of self-sufficiency and intensified the dependence on government support. As a seventy-year old man from Grassy Narrows stated, "now we can't make a living for ourselves any more. The new reserve is on dirt and rock. We can't have gardens… the fish is poisoned, there are not as many moose and deer… and our people have to depend on the government. This is not good. We used to be a proud and independent people. But everything as changed in my lifetime" (Shkilnyk 1985: 119). As Shkilnyk explains, the greatest effects of the mercury poisoning were not the health problems and destruction of the fisheries. Rather, as the "last nail in the coffin," the poisoning of the river intensified the social and cultural crisis that had robbed Grassy Narrows of its identity and of the fraction of independence that remained. Upon discovering that their river was slowly killing them, the Ojibwa of

Grassy Narrows lost faith in nature, in the source of life itself, which had been their point of reference once upon a time. The world of men and the world of nature, upon which all their beliefs and practices had once centred, could no longer be trusted. Shkilnyk reports that the inhabitants of Grassy Narrows speak of mercury poisoning as the event that "pushed them over the edge of their ability to feel secure in nature, to relate to each other and to the world around them, and to be self-reliant in providing for their material needs" (181). It was not until seven years after mercury was found in the river that the government finally mobilized sufficient funds to provide employment for the majority of the male labour force at Grassy Narrows in a variety of short-term, remedial projects that involved community improvement. The government was not willing to commit the level of resources required for social and economic reconstruction. Instead, it offered monetary settlements as compensation.

Concluding Remarks

According to Amartya Sen, "[d]evelopment consists of the removal of various types of unfreedoms that leave people with little choice and little opportunity of exercising their reasoned agency" (1999: xii). In recent decades, the Grassy Narrows reserve was forced into an opposite situation. *A Poison Stronger than Love* continues to be relevant because of the way the government has addressed the problems faced by the Grassy Narrows community. By neglecting to question its own perceptions, mindsets, and approaches, the government's programs or funding have only served as "band-aid" solutions to the effects of deeper problems. It is irresponsible for Canada to praise its development and supposed equity, when there still exists communities like Grassy Narrows, who has a Community Well-Being index well below that of the nation that has stifled its integrity, rewritten its history, and denied its people a voice. It is not to say that the government's efforts are ineffective, but rather, that there is an urgent need for greater grassroots initiatives that enable individuals to exercise their agency. Given that participation is such a crucial component of positive and desired change that does not infringe upon cultural practices and beliefs, the government needs to address the imperative necessity of self-reliance and self-government in the Grassy Narrows community. Rather than tackling only the social symptoms of deep seeded problems, the Asabiinyashkosiwagong Nitam-anishinaabeg should be given the tools to rid themselves of the apathy, powerlessness, and alienation that has sunken the community into self-destruction. It remains true that

the deeper problems of identity, dependence, and cultural disintegration cannot be tackled without simultaneously remediating more immediate problems such as poverty, mercury poisoning and alcohol abuse. However, a more appropriate approach to the Grassy Narrows crisis is one that would include a two-track initiative, combining the current top-down efforts with grassroots programs, capacity building, healing, and sustainable development through the inclusion of participation and agency. This would reinstate a sense of mutual responsibility and eventually obliterate the exclusion, imposed silence, and apathy that are currently Grassy Narrows's most potent poisons. Until such an approach is effectively put into place, the people of Grassy Narrows will remain "like refugees in their own land, damaged in spirit long after they have been put together again in body, and feeling a long way from home" (Erikson 1985: xvii).

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Monoculturalism: Negotiating the Place of Indigenous People in Agriculture after the Green Revolution. A Look at the Andean Experience.
Marianna Daniels

The Green Revolution, as its name implies, represents one of the most fundamental changes in the structure of world agriculture systems the world has ever seen. However its most essential element seems an unlikely contributor to such enormous social change: the high-yield variety (HYV) hybrid seed. These seeds were once hailed as "miracle seeds", because it was believed that the significantly increased agricultural yields they produced would end hunger in the developing world (Yapa 255). At first glance, a seed that provides increased yields seems to be an unequivocally beneficial technology for development. Increased yields mean increased food production for both subsistence and sale. Beginning in the 1950's and 60's, the new technology was heavily promoted by western development institutions, international institutions and developing nations' governments as the ultimate solution to hunger in the developing world.

However, the introduction of hybrid seeds in the developing world, particularly among indigenous groups, has not always had beneficial results. In the Andes, the introduction of hybrid seeds created a wide array of unintended negative effects on the development of the region, including economic, social, ecological and cultural effects. These residual effects have seriously undermined the capacity of Green Revolution technologies to increase development. In order to examine how these residual effects are created, one must examine both the cultural framework that underlies the creation of a technology and how its use affects the relations of production in indigenous society.

In the case of the transfer of Green Revolution technologies to Andean indigenous societies, I contend that there is a great disparity between the cognitive framework that undergirds agricultural practice in the developed world, and that which informs indigenous Andean practice. This disparity affects the process of development of indigenous society in two ways. First, the nature of the hybrid seed reflects the cultural framework of Western society in the form of the production relations created by its use. When this technology is introduced into indigenous society, this cultural

framework is expressed by significantly altering the production relations of the native society. This creates unintended negative consequences such as environmental degradation and economic dependency, which negatively affect the development outcomes of the use of hybrid seed. Second, the disparity between these two frameworks allows Western observers to devalorize the importance and validity of native agricultural strategies. This prevents them from viewing indigenous agriculture as a rational alternative to Western agricultural practice. The role of indigenous people in the process of technology transfer is thus reduced to that of passive adopters of technology, rather than active adapters of it. This has important implications for development in Andean indigenous society. It negates the possibility that native people can adapt external technologies to local conditions and cultural practice in order to reduce the residual negative effects of technology transfer, and improve development outcomes.

Theoretical Framework

In this analysis, my definition of the Green Revolution differs slightly from that which is commonly used. While most authors consider the Green Revolution to be defined by both, the introduction of HYV seed and the inputs associated with their use, such as chemical fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation, I have chosen to define the Green Revolution simply as the introduction of HYV seed. This definition allows the analysis of the inputs as part of the relations of production that HYV seed (the Green Revolution) represents, rather than a separate category of analysis. In this paper I will use the terms Green Revolution technology, HYV seed, improved seed, and hybrid seed interchangeably.

The adoption of Green Revolution technology in developing regions was facilitated by the predominant development discourse of the day. At the time, rural poverty in the developing world was believed to emerge from the "backward" nature of indigenous agricultural practice, represented by the absence or underdevelopment of the factors of production, particularly in agricultural technology. Consequently, rural underdevelopment could be overcome by transferring new agricultural technologies, developed in the research institutions of the developed world to the developing world in order to "modernize" the agricultural sector (Piñero).

Although agricultural technology transfer had some success, it largely failed in its goal to promote rural development, as seen by the continued prevalence of rural poverty. I argue that this view has lead to mixed development outcomes among indigenous people, because it

implicitly devalorizes indigenous agricultural techniques as a barrier to the "modernization" of the agricultural sector; thus ignoring the importance of indigenous agricultural innovation. In this view, modernization and development are fomented by the adoption of Western technologies and practices wholesale. It therefore precludes the possibility that indigenous practice can evolve by incorporating the use of new technologies into cultural practice, in order to improve development outcomes, and ensure cultural preservation. I conceive of this developmental path as an "indigenous modernization" which contrasts with dominant development discourses of modernization as it is an evolution of cultural practice that bring the new technology in line with the cognitive framework of indigenous society.

In order to examine why the introduction of HYV seeds has produced mixed results among Indigenous people in the Andes, it is necessary to expand the conception of the seed to include the cognitive frameworks that led to its creation and mediated its use. The development of a technology, such as a seed is not created in a cultural and cognitive vacuum, rather reflects the values and architecture of the society in which it is created. This can create conflict when a technology is introduced into a different culture, because the new technology may not be readily adaptable to local ways of thinking and living. To examine how the interaction of cognitive frameworks affects the use of hybrid seeds among indigenous people, I will use Gonzales' analysis of the "Cultures of the Seed." in which he shows how the values and practices of Western industrial society and Andean indigenous society have determined the nature of the respective seeds produced by each culture, the hybrid seed and the native seed.

For my analysis of the effects of the Green Revolution in the Andes, I will rely heavily on Yapa's analysis of the hybrid seed. In this view the seed is seen not only as a material object, or a simple technology but rather, "as the material embodiment of a nexus of interacting relations" (Yapa 255). These relations represent a modified Marxian analysis of the relations of production, where a technology represents not only itself, but also the economic, social, ecological and cultural relations that are created by its use. Thus, the nature of the hybrid seed cannot be reduced to simply the technical relations of food production, such as the use or non-use of a technology, but also the effect it has on all types of production relations. It is important to consider all types of production interactions, in order to understand the full effect of the technology on indigenous people. Thus I will use an analysis of the four types of production relations mentioned above to examine how this conflict between the cognitive frameworks and cultural practices that underlie agricultural practice takes form in the

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Andes and what effect it has on development outcomes among indigenous people.

History and Geography of Agricultural Practice in the Andes

Current indigenous Andean agricultural practice is the product of a long interaction between the native people of the Andes and the unique environment in which they live. The cultural practices that arose in the region have been determined by the landscape, which in turn has been modified by the people who live in it. Therefore, a minimum understanding of the geography of the region and the historical practice of agriculture among its indigenous inhabitants is vital to understanding the effect of introducing new technologies.

The geography of the Andes is marked by verticality. The terrain is both high in altitude and generally quite steep in slope. This verticality, as well as the topography of the region serves to create a vast array of microclimates. The region is also notable for extremely high levels of both ecosystem diversity and agro-biodiversity. The Andes contain 84 of the 103 identified ecosystems in the world. It is also part of the three out of twelve countries considered to have the highest levels of agro-biological diversity in the world (Gonzales 193, 200).

The most important crop in Andean agriculture is the potato. Archaeological evidence and the high rate of genetic variation in the potato varieties of the region suggest that the potato was first cultivated in the Andes. It is estimated that the plant was domesticated as early as 8,000-10,000 years ago. The region exhibits the richest gene pool of the species in the world, with an estimated 2,000-3,000 variety (Brush "Dynamics", 71). This is a common feature of the original centers of domestication for the world's crops. My analysis of the agriculture of the region will focus on potato cultivation, because it is not only the most prevalent crop in most of the region, it also makes up the most significant portion of the indigenous Andean diet. In addition, it is a crop native to the region, and subsequently has been shaped by the cultural and biological processes of the region more than other crops.

The indigenous agricultural practices of the Andes evolved from the complex interactions of the people, geography and ecology of the region. The verticality of the topography, as well as the micro-variability of the climate have created a system that is structured along the lines of the vertical plane, rather than the horizontal. A traditional Andean farmer generally cultivates several small plots of land at different altitudes and in

different ecological niches. This serves as insurance against total crop failure, as some plots will likely survive even if some of the others fail (Rhoades 6). It also serves to increase the number of cultivated potato varieties, as different varieties of potatoes thrive. The variability of plot location is complemented by variability in the varietal composition of the potatoes of each plot. The traditional Andean farmer's plot differed in its heterogeneity of potato variety, but could contain up to as many as a dozen varieties and several species (Brush "Reconsidering", 146). These agricultural techniques served to promote the cultivation of as many as 50-70 separate varieties of potatoes in a single community (Yapa 266).

Indigenous Andean agriculture is also marked by a very low reliance on inputs for fertilizer and pest control. Soil fertility is generally maintained through a system of crop rotation and sectoral fallowing. In this system a field is cultivated with potatoes for one or two years, followed by a year or two in which other crops are cultivated. After this the field is left fallow for a number of years depending on local conditions, before it is once again planted with potatoes. This is sometimes supplemented with local inputs of animal dung (Pestalozzi 64). This system allows indigenous farmers to maintain yields despite the often low nutrient content of the soils of the region. It also helps to prevent infestation of pests and pathogens, by frequently rotating the crops and thus the species that feed on them (Brush "Dynamics", 71).

Collective labor and land ownership is another important feature of Andean agriculture. Even today, many communities retain collective land ownership regimes, in which the allotment of plots for cultivation, rotation of crops and sometimes even the agricultural calendar are controlled by the community (Brush "Reconsidering", 152).

Now that the basic parameters of what is meant by indigenous Andean agriculture have been delineated, the theory of the "Cultures of the Seed" can be used to examine the different cognitive frameworks that underlie the use of hybrid and native seeds.

The "Cultures of the Seed"

Physically, native varieties of seed and hybrid varieties of seed are very similar; however, this similarity belies the radically different cognitive and cultural frameworks that each seed embodies. In order to examine the implications of these different origins it is useful to use Gonzales' analysis of the cultures of seed. Gonzales posits that seed is not a simple commodity, but rather an embodiment of two cultural systems: one Western and capitalist, the

other indigenous (197). Each is represented by cultural traits that greatly affect not only the agricultural system based on each type of seed, but also the economic, social, ecological and cultural production relations that are implied by the use of each type of seed. This connection between cultural practice and the nature of the seed can be examined by considering the process that has produced each type of seed.

Paradoxically, the creation of the hybrid seed begins with the native seed. Genetic material from native crop varieties is the raw material used by the agricultural research institutions, universities and biotechnology firms of the developed world in the creation of hybrid seeds. This genetic material is then manipulated through a variety of methods including cross-breeding and hybridization to produce hybrid seed. This process occurs in laboratories and test fields, following the tenets of Western empirical scientific methods. It is usually tailored to create a seed that grows well under the conditions of modern agricultural systems, namely with the use of capital inputs such as fertilizer, monocultures and the mechanization of production (Gonzales 199). It creates a seed that produces high yields due to an effect known as heterosis, or hybrid vigor. The process of hybridization not only changes the yield of the seed, but also its ability to reproduce. Seed produced by hybrid plants does not "come true" when it is replanted; its yields are low and erratic (Yapa 262). By removing the seed from its reproductive capability, hybridization facilitates the next step in the creation of the commercial seed: commoditization. Hybrid seeds are generally patented by their creators and then sold for profit.

From this description, key cultural features of the Western agricultural system emerge. Western agriculture is science-based, capital-intensive and corporate biased. It demonstrates a strong valuation of the productive function of the seed over its reproductive function. Also, by emphasizing the genetic uniformity of hybrid varieties, this system privileges a narrow range of genetic traits. It also emphasizes commercial relations over reciprocal relations.

In contrast, the native seed is produced through a very different process. Whereby, the seed results from the complex interactions between native people, their cultural practices and the ecology of the environment in which they live. As Andean farmers make decisions about what crop varieties to plant and where, they bring different seeds in contact with both other cultivated varieties, and with wild but genetically similar cultivars. Over many planting seasons, the farmer uses his experience with different varieties to tailor the varietal composition of his fields to meet his needs or those of his community. This method allows for a gradual improvement of

the phenotypic condition of the plants produced from this seed (Gonzales 201). The native seed emerges as a dynamic expression of this process of trial and error mediated by cultural practices.

The key features of the culture of the native seed contrast sharply with those of the hybrid seed. This culture is based on the interactions of both individual farmers and the community with nature. It can be said to be culturally-based as these interactions are mediated by the cultural practices of the community. It relies on knowledge as the main agricultural input, rather than capital. The culture of the native seed is also marked by the maintenance of genetic diversity and a respect for the productive and reproductive functions of the seed.

In the Andes, this disconnect between the epistemological nature of each seed has numerous consequences both for indigenous people and the outcome of agricultural development in the region. This dynamic is clearly demonstrated through the analysis of the relations of production.

The Economic Relations of Production

The use of hybrid seed in the Andes, in and of itself, is not necessarily revolutionary. However, the use of the hybrid seed has important economic implications for both development and indigenous identity in the Andes. The commoditization of the hybrid seed, the capital-intensive inputs that its use requires, and the exposure to the world market caused by obtaining these technologies, can have a profound effect on the developmental path and the cultural practices of a community. In fact, while hybrid seeds can create abundant yields, they can also cause resource scarcity in indigenous communities by creating dependence on external inputs and thus on resources external to traditional agricultural systems, such as currency.

As the analysis of the "Cultures of the Seed" has shown, one of the most fundamental changes embodied in the hybrid seed is the separation of its two production functions, food production and reproduction. In most indigenous Andean communities, the main means of disseminating seed in the community is through exchange or taking new varieties of tubers from neighbours' fields during collective labor activities (Gonzales 207). Consequently, the potato has high symbolic and cultural value among indigenous people, but no monetary value. By divorcing the seed from its ability to reproduce itself, however, the hybrid seed becomes a valuable commodity. Improved seeds must be re-purchased every year or so as they do not maintain yields over time (Yapa 262). Therefore, the increasing use of hybrid seed requires integration into the monetary economy.

This trend is exacerbated by the fact that hybrid seeds do not generally produce their high yields on their own, but also require capital-intensive inputs in the form of synthetic fertilizers, pesticides and irrigation. Traditional Andean agriculture is characterized by an infrequent use of agricultural inputs. The Andean farmer generally relies on personal and community knowledge, as well as cultural practice to ensure a good yield rather than physical inputs (Pestalozzi 64). Therefore, the adoption of HYV potatoes by indigenous communities can lead to a dependence on external markets, and can place strains on scarce financial resources, as the seeds require a much higher use of capital inputs.

The Social Relations of Production

The increasing importance of capital in indigenous Andean agricultural systems is not the only important change brought about by the introduction of Green Revolution technologies. The use of hybrid seeds can cause enormous change in the social organization of agricultural production in Andean communities. In Marxian theory, the social relations of production consider how the differential access of people to resources, or the means of production, affects the act of production (Yapa 259). In the context of the Andes, the use of hybrid seed has substantially altered both the ownership of the means of production in agriculture, and the ways in which those means are utilized. This can have a significant impact on the development outlook of indigenous communities and their dependence on foreign institutions.

In general, traditional Andean agriculture is notable for its self-sufficiency in terms of the means of production. Access to communal land, collective labor and seed potatoes is mediated through the reciprocal relationships and cultural practices of the community. While each individual farmer might not privately own land, they are guaranteed access to plots for cultivation by their membership in the community. Indigenous agriculture in the Andes also tends to rely on community knowledge and cultural management practices to increase yields, more so than agricultural inputs, allowing them to maintain control of the means of production.

With the use of hybrid seeds, the dynamics of the means of production in Andean agriculture are significantly altered. Both hybrid seed and the agricultural inputs needed to cultivate it are generally produced by corporations in the developed world, or in the modern sector of developing nations' economies. In other words, these technologies are produced external to indigenous society. By replacing indigenous means of

production with new technologies the locus of ownership of these means moves from within indigenous society into the hands of actors in the developed world such as corporations.

This has developmental and cultural implications for indigenous people. When access to the means of production is controlled within the community, scarcity is caused by environmental conditions; this can be mitigated by the cultural practices which indigenous people have evolved in conjunction with the demands of the environment. When access to the means of production is controlled externally, scarcity can be constructed by a lack of access to the resources necessary to purchase the means of production. This is particularly problematic for indigenous people in the Andes as they represent one of the most economically-marginalized groups in the country. For example, in Peru indigenous people made up about 40% of the population of the country in 1992, yet they were estimated to earn less than 2-4% of the national income (Gonzales 193, 201). By using new hybrid seeds, indigenous people move from agricultural practices based on knowledge and cultural resources in which the community is rich, to one based on economic resources which the community lacks.

Another more subtle change in the ownership of the means of production has fewer negative implications for indigenous people, but illustrates just how much the introduction of hybrid seed has changed the production relations between indigenous people and the industrialized world. While the developed world may be rich in financial resources, it is generally poor in genetic resources. According to the theories of Vavilov and Hawkes, nearly all of the main centers of agricultural origin and crop genetic diversity are situated outside the industrialized North (Harris 6). Additionally, the prevalence of modern agriculture in the developed world has eroded the genetic base of crops in these countries, further narrowing the pool of genetic material from which to develop improved seeds. Therefore, for the creation of hybrid seeds, research institutions and biotechnology firms in the developed world rely heavily on the genetic material generated in the agro-ecosystems of the developing, and frequently indigenous world (Brush "Farmer's Rights", 1617).

The Andes represent a vital center of genetic resources, particularly for the potato. It is not only naturally endowed with these resources, but the interaction of Andean agricultural practices with the environment over the last several thousand years has served to both maintain, and increase genotypic frequency over time (Brush "Dynamics", 73). In indigenous agricultural practice, the Andean farmer has access to this wealth of genetic material embodied in native seed varieties through reciprocal and cultural

relations that govern seed and tuber exchange in the region. He is free to take this genetic material and use or modify it however they choose, whether through planting or cross-breeding, and to replicate it through the reproductive capacity of the plant.

This relationship between indigenous Andean people and genetic material is fundamentally altered by the use of hybrid seeds. In order to create HYV seeds, genetic material from the native seeds of the Andes is bred into the genetic make-up of the hybrid seeds. This transfer of genetic alleles from the indigenous agricultural system to the Western agricultural system dramatically changes the relations of access to this material for cultivation, modification and reproduction. In the framework of developed countries' agricultural research and biotechnology corporations, the hybrid seed produced using genetic material from native plant varieties can be patented and resold to indigenous farmers. Therefore, in order to use this genetic material, Andean farmers must not only pay for the seed produced from genetic material created through their own cultural interactions with nature, they cannot use the seed for reproduction or to improve other varieties for cross-breeding, as the seeds neither breed true, nor maintain yields through successive years of planting. Thus, access to a resource that was once freely available to indigenous farmers and the profits that result from its use are monopolized at the hands of developed country actors. What is more, farmers and indigenous communities are not compensated for the use of this genetic material, even though their actions and cultural systems contributed to its creation (Brush "Farmers Rights", 1618).

The Ecological Relations of Production

The use of hybrid seeds, and the inputs associated with its use can have serious consequences for the environment. Under traditional Andean agricultural systems, the health of the field is maintained by a rotational cropping/fallowing system that allows the land to regenerate between uses. As this system generally relies on few agricultural inputs, it can be considered to have a fairly low negative impact on the environment. This is not usually the case with the cultivation of hybrid seeds, because the inputs used in their cultivation pollute the environment. The reduction of genetic diversity in Andean fields, caused by the use of hybrid seeds, has further implications for the ecological relations of production: it leaves them vulnerable to pests and pathogen infestations. These negative environmental effects have severe consequences for indigenous Andeans as most still rely almost entirely on the natural resources provided by the

environment for their livelihoods. Consequently, the degradation of the environment can lead to the impoverishment of the local community.

The use of chemical pesticides and fertilizer in the Andes affects the environment in several ways. First, chemical runoff from fields leeches into and pollutes rivers and other water sources including ground water. This has a negative impact not only on the environment, but also on the health of the people living in the area. The use of chemical fertilizers also has a negative long-term effect on soil quality: the continued application of fertilizers causes nutrients to leech from the soil. Soil erosion forces farmers to apply larger and larger quantities of fertilizer, and eventually the soil may become permanently unusable for cultivation. This effect is followed by what is known as the "pesticide treadmill." The use of pesticides tends to kill not only target species, but also their natural enemies, overtime the target species evolves resistance to the pesticide. With their natural enemy gone, pest population's increase and stronger pesticides are necessary to combat its presence (Yapa 261).

Yet another ecological concern for the use of hybrid seeds stems from the fact that all the plants produced from a variety of hybrid seed are genetically uniform. In order to patent a variety of hybrid seed, and thus monopolize the profits from it, its creator must prove that the variety exhibits a minimum level of uniformity and stability. This implies that the genetic make-up of each seed of the variety must be nearly identical (Brush "Farmers' Rights", 1620). These seeds are also generally cultivated in a monoculture, with fields being planted entirely with one variety of seed. This differs significantly from indigenous agricultural practice, in which fields are not only cultivated with several different varieties of potato, but each variety also usually exhibits greater genetic variability than hybrid varieties. This practice represents a key method of reducing the negative effects of pests and pathogens through bio-cultural controls. The genetic diversity of the field means that each plant has different tolerances and weaknesses, preventing an infestation from destroying them all. However, when genetically uniform plants are cultivated in concentrated areas, pests or pathogens that negatively affect one plant will affect all plants, leaving these fields enormously vulnerable to complete decimation (Yapa 261). This effect is exacerbated in regions of crop origin, such as the Andes, as the pests and pathogens have co-evolved with the crop species for a longer period of time they have evolved better strategies to pursue the crop (Brush "Reconsidering", 147).

The Cultural Relations of Production

As the analysis of the "Cultures of the Seed" has shown, the technology of hybrid seeds is not only a material construction, but is also an embodiment of the cultural and cognitive frameworks in which it was developed. When this technology is introduced into a cultural context that is significantly different from that in which it is developed it can serve to radically alter the relations between cultural practice and agricultural production, such as the means of knowledge production and the selection of technologies. This effect is exacerbated the transfer of Western agricultural technology to indigenous societies, as the rationale for its use implicitly devalorizes traditional cultural practice and indigenous knowledge in relation to modern techniques.

In the Andes, agricultural knowledge is produced and maintained through a system that is very different from that of industrialized societies. In the developed world, valid agricultural knowledge is produced within research institutions, through scientific methods. It is a process that is fundamentally separated from the physical act of cultivation. This knowledge is transmitted through academic publications, governmental and non-governmental institutions, and corporations. In contrast, in indigenous Andean society, agricultural knowledge is generally produced through the interaction of farmers with the land, mediated by cultural practices and is strongly influenced by the local conditions in which was is produced. It is usually transmitted orally and informally (Yapa 265). When these two systems of knowledge production come into contact through the spread of Western agricultural technologies, the importance of indigenous knowledge is almost always marginalized. This is because the Western system of knowledge production not only considers culturally-produced knowledge to be less valuable than that which is based in empirical science, but it also emphasizes the importance of formal means of knowledge transmission. This devalorization of the system which produces indigenous knowledge, serves to discredit the knowledge produced through this system in relation to knowledge produced in Western society.

Another aspect of the cultural relations of production is the process by which technology is selected. Technology does not necessarily have intrinsic value outside of the context of its use. Thus, the process of selecting between different technologies is mediated by the cultural traits of the society in which they will be used. In the developed world, agricultural technologies are selected for their use in a capitalist agricultural system, and

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therefore tend to emphasize the importance of capital, mechanization and high-levels of inputs, as these are the resources that are most abundant. In Andean agriculture, agricultural innovations tend to be subtle, low-cost and intimately connected to specific local conditions. By emphasizing the use of hybrid seeds to promote development over traditional Andean methods, Western development paradigms ignore the dynamics of technology selection in indigenous society, and devalue indigenous paradigms that mediate the use of technology.

This devalorization of indigenous knowledge systems is clearly illustrated in the developmental theories of modernization prevalent at the time of the Green Revolution. These theories viewed traditional agricultural system as 'backwards," non-innovative and thus an obstacle to development (Yapa 264). In doing so, they implicitly devalorize the vast store of indigenous agricultural knowledge produced by thousands of years of interaction between indigenous people and their local environments. In this view, indigenous societies are stagnant, and incapable of evolving internal methods of modernization. What logically follows from this view is a perception that Western methods of modernization are the only means of modernization and development, rather than one option among many.

Conclusion

In North America there is a common proverb that states "the road to hell is paved with good intentions." In most cases, the technologies of the Green Revolution were promoted in the developing world with the best of intentions, a sincere desire to end hunger and encourage development in the developing world. However, as the proverb suggests, even with good intentions the effects of the introduction of this technology have not always been positive. In order to understand why this is so, we must expand our conception of the seed as a technology to include the production relations that are created by its use.

For the indigenous societies of the Andes, hybrid seeds are not mere objects, but the physical embodiment of Western cultural values and agricultural practices. When this seed is introduced into the largely dissimilar context of Andean society, it creates a range of unintended consequences, as the cultural structure of the seed is not adapted to indigenous cultural practice. These consequences are aggravated because the cognitive processes that encouraged the dissemination of hybrid seeds, place a low value on alternative development processes. Thus hybrid seeds come to be seen as   the sole viable technique for combating agricultural

underdevelopment, rather than an option.

Therefore, to improve the outcome of the introduction of Green Revolution technologies, it is necessary to re-valorize indigenous cognitive frameworks. Indigenous agricultural practice should not be viewed as a "backwards" system that must be improved by the introduction of external technologies, but rather as a complex and dynamic expression of the interaction of people, their cognitive and cultural frameworks, and nature. The adoption of this view alters the image of indigenous people from that of passive adopters of technology, to one in which native people are active producers of viable and highly refined technologies that are uniquely adapted to the local environment and culture.

This new conception of the relationship between indigenous people, culture, technologies, and nature as a valuable system of agricultural production opens the door to a redefinition of the conceptualization of modernity. As indigenous people interact with new modern technologies, they negotiate their use through Andean cognitive frameworks and social practices. This process of co-adaptation between technology, Andean people, culture and nature can be considered a strategy of "indigenous modernization." This type of modernization can improve development outcomes in the Andes reducing the residual negative effects of technology transfer, by mediating the use of new its technology through cultural practices that allow it to better adapt to local conditions.

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YOUNG ARTIST WARRIORS

Young Artist Warriors is an organization founded in the summer of 2008. Its mission is to raise cultural and self esteem in today's First Nations youth. The first project of Young Artist Warriors features large scale portraits of First Nations youth who attend the Inter-Tribal Youth Center of Montreal. These paintings show the youth in a proud and positive light, incorporating aspects of the youth's heritage.

Given the historical context of portraiture as a mode of painting commissioned by the powerful, wealthy elite of colonialist culture for their edification, the use of the medium proved to be a powerful tool to raise the esteem of the youth, many of whom are unaccustomed to consistent positive attention.

During the portraiture project the artist facilitated creative projects from the youth in a medium of their choosing. The youth's projects include paintings, spray-can art, rap songs, carvings and dream catchers with poetry woven within. This aspect of the project gave the youth, many of whom are homeless and struggling with issues of poverty, something positive to focus on and a sense of accomplishment. It also provided a forum for the youth to voice concerns, experiences and hardships experienced growing up in today's urban environment.

Both the works of the portrait artist, Jeska Slater, and those of the Youth, were shown in a vernissage at the Native Friendship Center of Montreal on Friday, June 24th. This was a time for the First Nations community of Montreal, friends and family members of the youth to celebrate the accomplishments and positive aspects of the youth involved.

Young Artist Warriors has garnered an astounding amount of positive attention since its inception, culminating in a Documentary that is was filmed about the project, and its participants.

Initial funding was graciously provided by Jeunes Volontaire, an extension of Emploi Quebec. This funding has been exhausted and the program is currently being run on donations. We have applied for funding from Canada Council of the Arts, and Crime Prevention

Programs. With your help Young Artist Warriors will continue to thrive and grow. Join us and take part in raising the cultural and self esteem of high-risk youth across North America.

Through creativity and the renewal of traditional teachings, we can stop negative patterns, including drug, alcohol abuse, violence and crime,

that stem from the transmission of cultural shame. Young Artist Warriors wishes to reveal that our paint brushes, microphones and chisels are the new weapons against cultural oppression and racism. The First Nations Youth of today are eager to share their stories and traditions with the world through creative expression.

N3MO
Jeska Slater

TOMMY
Jeska Slater

THE BUILDER
Jeska Slater

Artist Bio

Jeska Slater was born and raised in the Fraser Valley of British Columbia. Since high school she has been painting portraits. Her Mother is of Cree decent, and was raised in Selkirk, Manitoba, but moved to Vancouver area in her late teens. Jeska was always very influenced by wilderness of BC's coast line and country side, while at the same time finding appreciations for her native heritage through her Mother. This combination led Jeska to move to Haida Gwaii in her mid 20s. This move was a defining moment in Jeska's art career. Both the wild nature, and being surrounded by the strong tradition of Haida art of the small First Nations community of Masset proved to be the biggest inspiration of her life. It was in Masset that she had her first solo art show calling Navigations at the Rising Tide Gallery. She also facilitated a mural that combined contemporary painting with traditional Haida art to be painting by the students of the Tahaygen Elementary.

Recently Jeska has pioneered a foundation called Young Artist Warriors, in partnership with the Inter-Tribal Youth Center of Montreal. At first, the project was intended to run for only 8 months, and now is thriving as a not-for profit with an art-show, documentary and youth program under its belt. YAW also participated in a the Pop Montreal Symposium with key-note speaker Buffy Ste. Marie.

The aim of YAW is to cultivate cultural esteem and self esteem and show the link between the two. We wish to reveal that our paint brushes, microphones and chisels are the new weapons against oppression and hardships experienced with living in the inner city. The Youth of today are eager to share their stories and traditions with the world through creative expression.

Indigenous Peoples' and the Media

Xiomara Hurni-Cranston

Introduction

"Film and television have inscribed our nation's memory with so many misconceptions" (Rollins & O'Connor, 2003:11). Native Americans have been present in Canadian and American film since the early 1900's. According to George Melnyk, Native Americans are over-represented in Canadian cinema (2004:264); however, I intend to analyze not whether they are or are not represented, by rather, how and more importantly, by whom. Native Americans themselves have only recently become part of the filmmaking process, and the way they represent themselves, it differs from the ways non-Natives did and do represent them.

This paper focuses on both how Native Americans are represented on screen in Canada and the US, and who is behind the scenes. The issue I hope to address is the assumption that Native writers, producers and directors will naturally portray Native actors in a different light than their non-Native counterparts would. I focus more on producers and directors as it is they who have more decision-making power in the direction of the film and how individuals are portrayed. To better understand this, four Canadian films, two by non-Native producers, and two by Native producers will be compared. I will also discuss the importance of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network in the production and distribution of Canadian and international Aboriginal television productions. Most of the current literature focuses on films of the 1990's, and so will I. It is important to remember that I do not discuss cinematography and television after 2001, and since then there have been changes and advances in Native filmmaking.

I will only use the terms First Nations and Aboriginals to denote Native Americans in Canada, as that is how they choose to define themselves. The terms Native American and Indigenous are all-encompassing and will be used for both Canadian and American Natives. Indian will only be used to describe Native Americans portrayed as the "other" in both Native and non-Native productions, and the Inuit shall be called the Inuit.

The Creation of the Indian

"...Indians, as we think we know them, do not exist. In fact, there may as well be no such thing as an Indian. The Indian is the invention of the European... The Indian began as a White man's mistake [Christopher Columbus thinking he had arrived in India] and became a White man's fantasy" (Francis, 2004:4-5). The Indian was a reflection of everything the white man did, or did not, desire—depending on the time period (Francis, 2004:8; Pearce, 1988:5); they became whatever it was the white man wanted them to be (Francis, 2004:5). According to Roy Pearce, "In America, from the very beginning the history of the savage is the history of the civilized" (1988:8). This creation of the image of Indians and the ways in which they have been misrepresented as "savages", has been outside of tribal control, and perpetuated by American and Canadian religious, social, and political conditions (Singer, 2001:1).

In the 1900's the Indians were seen as a dying people and there was a sense of urgency among the white people to preserve this vanishing culture. Daniel Francis argues that as a result, white artists "ignored evidence of Native adaptation to White civilization, and highlighted traditional lifestyles," often resulting in an idealized image of the Indian based on what the artist wanted to see or preserve (2004:24). These paintings, and later, photographs, meant that the artists were repossessing the Indian image, and they could manipulate or display it however they liked. These became the images for the Canadian and American Indians (Francis, 2004:43). Francis continues to say that the reality of Native life and Native peoples could not measure up to the wild and savage ideal (2004:44). Similarly, creating a wild and savage image, the imaginary Indian, justified European colonization and the annihilation of certain groups (Huhndorf, 2001:6).

Film is a powerful medium through which images of the Indian can be created, and Hollywood has transmitted these (generally stereotypical) images to the public for a long time (Cobb, 2003:206). "The Indians in these movies were wholly imaginary" (Francis, 2004:80) and therefore created a lasting image of the Indian that was different from the reality of the Native American. According to Native author Paul Chaat Smith, these films "about" Native Americans are more about the White American's search for their identity, and as a result we see the Indian as one unified identity rather than Native Americans as distinctly different groups of peoples (Cobb, 2003:209-10). The created image of the Indian has been reinforced and publicized by television and film, so much so that the term "Hollywood Indian" has been coined (Baird, Cobb, Jojola, Rollins &

O'Connor, 2003) and used in recent years to affirm the role that cinema has played in the creation of the image of the Indian.

Native Americans were, in the early years, portrayed in Westerns. With the decline of Westerns came a new form of film: American Indian adventure movies. Though the Indians were still characterized as the "other", they were the focus of the film. However, weak box office results showed that "the Hollywood Indian's screen image was inextricably tied to the Western" (Aleiss, 2005:41). Hollywood Indian movies are generally set in the late 1900's, and focus on the American-Indian wars (Singer, 2001:10). The Western genre exaggerated the frontier as a conflict between white and Indian, good and evil. Many of these early genres also used Native American actors to play the "evil" roles (Singer, 2001:14). Even today, despite their large demographic (3-5% of Canada's population) and the fact that many Native Americans reside in urban areas, they continue to be misrepresented in film (Baltruschat, 2004).

This image of the Indian has "trapped" Native Americans in the nineteenth century. As Indians have so often been portrayed as savages or shamans, a vanishing race, there is the prevailing belief that the Indian must only exist as he did in the past (Cobb, Francis). Seixas asks how the youth today may be reacting to this revised history of Native Americans, and how it affects the contemporary image of Natives (1994:262). Francis mentions that when visiting the museum at Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump, he saw Native staff working in the museum and thought to himself that they did not look like Indians—as in, not at all like the Indians that he had seen in movies or read about in books. Instead, they were dressed in western clothing, spoke English well, and were laughing and cracking jokes (2004:2). The stereotypical image of the Indian affects Native children as much as it does non-Natives. Television has had growing importance in reserve life, and television heroes have become the heroes for Native youth (Baltruschat, 2004). How then, must these children view themselves if they are constantly portrayed as people they do not recognize: either blood-thirsty savages or noble, environmental conservationist; after all, in contemporary culture, people's perceptions of history are shaped most profoundly by the images presented on film" (Seixas, 1994:279).

The Struggle for Native American Involvement in Film

"Until very recently whites—to the exclusion of Native people—have been the only people given the necessary support and recognition by society to tell Native stories in the medium of film" (Singer, 2001:2). White

filmmakers have been making movies and television series depicting the Indian in the way that they desired. Native American filmmakers had so little participation in the business that Sandra Osawa, a Native filmmaker, attributed the lack of Native Americans in the movie business to racism (Singer, 2001:62). Native Americans face large struggles when making films because they compete for limited funding and resources and have to overcome stereotypes that present Natives as a people living in the past who are unintelligent and incapable of adapting to White culture (Singer, 2001:2). Ruby Sootkis, a Cheyenne producer and director, states that Natives are caught up in these non-Native created stereotypes, in how they are meant to behave and be portrayed (Singer, 2001:52).

This appropriation of the Native image by white filmmakers and artists has, according to Sherman Alexie, a Spokane/Couer d'Alene novelist and screenplay writer, threatened Native American sovereignty time and again. "Sovereignty, the right of a group of people to be self-determining, certainly includes the power to determine how that group is represented" (Cobb, 2003:207). Native cultural sovereignty involves "trusting older ways and adapting them to our lives in the present," (Singer, 2001:2) something that non-Native filmmakers are unable to do. By creating and disseminating dehumanizing and stereotypical images of Native Americans, they have turned the Native American into an Indian, a thing to be consumed by the masses. This image of the Indian as a commodity has also contributed to the confused identity of young Native Americans whose beliefs about what it means to be Native have been weakened (Singer, 2001:7). It is only in recent years that commercial filmmakers have begun to acknowledge Native Americans as people, members of American society who are also consumers of popular culture. (Cobb, 2003:207).

Being able to tell their own stories through film allows Native audiences and filmmakers to reconnect with their past and with old traditions as well as revive the tradition of storytelling (Singer, 2001:2). Native filmmakers see themselves as responsible for keeping the rich and old tradition of storytelling alive; it is a legacy that they are responsible for (Singer, 2001:92). According to Beverly Singer, "The oral tradition is fundamental to understanding Native film and video and how we experience truth, impart knowledge, share information, and laugh." These practices, to her, are key to recovering Native identity separate from that of the Indian. Singer also views storytellers as spiritual healers. Filmmakers have the power to "heal the ruptures of the past, recognizing that such healing is up to the viewer" (2001:3). This idea of reconnecting with their past, creating ties between old and new, and reviving the tradition of

storytelling is prevalent in many Native filmmakers and films. Peter Rollins and John O'Connor claim, "Native Americans seek a balance between the old and the new; because it taps the skills of writers who have lived the experience and film artists who desperately wish to depict the world of their peoples" (2003:11).

Singer agrees, writing that "Our identity as filmmakers also helps to reverse the devastating effects of assimilationist educational policies that coerced a sense of inferiority in us" (2009:9). Filmmaking is more than a form of expression for Native Americans; it is also a tool for rediscovery of the self and a way of creating and portraying themselves as they see their people to be. An important part of this self-determination is the freedom to tell their own stories, in their own language and medium (Fraser, 1994). While Native filmmakers pay homage to the past in their works, their stories and characters are not suspended there (Singer, 2001:9), unlike the Indians represented in non-Native film. Native Americans are able to identify with the characters that are portrayed because their roles are characteristic of Native experiences (Singer, 2001:11). Non-Native media cannot accurately portray Native stories because they lack the insider's perspective (Baltruschat, 2004). Sootkis states that the main reason for Native Americans to participate in filmmaking is for the originality that each individual brings to the scene. Native filmmakers write from their experience, their culture and their language, and they can create films that will tell their story, and their version of history to future generations (Singer, 2001:52). For Native American stories to have a positive impact on Native youth and to challenge stereotypes, it is necessary that films accurately portray Native perspectives.

Despite recent advancements in the involvement of Native American producers and directors in the filmmaking scene, films that "contribute to a truer conception of Native people are still not widely available to the public. In order to reach a broader audience, we need better distribution for our works... Ultimately change will only come about when... people "get used to seeing our way and respecting our way"" (Singer, 2001:93-4). For Native people, the primary objective of filmmaking is to take control over their cultural destiny. By being able to broadcast in their own language and to present their culture in their own words, they are assuming power over their image (Fraser, 1994).

The Black Robe

The Black Robe is a 1991 Canadian film depicting the journey of a Jesuit

priest through the wilderness of Quebec among the warring Algonquin, Huron, and Iroquois. The film was one of the first opportunities for Native playwrights and cultural experts to add "a tribal precision and to insert snippets of real Native languages, rather than the usual made-up ones." The film tried to demystify the idea "that all Native peoples lived among one another in blissful harmony" (Jojola, 2003:18). Though the film was hailed for its authenticity in the sets, costumes, and use of language, and won various awards, its point of view was that of the missionary. The film was based on the book *The Jesuit Relations* and retained its colonial worldview, resulting in white viewers connecting more with the priest than the Native peoples involved (Melnyk, 2004:264). The encounters between rival bands (Algonquin and Iroquois) were particularly violent and showed horrific torture (Aleiss, 2005:157), and constructed the Natives as "savages" (Melnyk, 2004:264).

Aboriginal Canadians condemned the film's portrayal of Natives as savage hostiles and pointed out inaccuracies in the languages and cultures depicted (Aleiss, 2005:157) such as the pan-Indian powwow. Ted Jojola, a Pueblo professor at the University of New Mexico, also mentions "that the film insinuates the only kind of Indian sex was doggie-style intercourse," further dehumanizing Native Americans (Jojola, 2003:18). However, the Australian director, Bruce Beresford, "dismissed the controversy as 'romantic, liberal notions of a sort of utopia... I think it boils down to the fact that a lot of Indians today don't like to see themselves portrayed as being antagonistic to one another' (Aleiss, 2005:157), blatantly ignoring the Aboriginal perspective and knowledge of their own history, language, and tradition.

Dances with Wolves

Dances with Wolves is a 1991 Hollywood film depicting John Dunbar, a civil war hero, who has "gone Native." "Going native... has become a cherished American tradition... [and] articulates and attempts to resolve widespread ambivalence about modernity as well as anxieties about the terrible violence marking the nation's origins" (Huhndorf, 2001:2). This desire to "go Native" reflects the desire of Americans, particularly men, to distance themselves from the horrors of the conquest of America (Huhndorf, 2001:3). Although Hollywood had, between the 1960's and 80's, attempted to correct the error of Indian representation, films in which lead roles were played by Native Americans did not gross enough (Jojola, 2003:14). In *Dances with Wolves*, Dunbar goes into the West and realizes

that the Sioux living in the area are not savages, but rather, are a "noble" and peaceful people. Dunbar's "going Native" obviously resonated with mainstream American society and convinced audiences that only by going back to tribalism could American society, and the American hero, move forward (Baird, 2003:154). The film was a box-office success and also won widespread acclaim and various awards, as did *The Black Robe* the same year (Huhndorf, 2001:2). *Dances with Wolves*' success ushered in a whole wave of "Indian sympathy films and unleashed another dose of Indian hysteria among revisionist historians" (Jojola, 2003:17).

However, the film was, on closer examination, not as original as it claimed. "Like earlier Westerns, it tells a story that leaves stereotyped visions of Native life intact and the radically unequal relations between European Americans and Native Americans unquestioned." The Native Americans also remain secondary to Dunbar, their importance being judged by their relationship to him. Dunbar also proves himself to be superior to the Sioux warriors, and the whole band depends on him for their livelihood. The film therefore "actually reinforces the racial hierarchies it claims to destabilize." The film also carefully avoids intermarriage by having Dunbar fall in love with and marry Stands with a Fist, a white woman who has also gone Native. The film also leaves the power of the white man unquestioned. At the end of the story, the Sioux disappear and consent to living on reserves, no longer threatening the white man's superiority. Dunbar and Stands with a Fist, however, remain free. Dunbar and Stands with a Fist's going native regenerates their whiteness, and allows them to shed the culpability of Dunbar's role in the Native wars, symbolically purging "white America of its responsibility for the terrible plights of Native Americans, past and present," while reassuring the white audiences of their legitimacy by showing that the Indian was destined to disappear anyway (Huhndorf, 2001:3-5). *Dances with Wolves*, ultimately, "says more about American romantic concepts of the Indian" than it does about Native Americans (Baird, 2003:161).

Both *Dances with Wolves* and *The Black Robe* claimed to challenge stereotypes that had been created by the white man. However, when looking at both films more closely it is clear that they do, in fact, reinforce them. Both films show the Indian as an object of the past, an invented, savage people dependant on the colonizers for salvation or survival; and in both films the Indians were secondary characters and the main character was the white man. Though *Dances with Wolves* and *The Black Robe* are of different cinematic genres, neither challenge stereotypes of Native Americans, nor do they portray them in ways that Native Americans can relate to, historically

or personally. Both films are more about the white man, white perspectives on history, and the white man's fantasies.

Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner

Atanarjuat is a 2001 Inuit film and the first ever Inuit-language feature film "made almost entirely by the Inuit and in the Inuktitut language" (Melnyk, 2004:260). The story is based on an Inuit legend that "deals with the dangers of setting personal needs above the needs of a whole community" (Baltruschat, 2004). Zacharias, the film's director, stated that it was "about identity and showing people where they came from, but it's also about survival" (Aleiss, 2005:157). The film shows its visual sovereignty by refusing to remove what may be seen by those used to commercial films as "boring parts." Instead, the audience is forced to sit through 161 minutes, including long views of the landscape and "attention to ethnographic detail, chaste sex scenes, and relative lack of violence and action." This, in turn, forces the audience to alter their viewing pace to an Inuit pace, a slower pace that mirrors the patience required by the community to hunt, travel, and to "battle more than five hundred years of colonialism" (Raheja, 2007:1178).

The film addresses its Inuit and non-Inuit audiences in two different ways (Raheja, 2007:1161). It attempts to instil pride into the youth of the Inuit community while providing "jobs experience to its members who live in poverty, face substance abuse, and suffer from high suicide rates" (Raheja, 2007:1178-9). The film hired over one hundred Igloolik Inuit for its production "actors, hairdressers, and technicians, as well as costume makers, language experts, and hunters who provided food, bringing more than $1.5 million into a local economy that suffers from a 60 percent unemployment rate" (Raheja, 2007:1166). Films by Igloolik Isuma, the production company, are also screened before community members and elders, and edited according to their feedback before being released (Raheja, 2007:1167). By showing community members that their time and opinions were valued, the filmmakers were able to provide more than we are shown on screen: they were able to instill a sense of pride and importance into a community that has been portrayed as uncivilized for generations. The film subtly tackles environmental concerns that are rife among both Inuit and non-Inuit communities, but not only by discussing the potential danger that flora and fauna will face but also the devastation that Inuit communities will confront in the face of global warming (Raheja, 2007:1166). It also compels the non-Inuit audience to think about the

indigenous content of film, representations of Inuit and Native Americans in popular culture, and Native visual aesthetics (Raheja, 2007:1168).

 Atanarjuat allows the Inuit community to not only preserve, their language, culture, and views , but to also present them to the non-Inuit audience. Representing themselves through their own style of film allows them to speak for themselves; they are "no longer aliens in an industry which for a century has used them for its own ends" (Raheja, 2007:1168). Contrary to western cinema, there are no binaries in the film, no distinct "good" and "evil" character. Instead both the main character and his protagonist have positive and negative qualities, and both break traditional taboos. The film is also a "visual re-creation of an oral narrative important to the Inuit community" (Raheja, 2007:1172). This revamping of the oral tradition by presenting it in a film highlights the importance of the oral tradition in Native filmmaking, as stated by Beverly Singer. *Atanarjuat* differs from non-Native produced films by challenging "the former conventions of Canadian Identity" (Melnyk, 2004:262) and forcing the audience to realize the wealth of Inuit culture and the difficulty and strength they exhibit while surviving where few white men are willing to venture.

 The film won several awards, including the Camera d'Or at Cannes in 2001, the first time a Canadian ever won that award (Melnyk, 2004:260). The film also gained positive international and Canadian criticism, confirming "the importance of the Aboriginal vision to a non-Eurocentric Canadianism," and showing that the Canadian public and critics were craving "for an alternative to the clichés of a Southern Canadian culture" (Melnyk, 2004:262). Canadians have shown a willingness to "get used to seeing our way and respecting our way," as Beverly Singer has said they must do (Singer, 2001:94-3). Similarly, the film allows both the filmmakers and Inuit audience to reconnect with their history by presenting a legend in a slightly more modern context, and by keeping the tradition of storytelling alive and ensuring that future generations will be well aware of the legend of Atanarjuat.

Smoke Signals

Smoke Signals is a 1998 film that was the "first feature film written, directed, acted, and co-produced by Native Americans" (Cobb, 2003:206). Its significance is that it is "a production not only about but *by* Native Americans" (Rollins & O'Connor, 2003:11). The screenplay, based on a book by Spokane/Couer d'Alene writer Sherman Alexie and directed by

Cheyenne Chris Eyre, showed Native Americans redefining themselves and reclaiming their sovereignty (Cobb, 2003:207). The film focuses on two young men from the Couer d'Alene reservation and focuses on a physical and spiritual journey that they take together, highlighting the internal struggles of the protagonist, Victor, who has mixed feelings about his alcoholic father. Although the roles of the jock, the nerd, and the alcoholic are stereotypical roles, they cast Native Americans in a light which they have not been seen in before—as individuals with their own personalities (Cobb, 2003:210). Similarly, alcohol is an important part of the film, highlighting its effect on reserve life. While this could reinforce stereotypes of Native Americans as alcoholics, the film also shows how it has affected three generations, and how they are battling, recovering from, and refusing to indulge in alcoholism (Cobb, 2003:218).

Chris Eyre said in an interview that "I grew up watching all the movies with Indians in them, and I love all of them... the older I get, the more I feel badly about those movies... We all had the wool pulled over our eyes about [the] humiliation of the Indians. But when I was young, I didn't have that sense. We loved just to see ourselves on the screen. We were starved for our own images" (Cobb, 2003:216). This reinforces Cobb's point that Native Americans are also consumers of American popular culture (2003:207). Robert Warrior explained that when attending a screening of the film at an annual meeting of the Native American Journalists Association, the young people watching the film were enthralled. He compared their reaction to that of someone watching *Star Wars*; that these young Natives were seeing something that they had never seen on screen before: they were seeing "American Indian actors playing American Indian characters, saying words written by American Indian screenwriters, and following direction from an American Indian director" (Singer, 2001:vii).

Smoke Signals challenged popular portrayals of the Indian in cinema. It shows Native Americans living in today's world, as people with their own quirks and personalities and not as savages in perpetual conflict in the past (Rollins & O'Connor, 2003:11). Non-Native viewers can relate to Victor and Thomas because they are presented as "regular people" (Cobb, 2003:220). Their anger, happiness, sadness are not emotions solely of Indians, they are emotions that make the characters human; and the setting and their Native status shapes their personality and world view (Cobb, 2003:221). The story of the film is "told", voiced over, by Thomas (who journeys with Victor), and contains different flashbacks questioning the truth that both protagonists know (Cobb, 2003:208). The emphasis placed by Thomas on storytelling stresses the importance of the oral tradition in

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contemporary Native life. The film also challenges Hollywood stereotypes by portraying Native American characters and life at the center of the story. Non-Natives, in fact, play a very small part in the film. Similarly, it does not center on white-Indian conflict, but, as stated above, focuses on internal struggles within individuals (Cobb, 2003:210).

Though the film is not overtly political, allowing non-Native viewers to enjoy the story without feeling guilty (Cobb, 2003:213), there are nevertheless scenes that very clearly (yet humorously) show how Western stereotypes of Natives have been formed by Hollywood movies. The scene on the bus shows that the image of the stoic Indian is one that has been ingrained in our minds, and yet is not characteristic of all Native people. Just as importantly, it shows that stereotypes created by the white man have been internalized by Native people, and that Western portrayals of the Indian have deeply affected Native American opinions of themselves (Cobb, 2003:216).

Smoke Signals won various awards and premiered at the Sundance Film Festival, which "actively recruits Native filmmakers and gives them special support" (Cobb, 2003:226). Its international success and recognition proved to mainstream filmmakers that Native Americans could produce a "commercially viable film" (Cobb 2003:226), while telling a good story with Native American characters at the center of the plot (Singer, 2001:61). More important, however, is the fact that *Smoke Signals* allowed Native Americans to tell their own story, in their own words, and through their eyes (Cobb, 2003:226).

Both *Smoke Signals* and *Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner* were hailed as groundbreaking cinematic achievements. Both films were the first to be written, directed, and produced by Indigenous peoples in the United States and Canada, and both films humanized Native people and challenged Hollywood stereotypes of Native Americans and their visual aesthetics. Though the films were very different, *Atanarjuat* recounting an old Inuit legend in a distant past and *Smoke Signals* telling the story of contemporary Native American struggles with family, boredom and alcohol, they both highlight the importance of community and the oral tradition in Indigenous life.

American Peoples Television Network

"During the past twenty years, the greatest advances in Native broadcast media have occurred in Canada" (Singer, 2001:92). The Canadian government provided early financial support for Aboriginal media

productions, and "Television broadcasting and filmmaking in Canada were grounded in official policy… which is particularly fascinating since no similar policy was ever established in the United States specifically for American Indians" (Singer, 2001:56). The main reason for this is the collaboration of Aboriginal organizations and communities pressing the Canadian government for increased rights and for greater access to the media (Singer, 2001:93). Two years after the National Film Board of Canada was established in 1967, it founded a program called "Challenge for Change," aimed at training Aboriginal people to pursue cinematic endeavours about themselves (Singer, 2001:56). The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network became Canada's first national Aboriginal Network on September 1st 1999. It was the first time in history "that indigenous stories [would] be produced for international audiences and broadcast on a national television network dedicated to Aboriginal programming" (Singer, 2001:93). Since then, "First Nation film and television productions have proliferated" (Baltruschat, 2004:47).

To secure funding, APTN would have to be a mandatory service available to all Canadian household with cable, as well as to houses served by direct-to-home and wireless providers. To ensure consistent funding, each subscribing Canadian household is charged $0.15 per month, amounting to $15 million which would be used to support Indigenous production. In exchange, the channel would serve both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal viewers through a large variety of shows, documentaries, news and other productions (Roth, 2005:202). However, despite APTN's relatively secure funding (Roth, 2005:214) the network is still struggling some because it is underfunded (Roth, 2005:209).

APTN features both programs on Aboriginal affairs and programs such as cooking and craft shows with an Aboriginal twist, allowing viewers to "experience *cultural hybridity in action*, the cultural transformation and adaptation of ideas and concepts" (Baltruschat 2004: 55). This is evident in episodes of shows such as *The Creative Native* which show the "making of Christmas ornaments by combining traditional Aboriginal headdress techniques with a non-Native holiday concept" (Baltruschat, 2004:56). Most of the programs originate in Canada and one of the network's key features is its multilingual programming. Programs may be in English, French, or a multitude of Aboriginal languages such as Inuktitut, Cree, and Lakota. Its children's programs also deal with linguistic traditions and the importance of preserving language and traditions. The program also interviews community elders and leaders about issues facing groups, such as environmental and resource concerns and land claims (Baltruschat,

2004:51). APTN also focuses on the younger demographic to build network loyalty. This is done through combining Aboriginal issues and life with MTV and other Western-style cinematography and entertainment-style hosting. Shows such as *Cool Jobs* and *Seventh Generation* focus on employment opportunities and successful young Aboriginal entrepreneurs to empower the youth and provide them with role models and hope (Baltruschat, 2004:54-5). According to Catherine Martin, an APTN board member and Aboriginal filmmaker, "The media is a powerful tool to help our nations heal and bring understanding through the telling of our own stories. APTN, and the first Aboriginal television network in the world, can be a catalyst for change in our lives" (Baltruschat, 2004:51).

APTN allows new and emerging filmmakers to produce programs that will be aired on national television when they would not have been shown on mainstream channels. This allows Aboriginal peoples to focus on storytelling narratives and socio-political and cultural issues. It allows Indigenous people to tell their own stories when "mainstream media can never tell our stories. They can try, but in terms of really knowing the interior of a culture, it's got to be the people who speak for themselves" (Baltruschat, 2004:51-2).

That APTN does not only focus on productions by First Nations and the Inuit, but also collaborates with Indigenous people in the United States, Greenland, Alaska, Finland, Australia, New Zealand, Brazil, Hawaii, Guam, Samoa, and Bolivia (Roth, Singer) shows that Aboriginal people "share a common bond through history, language, and culture that is not restricted by national boundaries" (Baltruschat, 2004:54). Although some programs "such as feature-length films" come from the United States, this practice is common with other Canadian networks that show American programs (Baltruschat, 2004:53). Overall it is important to notice the importance that APTN gives storytelling and the preservation of traditional values, aspects that are also important in the Native-made feature-length films discussed in this paper. According to Doris Baltruschat, "The emergence of prolific production activities among First Nations peoples is… a necessity to create a more balanced media in Canada and beyond," (Baltruschat, 2004:56) an opinion that is shared by filmmakers such as Beverly Singer and Chris Eyre.

Conclusion

The ways in which Native Americans are represented in television and film are important, not only in determining non-Native views of Native

Americans, but also in helping Native people determine their own identity. However, the stereotypical ways in which Native Americans have been represented in both Canadian and American film have had detrimental effects on how Native Americans view themselves. *The Black Robe* and *Dances with Wolves*, were both films that claimed to and were hailed for representing Native Americans in a "true" light and for dispelling stereotypes. Though the films were of very different genres and discussed different issues, both represented Native Americans as frozen in history, and in both movies the protagonist was the white man and the Native American individuals were more a part of the setting. Both films were criticized by Native American groups for continuing to portray them as savages dependant on the white man for their wellbeing, and as a group of people destined to extinction. Neither film challenged current stereotypes but rather gave the viewer comfort in the fact that their position in society was safe and legitimate because Native Americans had given in to white authority and they would have eventually been unable to survive anyway.

Atanarjuat: The Fast Runner and *Smoke Signals* were both landmark cinematic achievements for Native peoples in Canada and the United States. Though both films have distinctly different styles and storylines—*Atanarjuat* recounting a legend, and *Smoke Signals* describing the experience of contemporary Native Americans—they have a large number of similarities as well. Both films were the first in their country to be written, directed and produced entirely by Native Peoples; telling their stories through the Native American perspective. While *Atanarjuat* challenged visual aesthetics as well as Inuit stereotypes, *Smoke Signals* challenged the idea of Native Americans frozen in time, and showed their current existence in both cities and on reserves. Neither film contained many white characters; rather, they showed that both Canadian and American Natives could produce a widely acclaimed and commercially successful film focusing on Native American legend, life, and on individual personalities. Both films, as well as the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network, focus very much on the oral tradition and the importance of storytelling for Native Americans.

"What really matters to us is that we be able to tell our own stories in whatever form we choose," (Singer, 2001:1). Over the last thirty years, this has become more and more possible for Native Americans. Though they still compete for funding and resources, the creation of the Aboriginal Peoples Television Network in Canada has provided a base for support and funding for young and aspiring Inuit and First Nation filmmakers, and film festivals have also supplied an important funding and support base for Native filmmakers as well as providing these efforts with prestigious and

often-times internationally attended locations for their premieres (Singer, 2001:95).

There is no question of the importance of Native Americans in the writing, directing and producing film. The analysis of *The Black Robe* and *Dances with Wolves* has shown that even though the Western-produced films included Native American actors and languages, the representation of the Native was still stereotypical and detrimental for Native viewers` constructions of their own identity. However, Native-produced films both challenge stereotypes and provide Native American youth with role models, while continuing to respect ancient traditions and the opinions of their elders (as in *Atanarjuat*). Therefore, Native American producers and directors do represent their people in a different light than non-Native filmmakers do. Consequently, the importance of Native representation needs to be recognized and increasing opportunities for Native Americans filmmakers to tell their own stories in their own words need to be presented to them.

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INDIGENEITY AND THE INTERNET

Alexandra Wilson

The Internet serves as an important platform for the self-representation of indigenous peoples. With the sheer number of websites dedicated to aboriginal matters (see appendix), it is difficult to ignore the importance of these sites to indigenous peoples. In the study of the Internet and indigeneity, one must ask some questions: What does the Internet represent for indigenous peoples? What do online indigenous communities consist of? And finally, what effect do these communities have on the off-line lives of native peoples? In order to answer these questions, this study will take a look at the discourse of indigenous media and the Internet as a "technology of representation." This is explored by discussing online indigenous communities and their roles concerning self-representation, shared experiences and histories, and education. Finally, the effects of these communities on the off-line lives of indigenous peoples will be analysed in terms of resurgence, visibility and transnational associations. The essay will argue that the Internet has created a place for indigenous peoples to represent themselves and to participate in the articulation of their identities. These processes of self-identification tie into the greater theme of resurgence, encompassing notions of organization, politicization, recognition, authority and visibility.

The diverse media-related activities in which indigenous groups partake, which have developed under distinct historical and political conditions, constitute what Ginsburg calls indigenous media (1991, 92-94). Indigenous media is quite a powerful medium that can involve both indigenous and non-indigenous people. Spitulnik tells us that, "the various actors involved in the production, distribution and consumption of these media are not all necessarily indigenous. However, the essential part is that these indigenous peoples are heavily implicated in the representation of their identity by collaborating in one way or another" (1993, 304-305).

Indigenous media can and does play a major role in maintaining the culture identity of first peoples. We are told that:

> "When other forms are no longer effective, indigenous media offers a possible means – social, cultural, and political – for reproducing and transforming cultural identity among people who have experienced massive political, geographic, and economic disruption. The capabilities of

media to transcend boundaries of time, space, and even language are being used effectively to mediate, literally, historically produced social ruptures and to help construct identities that link past and present in ways appropriate to contemporary conditions." (Ginsburg 1991, 94)

Thus, indigenous media represent cultural, social and political products and processes.

In the traditional media, for example television or newspapers, there exists hierarchy of power: points of view, stories and content in general are controlled by a select few. The presence of indigenous media is limited in these traditional areas. Due to this absence of an indigenous voice in these media, the portrayal of "Fourth World" peoples is usually Eurocentric and inaccurate (Spitulnik 1993, 300-302).

With the Internet, however, this power imbalance is reversed. Anyone, indigenous peoples included, can create websites or forums, such as chat rooms or bulletin boards, with great ease. With the emergence of aboriginal webpages, indigenous peoples have created a significant presence for themselves on the Internet (Forte 2006, 258).

The Internet represents a medium of communication. It is not a disembedded, "placeless place," rather it is, "continuous with and embedded in other social spaces" (Miller and Slater 2000, 5). Issues of representation can be contested, and identities can be articulated in these sites. Thus, the Internet can be characterized as a "technology of representation" (Ginsburg 2002, 41). This process is a dynamic one, where identities are created and constructed, and subjectivities are contested and expressed (Spitulnik 1993, 296).

The Internet embodies a new way to create and articulate communities (Forte 2006, 257). This notion brings to mind Benedict Anderson's concept of an imagined community (see Anderson 1991), which can be defined as, "a mass mediated collectivity where members may not all known each other, but where each shares the idea of a common belonging" (Spitulnik 1993, 159). Anderson's notion of imagined communities applies to Internet-based indigenous communities: their sense of brotherhood is not based on face-to-face interactions; rather, it relies on shared histories and experiences. The sense of unity shared between members as well as the effects these online communities have off-line are genuine and comparable to direct interpersonal communication.

By reflecting their cultural, political and economic realities, indigenous peoples' Internet communities serve as sites for multiple

processes, for example, the promotion of tourism and art sales or the creation of transnational ties between groups. This examination will focus primarily on the process of self-representation and the Internet's role in its promotion.

The Internet provides indigenous peoples with a space to represent themselves - something not always possible in other forms of traditional media. This self-representation enables First Nations to author themselves and legitimize their identity-constructions (Landzelius 2006, 19). The articulation of indigenous identities can be done in various ways on the Internet.

The sharing of multiple sets of experiences on the Internet is a method of constructing a Native identity. Indigeneity has been defined and redefined *ad infinitum* with debates about who can claim the title of "indigenous". However, one of the most consistent themes that appear in these definitions is the non-dominant, or oppressed, condition of indigenous peoples (Hughes 2003, 19). Indeed, most "Fourth World" peoples suffer through social, economic and political inequalities. Sharing such personal experiences of subordination and marginalization on the Internet enable indigenous peoples to create sense of unity and solidarity.

Indigenous peoples from the same group may also share their common history (Forte 2006, 264). This allows certain people who have lost touch with their roots or traditions to reconstruct a heritage. Furthermore, different groups may compare their histories. Some, for example, may find similarities in their creation stories or in certain traditions. This notion that different indigenous people aren't so dissimilar reinforces a sense of unity among groups.

Communities on the Internet also serve to educate indigenous and non-indigenous peoples of their beliefs and traditions. By educating non-natives on the Internet, this learning can be done at a distance, creating a buffer between these two groups. One could argue that by avoiding face-to-face interactions with non-indigenes, the indigenous lifestyle is better protected (Landzelius 2006, 11). Education is also important for Native peoples who may have lost traditional ways of life and who desire to learn more about it.

Debates also arise in these communities. These include discussions concerning diversity, tolerance and authenticity (Landzelius 2006, 14). Through these debates, ideas relating to indigeneity can be formulated and contested. Though differences may arise, this is an important process in the creation of collective ideologies and identities.

The fact that these discussions and interactions take place on the

Internet adds a new dimension to the discourse of indigenous identity. When one acknowledges that the Internet indeed provides Natives a place to represent themselves, then essentialist views of indigeneity are no longer suitable: a more processual, modern vision is necessary. Chatting and creating websites about the realities of current Aboriginal experiences represents a contemporary form of indigenous self-representation (Ginsburg 2002, 106).

The Internet adds an additional dimension to the discourse of indigenous identity: it can reach across boundaries of space and time, even language. Members from different indigenous groups may communicate with one another, sharing experiences and traditions and creating bonds. This identity-construction process involves the participation of many indigenous voices, giving them a place to express themselves. These online communities are meeting grounds in which First Nations people can practice and configure their indigeneity, anonymously and intimately, on an individual, collective and pan-collective scale.

As indigenous identities are constructed and articulated on the Internet, "the everyday practices and the lives of indigenous peoples are also coming to be shaped (directly and indirectly) by computer-mediated communications" (Landzelius 2006, 19). The effect Internet-based communities have on natives in their day to day life away from the computer can be related to ideas of resurgence and transnational associations.

In terms of resurgence, online indigenous communities have a significant influence on the daily practices and lives of natives off-line. With their ability to represent themselves, indigenous peoples can reverse negative depictions illustrated by traditional media and challenge stereotypes. Furthermore, with the creation of websites and forums on the Internet, natives can finally create a space for themselves in the media and in the public's eye. This process reverses their previous invisibility within the public sphere (Forte 2006, 258-259).

Self-representation and visibility both play into processes of recognition and authenticity. Indeed, by visibly authoring an indigenous identity with the participation of natives around the world, many groups are gaining recognition from the media, governments and individuals. This identity-construction process, authenticated by the participation of many indigenous voices, is reclaiming the authority for native self-representation (Forte 2006, 258-259).

The recognition and authentication of native self-representation influences others to self-identify as indigenous. For example, many have assumed stereotypes that Caribs are cannibals. However, by credibly

challenging such stereotypes on the Internet, many people who believe they have Carib ancestry may feel more comfortable to identify themselves as indigenous. Overcoming such stigmas attracts many from the diaspora to regroup and take part in online communities. These Internet-based sites help individuals take pride in their indigenousness, enabling them to self-identify themselves as native (Forte 2006, 262).

These communities also have an effect on the non-indigenous population. For many, native websites and forums represent their "first encounter" with indigenous thoughts, traditions and ways of life (Landzelius 2006, 11 and Forte 2006, 262). These communities make an impression on the visitor: though some have disclaimers explaining that they do not represent all indigenous peoples, they still carry some responsibility of "impression management."

Some non-indigenous peoples view natives who use the Internet as "fake natives", or "Internet Indians" (Forte 2006, 261). This has direct and indirect effects on indigenous peoples, as they are usually, if not always, subordinate to non-indigenous groups in society. The impression non-natives have impact their lives a great deal in terms of discrimination or social programs. If someone sees indigenous people online as "fakes" that are trying to benefit from government assistance, for example, this may impact their view of indigenous people offline as well.

Indigenous peoples, however, are not necessarily using the Internet as a way to attain material or political goals. The desire for knowledge on their heritage, the study of their genealogy or simply the search for a sense of belonging to a community are, for the most part, what drives them to take part in these online sites of self-representation. Perhaps one of the most meaningful effects of these Internet-based communities is the feeling of being proud of self-identifying as indigenous, not dishonest material gain (Forte 2006, 261-263).

The links and associations created with the help of these online communities is another important development. The Internet has increased the capacity for people to communicate across boundaries of space, time, and even language. Intertribal communication has increased, creating networks of indigenous groups. Sharing certain commonalities in experiences and interests, groups can unite to create intertribal political entities to voice their concerns and rights as indigenous people (Forte 2006, 265).

Though the Internet has been an effective tool is the strengthening of indigenous communities, certain limits and problems associated with the Internet and indigeneity exist and may be expanded upon in future

works, namely the limited access of the Internet in certain locales and the overrepresentation of North American Natives. Ginsburg also evokes what she calls a "Faustian dilemma", explaining that on the one hand this new media enables the articulation of indigenous identity, but on the other the spread of these technologies represents a "final assault on culture, language, imagery, relationship between generations, and respect for traditional knowledge" (Ginsburg 1991, 96). We must continue to study these concerns as to ensure that the Internet is "technology of representation" for all native people.

Indigenous media, including the Internet, provides native populations with a place to construct and articulate their identities. The Internet as a "technology of representation" allows indigenous peoples to portray themselves and to overcome stigmas attached with nativeness. The creation of communities on the Internet enables a sharing of histories and experiences between individuals and groups. With common experiences and a medium that transcends space, time and language, indigenous peoples can create intertribal networks, enabling them to unite and affirm their existence as people and to defend their rights as aboriginals. The creation of a supratribalistic identity among indigenous peoples represents a source for activism and resurgence that will no doubt continue to get stronger as the Internet becomes more accessible and indigenous people from all over the world discover this extensive cultural network.

Appendix

http://www.dmoz.org/Society/Ethnicity/Indigenous_People/
Online directory of websites relating to indigenous peoples, with a total of 2481 websites classified by region.

http://directory.aboriginalconnections.com/
Another directory classifying links by region.

http://centrelink.org/ANTH303/links.htm
A course website with a directory of around 140 websites pertaining to Indigeneity.

http://www.bloorstreet.com/300block/aborlart.htm
A website with links to Aboriginal Arts and Culture

http://www.ammsa.com/ammsalinks.html

A directory of websites relating to all things indigenous: art, employment, health, youth, economic development, culture, education, media, veterans, etc. This directory even links to other online directories!

All websites last accessed on November 19 2007.

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Collection of four poems
Nogeeshik (C.B.W.)

You Can't Handle The Truth

You have a division in the river that has caused not just the Iroquois Confederacy to be divided,
Now you must look at Messena, N.Y. in the U.S.A., Canada down to Cornwall politicians trying to hide it
As the infrastructure is already built solidly in the U.S.A., so where's Canada to go?
Yeah sure you got tough talk, but in reality Mike Mitchell's song & dance is all a part of the show
Where he once was a man who believed in inner-peace until money ran w/ rachel across the bridge
So let's not be funny or coy when he talks of the family or community, because he only stands on the ridge
And not the top of the White Pine Tree, because he would foretell of the calamity that is near,
Not just echo's Handsome Lake's interpretation of the Great-Law that he speaks and the people hear..
Know that we as a Nation see our 0wn people put the gun problem in our head
But now we're worried about feeding our children sufficiently before they go to bed
Don't you or can't you see the disruption w/in the voice of our Grand Chief who speaks for you and me
About Aboriginal sensitivity, gun issues, but look at our own police irresponsibility
Never mind he only talks for 16% of our people and even less e/in the Iroquois Confederacy
Because even Handsome Lake would run from the hidden agenda that surely is w/in the definition of assimilation and Manifest Destiny...

Infidelity Needs To Stop

What's more corrupt then a system that defends the errors of its past,
Is it not in common decency to look at change at last
As if, we the people watch ignorance kill the interpretation of innerpeace,
Where the Evil convinces the so called sinners to repent and never to
cease..
All the while only asking forgiveness just to recommit rape and
pillage(physically)
In the name of the father, the son, the holy spirit, and the holy ghost
intertwining the false hope (spiritually)
You have to laugh at the wickedness because we cried too long as a
Nation,
Now you have to look at reconciliation in the death of the free masons
Know the intellectual resolve is as pure as the emphany of the stars and
moons of the sky
And the reflections w/in the Clear Blue Water gives you the
understanding to the little white lies
Breathe w/me as if Creation exhales the beauty of the growth w/in the
Wampum Row
As the Creation story is relived so that our children live as equals as we
grow
From the eastern tides of the Mic-mac, Mohawk, Sioux , Apache and the
Navaho,
To the spirit of freedom that beats w/in the blood of you and me, down
to the Great Warriors of Ronald Cross, Red Elk and Geronimo

Understanding Our Fate

Appalachian mountains, Appalachian strength, rivers abundantly flowing to the sea,
Vermont, New Hampshire, Maine cascade w/ a peak all w/in the winter madness of glee.
Eastern border of the sea glimmering rememorants of the Wabanaki Confederacy,
Heart shape glows in the Northern Lights that reflect w/in the powers of me.
Clear Blue Water is my name that absorbs the day and night giving us our way,
Spiritually manifesting the powers to see the majesticaldisplay in the moon and emphany in the suns ray.
Transparent thoughts
Heating of the rocks
Gasping as each splash of water absorbed by our grandfathers,
Leaving you heavenly in a state of bliss recalling the beauty and the strengths in the waters
Each door commits the spiritual cleansing to another level of belief,
Sorrow, pain, love, hate, compassion all into one as you sacrifice searching relief.
Of the burdens of seeing you mother fenced and partitioned but the first immigrant,
Stuck on stupid as the Confederacies have accepted** peace, but yet still pay the evil rent.
Subcultured, shocked by the influence of hate established by the conquering John Smith,
Creating stories of malice concocting untruths of the scalp as they purchased their own myth.
On and on we catapult our being to a level of acceptance** to find the way in peace,
However we are lost in the turbulence that has caused the growth w/in The Great-Law to cease....

As She Grows w/in Inner-peace

Do you remember looking into the river w/ your thoughts of what you
want to say or even ask
Kind of in your own thoughts while preparing the feast in the nation in
your longhouse task.
Your task to be a woman who sees that the translation of our inner-peace
evolves w/ the day,
That our Nationhood is protected w/ the knowledge,love,commitment
and the understanding of our defence in our nation w/ an A.K..
You see the logic of inner-peace is developed by a man walking the sides
of the shore near the river,
It is in the medicine that heals the arm, legs, heart, mind and down to the
internal organs of the liver.
You see inner-peace is furthered enlightened by the beauty of your own
heart's desire, smile and even just a hug,
The display by our Mother is even spoken by the sun, wind, water,
animals, trees, birds, down to a bug or thug,
In the Mohawk Warrior Society that even our own hate w/ a passion,
because we reclaim land that has been stolen,
However,we mislead our children w/ the consumption of alcohol and
drugs that leave our children rollin, rollin, and rollin.
Therefor causing our inner-peace to be set back, but not forgotten in the
roots of Great Peace,
As to know the inner light of darkness can always comfort your mind,
body and spirit eternally never to cease..
Where an Angel cannot prevail to give you understanding to the peace of
love you find in your father,
Nor can it be disturbed by the ideology of NOGEESHIK the one and
only Clear Blue Water...

La représentation de la crise d'Oka par les médias
Aude Leroux-Chartré

Introduction

Le 11 juillet 1990, tous les yeux étaient rivés sur Kanesatake, près de Montréal, alors que la Sûreté du Québec affrontait des Mohawks dans des combats de tirs croisés menant à la mort du caporal Marcel Lemay. La crise d'Oka a duré du 11 juillet au 26 septembre 1990.

Ce conflit en lui-même est vieux de trois siècles et pourtant aucun gouvernement n'a encore tenté de régler le litige. La cause de ce dernier affront tourne autour du projet d'expansion du Club de golf d'Oka sur un territoire mohawk, plus particulièrement sur un cimetière ancestral. Les Premières Nations ont toujours relevé du gouvernement fédéral. Cependant, le Premier Ministre, Brian Mulroney, a refusé de se prononcer. Il a ignoré le conflit, tout comme ces prédécesseurs. Les journalistes, eux, en ont fait un sujet prisé lors de la crise.

Alors, bien que la crise d'Oka soit articulée autour des débats concernant les droits et les revendications des Mohawks de Kanesatake d'un point de vue politique, la presse écrite s'est intéressée davantage à l'esprit «décisionnel des gouvernements» et à la représentation de la Société des guerriers, biaisant ainsi le portrait de cette crise. C'est à travers les thèmes de l'histoire autochtone, des droits autochtones, de la loi et l'ordre , de l a mort du caporal Lemay et de l'image des Mohawks et des institutions politiques que les préjugés seront démontrés.

Résumé du conflit

Afin de bien comprendre le portrait que la presse écrite jette sur la crise d'Oka, il est important d'interpréter les événements qui s'y sont passés. Ainsi, un bref historique est tout à fait approprié.

Le 11 juillet 1990, la Sûreté du Québec a affronté des guerriers mohawks, ou *Warriors*, cachés derrière des barricades près de la pinède d'Oka, localité située à une cinquantaine de kilomètres de Montréal, dans un échange de tir qui a mené à la mort le caporal Marcel Lemay. C'est le début de la crise d'Oka qui a duré 78 jours.

Cependant, le conflit remonte au 17ème siècle, et depuis les Mohawks

de Kanesatake n'ont jamais cessé de revendiquer leur territoire et leur souveraineté, en vain. La première barricade avait été érigée en mars 1990 afin d'empêcher les travaux d'agrandissement du Club de Golf d'Oka qui se avaient lieu sur un cimetière ancestral autochtone. Les gouvernements fédéral et provincial ont refusé de négocier avec les Amérindiens tant et aussi longtemps que les barricades seraient érigées. Seul John Ciaccia, ministre des Affaires autochtones du Québec, a tenté de régler le litige. L'armée canadienne s'est mêlée au conflit, et avec la Sûreté du Québec, ces institutions ont empêché la nourriture et les médicaments de se rendre à la communauté autochtone. En guise d'appui, Kanawake, communauté voisine de Kanesatake, a érigé une barricade sur le pont Mercier le 12 juillet coupant ainsi la circulation. Les dernières barricades ont été démantelées le 26 septembre lorsque les *Warriors* se sont rendus et que la crise d'Oka a officiellement pris fin. La Commission des droits de la personne du Québec a affirmé dans son rapport *Le choc collectif* que le conflit trouvait sa source dans une «revendication non résolue.»

Depuis la crise d'Oka, différents rapports et articles concernant la représentation du conflit dans la presse écrite ont été publiés. Ceux utilisés dans le cadre de cet essai sont :

> «Crise et représentation médiatique; Analyse de cas : Étude des éditoriaux du journal La Presse sur la crise d'Oka-Kanesatake de 1990» de Valérie Koporek qui se concentre sur le quotidien La Presse;
> «Note de recherche Le silence des Mohawks… ou des médias? La presse écrite et le déroulement de l'enquête du coroner Guy Gilbert sur la crise d'Oka (1990)» de Matthieu Sossoyan qui se spécialise sur un sujet particulier, soit l'enquête sur la mort du caporal Lemay; et
> «The Canadian Newspaper Industry's Portrayal of the Oka Crisis» de Warren H. Skea qui dresse un portrait global des journaux canadiens.

Ces différents articles critiquaient l'utilisation des sources par les journalistes et évaluaient les différents aspects traités et points de vue exprimés par la presse écrite.

Sources d'informations dans le conflit

Les journalistes ont été critiqués dans l'utilisation inéquitable de leurs sources. À ce sujet, l'armée canadienne a certainement joué un rôle en «s'allouant […] un droit de gestion sur l'information communiquée» en fournissant aux médias des films tournés sur les lieux du conflit afin de discréditer ses opposants et de se montrer sous un meilleur œil au public. L'armée a même coupé les téléphones du Centre de traitement dans le but de faire taire les journalistes. De plus, les policiers de la Sûreté du Québec ont essayé de repousser les médias pour les empêcher d'obtenir des informations. D'ailleurs, la réalisatrice Alanis Obomsawin traite en partie de ce sujet dans son film *Kanehsatake 270 ans de résistance* lorsqu'elle montre un journaliste derrière les barricades qui communique avec un soldat qui lui fait signe que les journalistes doivent être «là-bas» en pointant vers un endroit différent. Parfois, les différentes sources se contredisaient, particulièrement à propos de l'acheminement des convois de nourriture et de médicaments. La Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme a retenu en annexe 7 le témoignage du révérend Purden de l'Église unie du Canada qui, le 24 août 1990, désirait apporter de la nourriture aux Amérindiens alors que sa voiture a été la cible de lanceurs de roches. La police n'a réagi que lorsque les journalistes sont arrivés. John Ciaccia admet lui-même avoir nié les allégations comme quoi la Sûreté du Québec n'autorisait pas les Mohawks «à recevoir de la nourriture, des médicaments ou des soins médicaux» alors qu'elles étaient vraies. Il y avait donc contradiction entre les différentes sources.

Dans la section où elle établit le profil de la représentation des *Warriors* dans le quotidien La Presse, Valérie Koporek admet que 67% des sources proviennent des gouvernements fédéral et provincial et 25% de la police et de l'armée, laissant un maigre 8% provenant des Amérindiens et d'autres sources. En ce qui concerne les institutions politiques, les victimes de ces institutions n'ont que 7,5% des voix. Les autochtones ont été largement ignorés comme source d'informations dans le conflit. Quant à Warren H. Skea, il établit dans un graphique que 29,8% des sources proviennent des autochtones, 46,2% des non-Indiens et 24% des autochtones puis des non-Indiens. Eve McBride dans *The Gazette* résume l'utilisation des sources de manière plutôt radicale : «I feel I've heard nothing but lies, bias, propaganda and rhetoric. I've heard slick press releases, fiery rebuttals and slanted, inaccurate reporting.»

Bref, les institutions politiques lors de la crise d'Oka ont contrôlé les informations dans leurs propres intérêts.

Les médias écrits

Afin de comprendre le rôle des médias en période de crise, il est important de les saisir en tant qu'entités sociopolitiques globales qui répondent à plusieurs facteurs plutôt qu'en des entités isolées. De plus, différents facteurs, soit la région de publication d'un journal, la structure corporative du journal et le type de sources utilisées, influencent le type de message convoyé et la couverture d'un événement. Comme démontré dans le film *Kanesatake 270 ans de résistance* et par Valérie Koporek dans son mémoire, les journalistes ont parfois eu à recourir à des actes illégaux afin d'obtenir des informations ou de couvrir la crise d'Oka d'un point de vue contraire à celui des institutions politiques. De plus, les médias véhiculent une image non objective qui servirait à «justifier les idées populaires.» En résumé, le journaliste tente toujours de dresser un portrait objectif dans le meilleur de ses capacités, mais le message en lui-même ne l'est jamais.

Principaux thèmes

À travers les différents articles mentionnés précédemment, plusieurs thèmes récurrents ont été abordés lors de la crise d'Oka dans la presse écrite : l'histoire autochtone, les droits autochtones, la loi et l'ordre et la mort du caporal Lemay.

Le thème de l'«histoire autochtone» englobe des interprétations, généralement mohawk, des problèmes encourus par les Amérindiens aux barricades et dans les villages de Kanesatake et Kanawake. Une interprétation pro-autochtone émerge de cette approche. Selon les statistiques de Skea, il est possible de conclure que les régions où la concentration d'Amérindiens est plus élevée, comme les Prairies, sont plus enclines à traiter de cette approche. Étonnement, le Québec est la région où l'on traite le moins de ce sujet. En tout, ce thème a été abordé dans 34,1% des journaux. Par exemple, *The Province* publié à Vancouver a diffusé le 27 juillet 1990 un article sur la circulation de la nourriture jusqu'aux Mohawks derrières les barricades.

Les «droits des autochtones» sont également un sujet touché davantage par des pro-autochtones puisqu'il consiste principalement en différents récits des injustices que les Amérindiens ont subi à travers leur histoire dans 8,7% des journaux. Cette approche inclut le contexte dans lequel la crise a éclaté. C'est certainement l'approche la moins utilisée. Marina Jimenez cite Randy Lawrence, porte-parole de Citoyens contre le génocide, dans son article du *Edmonton Journal* qui affirme que «The golf

course land (in dispute at Oka) isn't as big as an oil field. The real issue is that after 500 years, we still haven't worked out our relationship with native people.»

En tout, les deux approches pro-autochtones ont été abordées dans 43,3% des journaux au Canada. Les deux autres approches sont anti-autochtones et elles ont été abordées dans 56,7% des journaux.

Le Premier Ministre Brian Mulroney, responsable de la juridiction des autochtones au Canada, a déclaré que la crise d'Oka était principalement liée à la maintenance de la «loi et l'ordre.» Cette approche dépeint les autochtones d'une manière très négative et met l'emphase sur les *Warriors* et l'utilisation d'armes. Elle regroupe principalement les dialogues entre les institutions politiques et les Mohawks. C'est le thème le plus abordé avec 51,4% des cas. Dans *The Gazette* du 8 septembre 1990, il est rapporté que la «Sûreté du Quebec director Robert Lavigne personally approved a police communiqué that accused the English media of "dishonest criticism inspired by political motives," a police spokesman [Daniel Lamirande] said yesterday.»

Par contre, la «mort du caporal Lemay» est probablement le thème le plus neutre avec 5,8% de représentation dans les journaux canadiens. Cependant, il a été affecté par la «rhétorique des gouvernements» et de la Sûreté du Québec, en plus de la veuve du caporal qui démontrait publiquement sa colère contre les Amérindiens. Alors que la Sûreté du Québec et La Presse Canadienne déclarent que les Amérindiens ont amorcé l'échange de tir et que le corps policier n'a fait que son devoir, endossé par le premier ministre, certains Montréalais comme Pierre Hamel écrivent que « l'absolution accordée au corps policier par les responsables gouvernementaux participe de la pire intolérance raciste.» Les Mohawks quant à eux jettent le blâme sur la Sûreté du Québec, qui selon eux aurait ouvert le tir le premier. Le rapport du coroner Guy Gilbert sur la mort de Marcel Lemay est sorti le 16 août 1995, soit cinq ans après la crise. Le rapport critique sévèrement l'attitude des Mohawks pendant la crise, et celle des institutions politiques qui tentent de paralyser l'enquête, ainsi que l'inertie des gouvernements à résoudre le conflit. L'analyse de Matthieu Sossoyan sur la couverture médiatique de cette enquête révèle que le «discours journalistiques […] n'était pas équilibré et qu'il a présenté une vue partielle des audiences et des témoignages.» Les Mohawks se seraient fait étiquetés de criminels par huit moyens différents.

Les articles des journalistes de la presse écrite étaient partagés dans les quatre thèmes examinés ci-haut. La couverture médiatique s'est concentrée majoritairement sur la question de la loi et de l'ordre, associé

avec l'esprit décisionnel des gouvernements, avec 51,4% des articles, plutôt que les revendications territoriales de Mohawks de Kanesatake avec 8,7%.

Représentation des points de vue dans la presse écrite

Dans son mémoire, Valérie Koporek distingue des principaux thèmes traités deux groupes de personnes qui sont présentés de l'avant : les Mohawks et les *Warriors* et les institutions politiques

Les Mohawks

La représentation des Amérindiens mohawks dans la presse écrite est inégale entre les journaux anglophones et francophones. La principale raison serait la langue; en effet, les Mohawks sont anglophones, ils s'adressent donc davantage aux médias anglophones. Les *Warriors*, quant à eux, constituent le principal groupe présenté dans les médias. Ils sont d'abord associés à la violence et à l'utilisation de la force et des armes. Les propos tenus par les journalistes sont principalement racistes à l'égard des autochtones : «Amenez l'armée et fusillez-moi tout ça! C'est *écoeurant* d'appuyer des bandits.» Les *Warriors*, ou Société des guerriers, sont en fait un groupe d'activistes Mohawks qui défendent les droits de souveraineté, particulièrement le droit aux bingos et au commerce de cigarette. Ils ont été invités par des membres de la communauté de Kanesatake en juillet 1990 pour les aider à défendre leurs droits, mais ils ont également fait d'Oka la «cible de leur militantisme». Par contre, leur présence ne fait pas unanimité et l'utilisation d'armes est déplorée par certains. L'origine des idéologies racistes vient donc du fait que les articles n'expliquaient pas toujours la distinction entre Mohawks et *Warriors*. En tout, uniquement 8,8% des thèmes associés aux *Warriors* traitaient de revendication territoriale, la raison même de leur présence. L'opinion des Mohawks de Kanesatake a été largement ignorée dans les médias, qui ont préféré l'aspect sensationnaliste du sujet.

Les institutions politiques

Les institutions politiques sont divisées en deux sous-groupes : les gouvernements, ainsi que les corps policiers et l'armée. Ce groupe constitue la source principale d'informations pour les journalistes pendant la durée du conflit. Il a été démontré plus haut que le contrôle d'informations leur permettait de distribuer un message en leur faveur. Dans ce cadre

d'action, le principal intervenant touché a été le premier ministre canadien Brian Mulroney, principalement face aux difficultés à résoudre le litige à Oka. La presse graphique anglophone a dressé le portrait de Mulroney comme étant un «homme froussard et irresponsable.» Cela est dû au fait que les Amérindiens relèvent de la juridiction fédérale et qu'il a décidé de ne pas s'impliquer dans la gestion du conflit. À cela, la Fédération internationale des droits de l'homme répond que «le conflit se situe entre le gouvernement fédéral et les Mohawks. Par contre, le gouvernement fédéral considère que c'est un litige entre les Mohawks et la municipalité d'Oka.» Roch Bilodeau de *La Tribune* stipule le 31 juillet que «monsieur Mulroney n'a pas réellement d'idée sur la suite des événements.» Lors de la crise, les journalistes semblaient plutôt intéressés à obtenir les allégations des différentes personnes ou institutions pointées du doigt, qui ont été la source dans 57,5% des articles. Valérie Koporek affirme que les éditorialistes abordaient la crise d'Oka d'un point de vue politique dans la gestion à long terme de la question amérindienne et qu'ils mettaient de l'avant l' «inaction et l'inefficacité du système politique,» appuyant la thèse que la crise d'Oka a été traitée par l'esprit 'décisionnel' des gouvernements plutôt que par les revendications territoriales des Mohawks.

Conclusion

En conclusion, les idées de revendications territoriales et de souveraineté des Mohawks de Kanesatake exprimées dans la crise d'Oka, et refusées depuis le 17ème siècle, ont été ignorées par les journalistes qui ont préféré un traitement du sujet plus sensationnaliste. Ils ont axé leur message sur l'esprit «décisionnel des gouvernements» et la représentation de la Société des guerriers, biaisant ainsi le portrait de cette crise. Les principales sources utilisées par les médias étaient les institutions politiques comme les gouvernements, l'armée et la Sûreté du Québec. Par le contrôle d'informations, elles ont permis la transmission d'un message biaisé en leur faveur. Conséquemment, parmi les quatre thèmes abordés sur la Crise d'Oka, «la loi et l'ordre» était le plus présent, mentionné dans 51,4% des articles. Ce thème était traité d'un angle anti-autochtone, avec celui de «la mort du caporal Lemay.» Les deux thèmes pro-autochtones ont été traités dans 43,3% des articles et concernaient l'«histoire présente des Mohawks» et comment ils vivaient la crise, ainsi que dans moins de 10% des articles «les droits des autochtones,» principale raison du conflit. La Commission des droits de l'homme du Québec conclut en affirmant «tout le problème tient actuellement, pour les peuples autochtones, dans la reconnaissance

pleine et entière de cette réalité (véritables peuples) et dans la détermination des droits propres à actualiser.»

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Partners

QPIRG- Quebec Public Interest Research Group

The Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill is a non-profit, student-run organization that conducts research, education, and action on environmental and social justice issues at McGill University and in the Montreal community. With such a broad mandate, QPIRG brings together a wide range of activists interested in many different issues.

QPIRG-McGill is opposed to all forms of discrimination on the basis of: class, gender, race, sexual orientation, and dis/ability.

QPIRG-McGill is run by a volunteer Board of Directors which is responsible for QPIRG management, budgeting, project development, staff, working groups and the development of the group's political vision. Every March, students are elected at the Annual General Meeting open to all QPIRG members. In addition, the Students' Society of McGill University (SSMU) and the Post-Graduate Students' Society (PGSS) each have one representative on the Board.

Quebec Public Interest Research Group at McGill University
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E qpirg@ssmu.mcgill.ca
Hours: Monday - Friday 11 - 5 PM.

We regret that our space is not wheelchair accessible

The First Peoples' House of McGill University

Like most "Houses" across Canada, the First Peoples' House attempts to provide a sense of community and a voice to Aboriginal students that have left their home communities in order to pursue their education.

*It is our hope that the education that Aboriginal students receive here at McGill will benefit the communities which they are from. An anthropologist, whose name escapes me, once said, "The mark of a truly sophisticated civilization is its ability to adapt to change." These words reflect the resilience of Aboriginal people since European contact to the present. Education is one of many keys to our survival into the new millennium. Aboriginal students who have graduated from McGill would attest to this fact. Dedication and perseverance have enabled them to attain their goals and perhaps the realization that "they will emerge with their hands held forward to grasp the place in society that is rightfully theirs" (*the late Chief Dan George*).*

However, in order to keep our sense of identity within a large postsecondary institution, we must not forget our roots, our language, customs, traditions and teachings of our ancestors. We must remain true to those teachings and respect one another's differences. As Aboriginal people emerge from the darkness of oppression, we look to the future that we hope is full of light and freedom to control our own destinies. An academic education based on contemporary teachings, combined with our own ancestral knowledge, will allow us to "emerge with our hands held forward" into a promising future.

As our Elders tell us, "We are always learning till the day we die!"

We welcome all indigenous students including Métis, the Inuit, & Native (both "status" & "non-status"), Maori and Aborigines.

Skén:nen - In Peace and Friendship

Waneek Horn-Miller

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Office of Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE)

The Social Equity and Diversity Education (SEDE) Office is committed to fostering a fair and inclusive environment that respects the dignity of each member of the McGill Community. By actively educating, heightening awareness, and providing opportunities for dialogue about equity and diversity-related issues, we strive to strengthen the Community in our shared responsibility toward a truly equitable society.

Our Goals

- *Raise awareness and understanding by members of the University Community on matters of equity, diversity, discrimination and harassment;*

- *Make connections between different members of the McGill Community, and the wider communities in Montréal, Québec, and across Canada in order to foster dialogue, networks and learning, and to develop and promote best practices;*

- *Organize events and information campaigns through workshops, guest speakers, and print and electronic media;*

- *Provide members of the McGill Community with help to understand the relevant policies and their implications.*

- *Inform members of the McGill Community of available avenues and mechanisms to which they can direct their concerns.*

Social Equity and Diversity Education Office (SEDE)
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Tel.: 514-398-2039

Email: equity.diversity@mcgill.ca

The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada (MISC)

The McGill Institute for the Study of Canada was established in 1994. Its mission is to:

- *promote a better understanding of Canada through the study of our heritage;*
- *develop a clearer understanding of Canada's social, political and economic future;*
- *identify and explore the benefits that a pluralistic society offers;*
- *support the study of Canada across the country and internationally.*

In order to achieve these goals, the Institute:

- *encourages a multidisciplinary approach to the study of Canada;*
- *promotes public as well as university-based education about Canada;*
- *fosters the development of networks in the areas of Canadian Studies;*
- *enhances informed discussion of public policy.*

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The Anthropology Student's Association

The Anthropology Students' Association represents the interests of students in the Department of Anthropology.

Leacock Building
855 Sherbrooke Street West
Montreal, Quebec
H3A 2T7

Email mcgillasa@hebel.com

SSMU- Student Society of McGill University

The SSMU stands for the Students' Society of McGill University! We, in short are your student union. Every undergraduate at McGill is a member of the SSMU. We are here to speak out for you and advocate for your interests. On the local, university levels this means being your representation to the McGill administration. We work hard for fairer academic justice processes, better quality instruction, and better services for students. On the broader level, we are also strong advocates for accessible, quality, public education. We speak up and organize students for better public funding, and against unsustainable tuition fee increases. We also aim to provide you with everything you might need during your time here at McGill that isn't provided by the University itself.

For all general inquiries, please call our front desk at (514) 398-6800
3600 rue McTavish, Suite 1200
Montreal, QC H3A 1Y2
Canada

AUS-Arts Undergraduate Society

The AUS is an elected student government with two aims: to represent and promote the welfare and interests of its members, and to provide activities and services to enhance the educational, cultural, environmental and social conditions of its members.

All undergraduates in the Faculty of Arts are members of the AUS. We are always looking for volunteers and for new ideas so please contact us! We look forward to seeing you and we wish you a fun and successful year!

Leacock Basement, Room B-12, accessible through the Arts Lounge
Phone(514) 398-1993
Fax (514) 398-4431

McGill University
Leacock Building B-12
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Montreal, QC, H3A 2T7

Borderless World Volunteers (McGill Chapter)

 Borderless World Volunteers sends student volunteers to developing countries for community-development projects. Founded in 2003, the organization seeks to foster links between communities in need and students with a capacity for leadership and support in areas of international development.

 We assist in empowering youth to lead and be part of group ventures directed towards the implementation of development projects at the most basic level. We provide a channel through which students can cause specific, measurable and long-lasting impact in the communities in which they work. We encourage our teams to research their proposed field site, develop a viable project proposal with measurable goals and benchmarks, conduct background research, and create a financial assessment of the project. Thus we encourage youth to participate not only in the application of development ideas but also in the generation, verification and assessment of their own projects.

Our Mandate: Developing tomorrow's leaders in development.

Email: borderlessworldvolunteers@gmail.com

Website: http://WWW.BORDERLESSWORLD.ORG

IAM- Indigenous Access McGill

What they do

-is provide support to students from First Nations and Inuit communities studying in the Health and Social Services disciplines at McGill (Social Work, Nursing, Occupational Therapy, Physiotherapy, Dietetics and Speech and Language Pathology)

What they offer

-is a dedicated support team of advisors who will offer mentoring and tutoring on all aspects of your studies

-is a direct link to all the resources available to students at McGill from counseling to study skills, from writing skills to library research and much more

-is the use of a resource centre in the School of Social work where you can consult documentation, do on-line research, discuss with other students, talk to the tutors

-is an opportunity to get together with other First Nations and Inuit students and to support each other

-is a summer support program for First Nations and Inuit students who have been accepted into the social work program or one of the health disciplines mentioned above - two weeks of mini-courses, field placement visits, introduction to McGill support services

Indigenous Access McGill Office
McGill University School of Social Work
3506 University, Room 319
Montreal QC, H3A 2A7

Aboriginal Health Interest Group of McGill

We are a group based in the Faculty of Medicine at McGill, but welcome everyone interested in promoting and improving the health of aboriginal people, families and communities in Canada.

Our VISION: Healthy and vibrant Indigenous nations, communities, families and individuals supported by an abundance of well informed Indigenous and non-Indigenous health care practitioners working together.

Because... HIV, TB, diabetes and suicide rates in Canada's First Peoples are unacceptably high; there are incredible young Aboriginal leaders that would make terrific doctors and nurses if given the opportunity; a lack of sustainable health care workers for northern communities; a lack of interest among medical students in pursuing a northern career; a need to inform health care workers of traditional healing and cultural practices; environmental health impacts of climate change, Hydro development, persistent organic pollutants; Justice for all.

Our areas of action:
ADVOCACY-
Locally= Lobbying to improve conditions in Montreal
Broadly= Lobbying to increase enrollment of aboriginal students in the health professions

AWARENESS-
Locally= Hosting events, engaging media, reaching out to raise awareness

URBAN HEALTH-
Locally= Connecting volunteers with local organizations including the Native Friendship Centre and the Native Women's Centre

RURAL HEALTH-
Locally= Training medical students in cultural sensitivity and preparedness
Beyond= Funding options, SARROS, etc

Contact: If you want to get more actively involved, join the googlegroup at http://groups.google.ca/group/aboriginalhealth

Resources

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM)

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM) is a non-profit, non-sectarian, autonomous community development agency whose principal mission is to promote, develop, and enhance the quality of life in the urban Aboriginal community of Montreal.

The NFCM, being part of a regional and national initiative that bridges the gap between two cultures, serves the Aboriginal population of the eleven nations of Quebec. These nations include the Inuit, Cree, Mi'gmaq, Naskapi, Algonquin, Montagnais, Abenaki, Mohawk, Attikamekw, Huron and Malecite. The NFCM also works with nations found throughout Canada and the United States.

The NFCM, recognized as an information and referral centre, is also a reference point for other Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal organizations.

The number of Aboriginal people in the Greater Montreal region is approximately 44,500 (Statistics Canada, 2001 Census). First Nation, Métis and Inuit people who want to pursue their studies, who are patients in need of treatment away from their communities, who need respite or a warm meal or need further training come to the NFCM for assistance.

Our Mission

The mission of the Native Friendship Centre of Montreal (NFCM) is to promote, develop and enhance the quality of life of Montreal's urban Aboriginal community.

The Native Friendship Centre of Montreal is part of a national initiative that bridges the gap between two cultures.

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Native Women's Shelter of Montreal

The shelter is constantly evolving and striving to offer the best possible services to Aboriginal women and children.

Since its incorporation in 1987, the Native Women's Shelter of Montreal has provided shelter and support to Aboriginal, Inuit and Métis women and their children who are in difficulty. Our clientele are self-referred or referred by community resources.

The shelter provides an environment where women can focus on their various challenges and rebuild their lives. We offer in-house programs and services as well as outreach services that help in the healing process of the women while assisting them in re-establishing a balanced lifestyle.

The Native Women's Shelter works within an Aboriginal framework. We incorporate many different teachings from the various cultures of First Nations, Inuit and Métis. We combine traditional healing techniques with contemporary approaches to give the women a multitude of options to address their immediate needs and issues.

Native Women's Shelter of Montreal
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Young Artist Warriors (YAW)

Young Artist Warriors is an organization founded in the summer of 2008. Its mission is to raise cultural and self esteem in today's First Nations youth. The first project of Young Artist Warriors features large scale portraits of First Nations youth who attend the Inter-Tribal Youth Center of Montreal. These paintings show the youth in a proud and positive light, incorporating aspects of the youth's heritage.

Given the historical context of portraiture as a mode of painting commissioned by the powerful, wealthy elite of colonialist culture for their edification, the use of the medium proved to be a powerful tool to raise the esteem of the youth, many of whom are unaccustomed to consistent positive attention.

During the portraiture project Jeska Slater racilitated creative projects from the youth in a medium of their choosing. The youth's projects include paintings, spray-can art, rap songs, carvings and dream catchers with poetry woven within. This aspect of the project gave the youth, many of whom are homeless and struggling with issues of poverty, something positive to focus on and a sense of
accomplishment. It also provided a forum for the youth to voice concerns, experiences and hardships experienced growing up in today's urban
environment.

Both the works of the portrait artist, Jeska Slater, and those of the Youth, were shown in a vernissage at the Native Friendship Center of Montreal on Friday July 24th 2009. This was a time for the First Nations community of Montreal, and the friends and family members of the youth to celebrate the accomplishments and positive aspects of the youth involved.

Young Artist Warriors has garnered an astounding amount of positive attention since its inception, culminating in a Documentary that is currently being filmed about the project, and its participants. This is a costly endeavor, but will provide the organization with a concrete overview to present to potential funding bodies, and communities that wish to implement the program.

Through creativity and the renewal of traditional teachings, we can stop negative patterns, including drug, alcohol abuse, violence and crime, that stem from the transmission of cultural shame. Young Artist Warriors wishes to reveal that our paint brushes, microphones and chisels are the new weapons against cultural oppression and racism. The First Nations Youth of today are eager to share their stories and traditions with the world through creative expression.

Contact: youngartistwarriors@gmail.com

Terres en Vues

TERRES EN VUES
LAND InSIGHTS
Société pour la diffusion de la culture autochtone

Founded in 1990, LANDINSIGHTS has gone through the turbulence of an exhaling growth. Each year, the founding members, André Dudemaine, Daniel Corvec and Pierre Thibeault have added an upright or a crossbeam to build a bridge between nations — a fine monument for the new millennium.

LANDINSIGHTS is guided by an eleven-member board with members from the Mohawk, Huron-Wendat, Abenaki, Innu and Cree nations.

LANDINSIGHTS is the driving force behind the First Peoples' Festival, making Montreal the nerve centre of Indigenous Creativity from the three Americas for ten days in June.

LANDINSIGHTS has proven able to create a space for affirmation and recognition, in its organisational structure and its activities. If the bridge we have built may still seem fragile, the confidence our many partners as well as artists in all disciplines have shown for eleven years gives its existence its full meaning and confirms its necessity in our eyes

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THE EASTERN DOOR

The Eastern Door

The Eastern Door serves the Mohawks of Kahnawake regardless of birth, sex, age, language, politics or religion. The paper and website strive to be a factual, balanced, authoritative source of information with access to all segments of the community.

Founded in 1992, The Eastern Door covers news to sports to politics to human-interest stories to keep community members informed and up-to-date on issues that affect them.

The Eastern Door is a proud member of the Quebec Community Newspapers Association, the Canadian Community Newspaper Association, the Native American Journalists Association and Chateauguay Chamber of Commerce.

The Eastern Door
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Native Education Center of Concordia

The Centre for Native Education is devoted to helping First Nations, Métis and Inuit students at Concordia University achieve their highest academic potential. To this end, the Centre for Native Education:

-Provides direct services and programmes which promote the academic, personal growth, and holistic development of First Nations, Métis and Inuit students.

-Encourages the academic and administrative units of Concordia University to provide services that meet the needs of Aboriginal students, improve the quality of their experience, and promote their well-being.

-Networks and maintains good relations with other Aboriginal service organizations to promote, and better meet the interests and needs of Aboriginal students.

-Promotes the benefits of a post-secondary education to potential Aboriginal students.

-Acts as a resource centre on Aboriginal cultures, languages, history and contemporary issues.

Inter-Tribal Youth Council

Mission

The Intertribal Youth Center, a project of the Montreal Native Friendship Center, aims to represent the specific needs of the urban native population and offer a welcoming and supportive environment in order to facilitate their social, cultural and educational empowerment.

Vision

Through encouraging, recognition and respect for the native youths voices, the Intertribal Youth Center aims to increase public awareness about the challenges faced by the native community today, to enable the young people to become positive citizens, role models and eventually leaders of today's and tomorrow's society. Together, our unified voices will help to change the prejudices and negative stereotypes attached to the aboriginal youth of Montreal.

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