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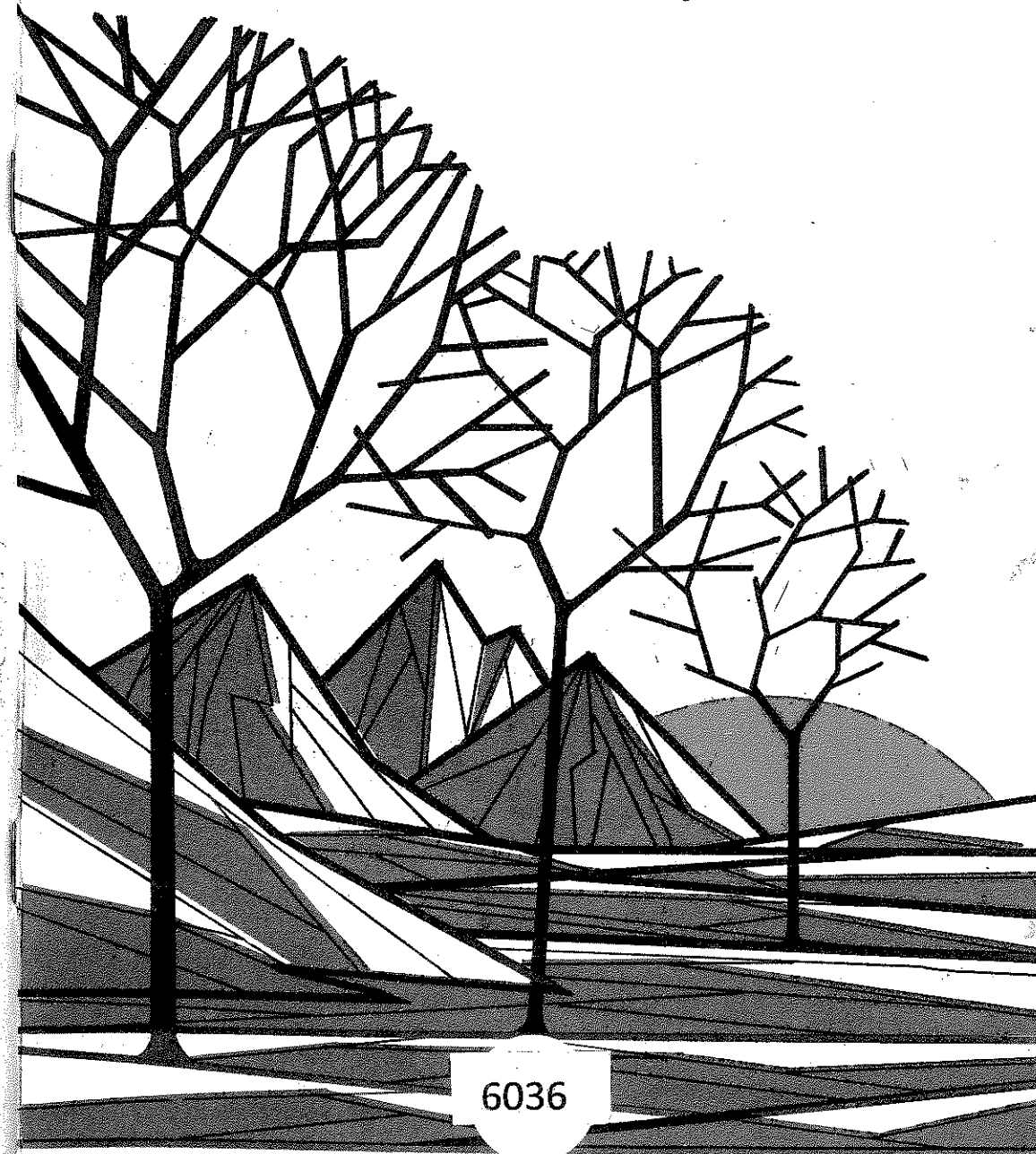
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Guest Editorial

# RESERVATIONS ARE NOT FOR INDIANS

## The Contributors . . .

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**Roger Obonsawin**, Executive Director of the Native Canadian Centre, Toronto, was born in northern Ontario.

**Mildred Jensen Loomis** changed her career from education and social work to focus on intentional community. She carries on the work of Ralph Borsodi as editor of *Green Revolution*, published at the School of Living, RD 7, York, Penn. Her latest book is reviewed in this issue.

**Jean Buller** is a volunteer for the Association for Native Development in the Visual and Performing Arts.

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**Kermot Moore**, past president of the Native Council of Canada, umbrella organization of non-status Indians in Canada, wrote his essay for delivery at the Bertrand Russell Tribunal held in Rotterdam in the Fall.

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**Roland Kawano**, a regular contributor to Rikka, is Rector of St. Andrew's Anglican Church, Toronto.

IT IS AXIOMATIC THAT RESERVATIONS are not for Indians any more than prisons are for free men.

The only way man achieves his potential is in his struggle to reach the ideal that is engraven within him, and which is part of the heritage of his race. Take away this possibility and the race loses its purpose. Take away the inspiration of the ideal, and stop it surfacing in the present, and the demise of the race is certain.

What were the intentions of those who incarcerated this noble race within the confines of limiting enclosures — areas sufficient only in a token sense as a nomadic home — which are in reality an expression of contempt for a people whose great crime was to have available land. The conditions which constitute a reservation and confine its occupants to a life of mediocrity can only be interpreted in the light of intentions.

In order to achieve a general submission the race was tagged as savage, and as a threat to the orderly manifestation of civilized culture. The hard minded judges who ruled on this matter debased for centuries the meanings of a brotherhood of man. The way in which the confinement took place has stained the vision of their descendents, and all men connected even today with the outcome. Within the sacred precincts of our conscience our own outlook has soured as a direct consequence of those actions. The counterfeit morals involved in today's denial of full equality falls on ourselves. We neither want to admit our guilt, or make any restitution for it. In the end we are left with the present odious comparison of the confined and the free.

Unfortunately, we limit any logical approach on the subject to a consideration of the occupants of the reservations of today. Instead, we should go back to that part of history which has been

shrouded in long neglect. It is a part of our heritage, and yet we know nothing of it. Perhaps we have set up a psychological block in order to save ourselves from being reminded of past actions that would compel us to consider further consequences of the issue. Yet, the time is at last here to see things as they are, and there seems little hope of escape from the problem.

If the dominant population desires to become a psychologically healthy people, if we want to talk about Peace, if we want to align ourselves with the highest human possibilities, . . . we have this problem at home. It will not go away. We have to sort it out, and we have to come to terms with it and get it out of our system. Then, and only then, when it is resolved in fairness, can we feel at one with ourselves.

We have to tear away the shroud. We have to see the Indian as he was before the impact of white civilization cancelled out a race. If we took the trouble to do that we would be utterly astonished. We would stand in the presence of a people who had accomplished many of the things that to us lie in the realm of future hope, whose ceilings were far over our own in terms of human possibilities. What a dignity of spirit they exhibited. What sincerity in everyday matters. Was truth any higher stand than they espoused by making it a constant companion in all their dealings. Has courtesy any better portrayals in the annals of our land, for they shared it to its limit in the interplay of their communities. Indeed we have to give our respect to a race of such structure. In the name of human decency let us give credit where it is overwhelmingly due.

That then is the first step to be taken, to make ourselves aware of what the Indian race has accomplished. The second step is to consider what they have given us, and to make it prominent so that our children will know it, so that it will become a part of our heritage—a proud and strengthening part that will at last merge into our daily conscience.

How many of today's children in Canada, or the USA, know that almost ¼ of our agricultural food was developed by the Indian? How many of our children

are aware that before our ancestors received it as a gift from the Native Americans, there had been many famines in our European homelands? Now the famines are no more and the land has been bountiful. Hunger is no longer a necessary evil and man can live and be free of want. Should we not sing a grace to the Indian at harvest time for the beans, peanuts, pumpkins, corn, potatoes, tomatoes and so many other plants and grains? We will not know days of starvation again. Have we not an endless debt to pay?

Have we not lost an appreciation too for the ways of justice inherited from the Indian? If we were completely honest about it, we would concede that our democracy is more Indian than European. The Chiefs and Councils never ruled the people but served them. The Councils were democracy at work. All matters were put in front of the people to discuss, and a unanimous decision was sought. Is not this participatory democracy?

How far back into the Indian past do we have to travel to find the roots of such a system? Where is its embryo, the first longings for its manifestation in practice? How many ages came and went before its roots were established and took hold, and achieved the growth we now so complacently view in retrospect? Did the old Town Hall meetings of the early settlers have these as a foundation? Did the public will find its inspiration from this source? Did it not find unanimity in the awakening mind of those who came to the new land burdened with distrust of authoritarian rulers? Participatory democracy was but a dream of Europeans; here it was a reality of the Indian race. The emancipation of women was still to be talked about in the great cities of Europe, but here prior to the coming of the white man it was in practice by a people who discussed and voted on matters before their Native councils.

Native Peoples recognized Universals in everyday life and it was transposed into action. It was an independent power that was cultivated. What a dream we still have for the practice of universal ideas, recognizing in that dream the hopes for peace in the world! Yet here were universal ideas already in our heritage.

Indian nations perceived no exclusive right to the One Spirit that resides in all men. They recognized it also in the white man who entered his land. They knew too that although it resides in all men it may not necessarily have evolved to the degree that it was in themselves. Their first encounters of wrongs committed against them by the European newcomers took this into account. This was their key to universals and it set their minds in order. They were fully aware that the advancing European world was only able to grasp this concept in a limited philosophical way. The essence within them was an unchanging reality for they saw themselves as part of the Great Spirit. Whatever their position or circumstance, the perception of the One Spirit within themselves joined them together in unity. And this is the true basis of brotherhood.

Fear had no dominion in Indian villages. Why is there need to fear when one has this sureness? This absolute principle in their lives, this consciousness, was shared by all alike and formed the philosophical base of their daily lives before the full tide of the white race immersed them in counter values.

Can we undo what has been done to the Indian? We certainly cannot if we continue to buy forgiveness by the use of goods and gadgets. Some may think that we can make up for it all by the deeds of advancing technology for, it is held, that is what will take care of the needs of Native Peoples. We should be warned that the blind would be leading the blind.

Sages have been telling us of the need to simplify, that wisdom does not come out of a machine; that knowledge, even better knowledge, is not the key to wisdom.

The purpose and intention of Native Reservations must be redefined. They must change if the process of erosion is to be stopped. But despite all the best hopes, their original purpose will be accomplished before another century passes.

What can we really do? If we perceive the true picture, that is a good start. Then we will see our duty. When citizens unitedly sense their duty this great hope can come to pass.

— Samuel Elder

## Some Critical Consequences of Canada's Indian Act . . .

# NATIVE UNITY—

IT IS popular amongst many to blame governments and their bureaucracies for such things as oppression, alienation and abuse of power. Canada's Indian Nations have suffered by far the utmost from past and present governments. It is ironic and sad, however, that in constantly criticizing the oppressor, Native Canadians have succeeded only in oppressing themselves.

For years Native people have been putting the blame for the deterioration of the Indian Nations on the paternalism of the Department of Indian Affairs, the greed of the entrepreneurs, or the proselytization of the Christian missionaries. However, in constantly criticizing others, the cancerous growth from within was ignored.

It is now time to put aside our hostilities to the white man and his institutions and begin a painful process that will rebuild our culture—painful because we must review our weaknesses while we build on our strengths so that we can heal serious rifts within our Indian families, our Indian communities and our Indian nation.

It is obvious to one who is aware of the Native condition that national native organizations talk big but wield a small stick; and the federal government is aware of this. Prime Minister Trudeau has stated: "It is not clear what Native leaders mean when they speak of aboriginal rights. To what extent would the rights apply to the Metis and what is an Indian—a half-Indian or a three-quarter Indian?"

## AN INTERNAL BATTLE



Roger Obonsawin

While Trudeau is obviously unsympathetic to Native issues, his comments reflect the fragmentation among Indian leaders and native organizations across Canada. How realistic are Native expectations of making an impact on Canada's constitution when we are unable to resolve conflicts within our constituencies?

What are the problems that have caused this conflict and how can individual Natives resolve these conflicts? The histories of Native people in Canada and the United States reveal some similarities; there are also contrasts. In the United States, the extermination of Indian nations was carried out as a consistent military policy, employing the outright force of guns. This approach was hardly used in Canada. The Indian Act, however, was just as effective. Entrenched in the British North America Act, the Indian Act allowed the federal government to decide who was or was not an Indian. It allowed the federal government to set up reserve lands, defined under the Act, held in trust for Indian people; and it clearly spelled out how Indian people would be de-registered through marriage or enfranchisement.

Roger Obonsawin, Executive Director of the Native Canadian Centre for the past 8 years, was instrumental in coordinating the move to its impressive quarters at 16 Spadina Road in Toronto.

### The Funding Syndrome

The fragmentation that resulted from this Act is bearing fruit today. The Indian Act is utilized by the government to determine which Indian organizations are to be funded. One has only to look at the massive funds received from the federal government by the five major Native organizations in Ottawa — and the lack of cooperation among these organizations — to realize that the Indian as an individual is not at all well represented at the federal level. In fact, it is the source of funding, the federal government, which wields all the power. With the fragmentation prevailing among Native organizations, coupled with the lack of a unified, cohesive and coordinated policy on matters affecting Indian people, public support, so vitally important for the determination of government policy, is no longer a factor.

How can leaders of Native organizations heal existing rifts when in so doing they could lose their lucrative salaries and expense accounts, as well as endanger the millions of dollars in core funding received by their organizations from the federal government?

Until 1971, the conflict between Native groups was not aired in public. Criticisms for the horrible conditions that Native people lived under were heaped mainly on the Department of Indian Affairs. In the same period, Jeannette Corbiere Laval, who married a non-Indian, fought to retain her status as an Indian. The strongest opposition to the retention of her Native status came, not from the general public or the federal government, but from the Chiefs of reserves and leaders of Status organizations across Canada.

Harold Cardinal, leader of the Indian Association of Alberta, stated that if Jeannette won her case, "it could destroy any chance of our survival in this country as a distinct cultural unit." The following decade saw the conflict intensify across Canada as Native women formed organizations to fight the Chiefs and seek an amendment to Section 12 (1) (b) of the Indian Act.

While it now appears that this issue is being resolved and that Status organizations across Canada, as well as Band Councils, are softening their stance, the

decade of open conflict has taken its toll in creating serious rifts within Native communities. Many Native people are still convinced that by eliminating Section 12 (1) (b), the reserves will be faced with increased migration, if not take-over, by non-Natives. Signs are apparent, however, that some Bands are more willing that its membership include women who have married non-Indians, as well as many now considered non-Status Indians.

When Jeannette Corbiere Laval was taking her case to court, another development occurred which focussed attention on an issue that, historically, has fragmented Native people. The federal government was preparing a Cabinet submission that would provide funding only for the two major Native political organizations, the National Indian Brotherhood and the Native Council of Canada. One would be terribly naive to consider it merely coincidental that while the Cabinet documents were being prepared by Ottawa, leaders of organizations, such as the Union of Ontario Indians, were redefining their constitution so as to correspond to an organization of Band Chiefs representing only Status on-reserve Indians. Could this action be considered a sell-out to government, or simply playing into its hands? However interpreted, the fragmentation of the two major national organizations has led to the impotence of both, with each fighting for the concept of nationhood to the detriment of the other. In fact, the major part of their respective struggles is taken up with internal battles for power, and debates as to respective organizational constitutions; certainly not on the patriation of Canada's constitution. No wonder that Prime Minister Trudeau jokes about the fragmentation of the Native position, a position that is non-existent. And it is little wonder too that the young Indian child growing into manhood is confused about his culture and identity as he looks at the so-called Indian leaders locked in such internal politicking.

Before Native people can hope to make any significant impact on the Canadian public, or on the federal government, we must resolve internal conflicts, at least to the degree that we can work cooperatively as Native people. Therefore, we must re-examine our own per-

ception as to who we are, *as individuals* — not as members of organizations or from the perspective of the federal government and its definitions. And we must redefine the ways in which we will resolve our conflict: either to utilize the structures imposed on us by the Federal government, or return to traditional structures handed down from our grandfathers.

The path ahead for Indian people is not a rosy one. It is a path that seriously weighs the following points:

- a) We must heal the splits that exist among Native organizations so that we can speak as one voice, whether we are Status Indian, or non-Status, or Metis.
- b) Our definition of being Indian should be based on our traditions and tribal affiliations. In that respect the Metis would not be a distinct nation with a separate identity, but would build on Indian traditions rather than on identification that is somewhere in between two cultures.
- c) We must begin to mend our broken circle so that our leaders will be chosen in the traditional Native way, not through an imposed electoral system which is alien to us, which has led to political in-fighting and fragmentation, accompanied by glaring absence of community involvement.

I recognize that these solutions will upset many individuals. I recognize too that these solutions will be difficult to implement. I am convinced, however, that in following the present path whereby the Status Indian speaks of sovereignty, the Metis speaks of their nationhood based on a separate distinct culture, and the non-status and off-reserve Indian is caught somewhere in the middle, in such a situation there is absolutely no way that any one group will attain its goal while struggling, alienated from the other. If, on the other hand, we can put aside our differences and go forth as one, the public will take us seriously, and the government will have no choice but to negotiate our claims for a distinct Indian nationhood within Canadian society.

— Roger Obonsawin



## RETURN TO DECENTRALISM

### THE NATIVE LEGACY

A KIND of negativism prevails as [North] America moves into the 1980s. People approach the 1980s with questions, confusion, and apathy. Generally, it's recognized that the United States, both North and South, is at an ecological low. Farmers mine the soil, and miners rip up the land, leaving it open and unhealed. Forests are removed. Factories pour gases into the air and wastes into the lakes and rivers and oceans. Constantly-extended concrete and plastic jungles leave decaying cities with rejected industrial sectors. And the response is blah — masses of people embedded in the 9 to 5 routine, attending mostly to their evening TV and weekend paychecks. The "public" indifferently calls it Progress.

In this strange [North] American bubbling and simmering, some individuals emerge and join groups to "maintain" the American dream, others to "change and improve it." Conservatives confirm — but not too confidently — faith in competition, profit, and the two-party system. Libertarians — notably intellectual and often well-to-do young people — discuss and publish the theses of F. A. Hayek, Ludwig von Mises, and Murray Rothbard. Others follow the land reform of Thomas Jefferson and Henry George, still others develop cooperatives and the integral education-and-living activities of decentralist Ralph Borsodi.

Behind them are still others, the Native Americans, who look to their own pre-European cultures in America as root and direction for the future. They supply a depth and challenge too easily neglected as a result of the stereotypes of history and their "isolation," plus the ethnocentricity of European culture.

It behooves us to look to the heart of the native Americanism — a way of thinking about the Universe, and the way of living that results from that philosophy. The essence of the native viewpoint is stated in *Black Elk Speaks*:

"All creation is sacred. Every dawn is a holy event. Their light comes from your Father and the two-leggeds and all the other people who stand upon this earth are sacred and treated as such.

"The story of all life is old and good to tell, we two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the winds of the air and all green things; all are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit. Is not the sky a father and the earth a mother, and are not all living things with feet or wings or roots their children?

"For we Indians, there is just the Sacred Pipe, the Earth we sit on, and the open sky. The Spirit is everywhere, showing itself through an animal, a bird, some tree and hills. Sometimes it speaks from the Badlands, from a stone, from the water.

"If this earth should ever be destroyed, it will be by desire, by the lust of self-gratification, by greed for the green frog-skin (money), by people who are mindful only of their own self, forgetting about the wants of others.

"We Indians must show how to live with our brothers, not use them, or maim them. With this Pipe, which is a living part of the Earth, we cannot harm any part of her without hurting ourselves. Through this Pipe, we can make peace with our greatest enemy who dwells deep within ourselves."

Simple ideas with profound implications, raising the question, how must life be lived if all living things are relatives, brothers and sisters of the same parent, this Mother Earth?

Inter-related oneness of living is native Americanism. Yet this nature-based integral living was overrun and, at least temporarily, overcome by Europeanism — a philosophy and culture much its opposite: messianic, authoritarian, materialistic, lacking in humanistic and spiritual values.

How distorted the history and sociology textbook record! Most people carry the image of courageous emigrants fleeing European chauvinism, monarchy, exploitation, and materialism to establish a free world on a "new continent" — America, Land of the Free!

But America was free long before the Europeans arrived, free because of the way of life which the native peoples had established. In reality, the Europeans may have found freedom here, but they re-established here the same exploitative factors from which they fled in Europe. America became, alas, a base for, and in many cases, a replica of the European tendencies they hoped to abandon. Some of the consequences of European culture, alien to Native Americanism, which were established by Europeans and now dominate Twentieth Century America have been listed by Jack D. Forbes, a Native American educator of the University of California at Davis:

1. The idea that any human being can "own" another living creature or "own" the earth, the sky, the water, or any natural thing;
2. The idea that any human has the right to live off the labor of another human, or off the lives of non-humans;
3. The idea that human beings and other living things, including the earth,

Mildred Jensen Loomis has been a long-time collaborator of Ralph Borsodi whose books, *This Ugly Civilization* and *Flight from the City*, published by Harpers, have enjoyed multiple editions. She is Director of the School of Living, York, Pennsylvania. See page 21 for Review of her latest book, *Decentralism: Where It Comes From; Where Is It Going?* from which this selection is reprinted.

can be used as means without regard to the rights and dignity of individual humans, animals, and plants;

4. The idea that those who control wealth should be able to determine what is printed, what is seen, and what is heard;

5. The idea that the state has a right to know and control what its citizens are thinking, saying, or doing in their private lives;

6. The idea that material wealth and a high standard of living is the most important human activity.

7. The idea that slogans of religious or ethnical piety can actually replace day-to-day ethical living;

8. The general prevalence of arrogance and chauvinism expressed by and granted to persons and ideas of European derivation.

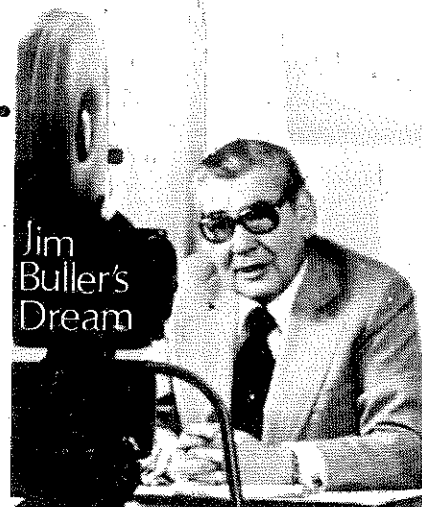
9. The messianic mania — the desire to force or high-pressure other people into conforming to the views of some "religious" or political secular unit.

This does not exhaust the Europeanism of America. Forbes lists 19 others in the Spring, 1974 issue of *Akwesasne Notes*, showing how overwhelmingly the "America" of the 1600s-1800s was ideologically, spiritually, historically and genealogically "Europeanized." Europeans coming to America refused to be Americanized or "naturalized." They wrote, colonized, and developed schools in which the central theme is European. It is difficult not to conclude that virtually every major problem faced in North America today, virtually every kind of unethical behavior, and every threat to individual dignity, freedom, and self-development, has a European origin.

Community, democracy, appropriate technology, natural foods, wholistic medicine, anti-Statism were born in Native American villages, ranging from North to South, and East to West. True, one can point out faults and problems, but only in America, as compared with the Europe of 1500-1700, were any truly free human societies in existence. And they were not products of any "New Age," — they had, so far as is known, been growing and developing for 400,000 years.

— Mildred J. Loomis

# IT STARTED AS A DREAM....



## THE INDIGENOUS PEOPLES' THEATRE CELEBRATION

THE IDEA behind the Indigenous Peoples' Theatre Celebration stemmed from the realization that the Indigenous peoples throughout the world had unique concepts of theatre, based on the richness of their culture and traditions, that could be shared with each other and with society generally.

A steering committee was formed to plan the Indigenous Theatre Celebration, to be jointly sponsored and endorsed by the National Multicultural Theatre Association, York University and its Faculty of Fine Arts, and the Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts.

The steering committee confirmed that the objectives of the Celebration were mainly:

1. to provide Indigenous peoples of the world with an opportunity to share their concepts of theatre with each other through discussion and performance.
2. to provide the public, both theatre adherents and interested audiences, a unique opportunity to witness forms of theatre which are not necessarily based on classical or Western civilization's theatrical forms.
3. to provide the means of encouraging the development and use of theatre to express the concepts and perspectives of cultural values, the hopes, feelings and concerns of Indigenous peoples to the rest of the world, and

4. to foster international goodwill and understanding. 'As the old Indian said, "the road to peace begins with that little path that leads from the door of my teepee to my neighbor's"'

There was considerable thought and discussion as to the definition of "Indigenous" peoples. It was determined that "Indigenous peoples were those who perceived themselves to be the descendants of the original inhabitants of a country in which they resided.

Reaction to the invitations surpassed expectations. Initially, it was thought that for this first Celebration, it would be conceivable that five groups from outside Canada would be able to attend.

By April, 1980, fourteen companies from eleven countries, including Canada, expressed strong interest in participating. This response encouraged organizers. What had been thought in Canada to be a much needed event was likewise felt by other Indigenous populations throughout the world.

By the end of July 1980, seventeen companies had confirmed their participation. They included Canada, Guatemala, Australia, Ecuador, Indonesia, Zambia, USA, Zaire, Mexico, Ireland, Greenlandic Inuit/Denmark, Korea, India and Malaysia.

Grateful acknowledgements to **Bruce Copeman** for photos illustrating this article.

The program was designed to allow participants and the public to attend workshops conducted by the participating groups and guest resource people from 9:30 a.m. to 5:00 p.m. each day, with evening performances by at least two groups per night.

One of the successful guidelines of the Celebration — not customary with most festivals and/or conferences — was that workshop subjects would not be selected by the organizing body. All groups and individual participants were invited to present their own workshops in their own fields of expertise and interest.

The Celebration, therefore, became very much the participants' festival; they *were* the festival, not merely the dressing for one.

Below: "Windigo," performed by Theatre Atchemowin from Alberta, Canada.



The comradery and affection that developed among all who attended as either participant, paying delegate or worker, was unique and very precious. All felt there was a vested interest to see this Celebration achieve the success it did, and worked to achieve that goal.

Many purposeful and long lasting relationships were established. A perfect example of the goodwill achieved was apparent at the farewell tribute given by the Irish group who had to leave before the end. Irish musicians were accompanied by an Australian didgeridoo, Korean drum, Plains Cree guitarist and Greenlandic drummer. The guitar was played by an Australian, Irishman, Korean, North American Indian, and then a Mexican. Though languages may have differed, the music and theatre brought them together with the true meaning of international goodwill and understanding.

The Government of Ontario, through Hon. R. Baetz, Minister of Culture and Recreation, hosted the opening Dinner and Ceremonies, held at the Ontario Science Centre. Greetings were extended by Hon. R. Baetz; Judge J. Enns, President, National Multicultural Theatre Association; Mr. L. Lawrence, Dean of Fine Arts, York University; and a representative of the city of North York. Other official guests included Mr. D. Collinetto representing the Federal Government; Mr. Mavor Moore, Chairman, Canada Council; Mr. S. Maness, Chairman, Association for Native Development in the Performing and Visual Arts; the Native Council of Canada; the Ambassador and Consul of Mexico; the Consul of Australia; and the Cultural Attaché from Nigeria. Entertainment was provided by the Mexican Nahua performing group, the Australian Aboriginal Dance Company, and Makka Lieist, Inuit actress from Greenland.

The closing dinner, held at Harbourfront, provided Canadian Indian traditional foods, prepared by native cooks. Her Honour, Pauline McGibbon, Lieutenant Governor of Ontario, and Mr. Donald McGibbon, were guests of honor. Traditional native rituals were observed at the opening of the dinner by Mr. R. Lyons and Drum. In accordance with native Canadian custom, Mrs. McGibbon officiated at the presentation of farewell

gifts to the participants, guests and friends of the Celebration.

An indication of the success of the Indigenous Theatre Celebration was that as a result of a Congress meeting involving all participants, it was decided to form the Indigenous Peoples Theatre Association (IPTA) with the Indigenous Theatre Celebration to be held every two to three years.

### The Future

of the IPTA was expressed by delegates attending the Celebration in remarks such as the following:

"We want to continue these festivals. We want to have a structure to further the get-togethers, and to support us in developing our own type of theatre that we are seeing here." . . . "This is truly a 'Celebration.' Let us not stop now." . . . Such were the comments heard over and over again, expressed by some very enthusiastic participants at the Indigenous Peoples' Theatre Celebration.

The present steering committee of the Celebration was given the responsibility of "acting as an interim coordinating body to establish a permanent secretariat" or resource centre. The task at the centre would be to formalize a worldwide network of communications with indi-

genous peoples groups, and act as a resource for support services.

It was recommended that membership should be available to indigenous performing groups and persons who support and subscribe to the objectives of the in-network of communications with indigenous peoples groups, and act as a resource for support services.

It was recommended that membership should be available to indigenous performing groups and persons who support and subscribe to the objectives of the indigenous Peoples' Theatre Association, and that an international governing body be elected at a future festival.

The objectives of the Indigenous Peoples' Theatre Association were summed up as follows:

1. To support the efforts of indigenous peoples throughout the world to become more involved in theatre;
2. To provide indigenous peoples of the world with an opportunity to share their concepts of theatre with each other through performance and presentations;
3. To foster international goodwill and understanding; and

*Below: Australian Aboriginal/Islander Dance Troupe.*



4. To provide interested audiences throughout the world an opportunity to witness the unique forms of theatre as performed by indigenous peoples.

From a very humble but exciting beginning, the influence of the Celebration has grown beyond all expectations, and continues to grow. It has initiated a wide movement by indigenous peoples to foster their special interests in theatre. The spirit that was born at York University, Toronto, *must* and *will* continue to flourish and grow.

The first meeting of the Interim Committee of IPTA was held November 24, 1980. The initial tasks involved in setting up a Secretariat, establishing a communications network, and planning the next Celebration were undertaken. The momentum created at the Celebration is beginning to grow.

— Jean Buller

**Jean Buller** is a volunteer with the Association for Native Development in the Visual and Performing Arts.

### TOTEM POLE by Don McLeay

AN unpainted totem pole 22-feet high created by Saskatchewan-born artist Don McLeay was raised in front of the Native Canadian Centre, 16 Spadina Road, Toronto, at Open House on 13 September.

Viewed from the base upward, the clans carved on the totem pole represent major patrons of the Centre: Bear, Eel (salmon), Beaver, Wolf, Raven and Thunderbird.

The labor of creating the totem pole, which began two years ago, was donated by McLeay to the Centre. In an interview with a staffmember of Rikka, McLeay spoke of his work as an artist. The text of this interview was incorporated in the Video-television production, *War Whoop—Challenge to Stereotyping*, co-produced and directed by George Yamada and Madeline Zinniack, shown on Rogers Cable Television recently.



Don McLeay

### POLITICS AND FOOD (Ghana 1977)

Once again the conversation turned inevitably, to food.

Politics and food, he said as we sipped scarce beer under the palms in the Senior Common Room.

What is this country coming to, he asked when all we ever talk about is politics and food?

And I told him I had found some eggs that day, and two bottles of Coke. And for lunch we lined up early and bought a loaf of bread and ate it on a bench under a tree.

And the man in the Common Room said he had started to smuggle in toothpaste from his scholarly trips abroad to England.

And still the colonels ruled, and still we softly spoke in the heaviness of the night, of politics and food.

— Rhoda Howard

## Wabidoo—KEEPER OF THE FLAME

CANADA is a country of immigrants, with the exception of her indigenous peoples. Like many of my countrymen, my blood is a mixture of indigenous and European ancestry. However, I have chosen the cause of my indigenous brothers and sisters since my conscience tells me that their's is a true search for justice. Thus, it is with sincere conviction that I am pledged to achieve equality for my people, the original and founding race of this land.

Under present circumstances this may seem an impossible undertaking. While others may despair, for those who have kept the traditional spirit and vision alive, hope is eternal. We have confidence that the soul of our land will be revived by our spiritual leaders and that the present system, predicated on greed and power, will be directed toward universal justice.

In the days of my great grandmother, before matches, there were individuals among our people who were known as keepers of the fire. The duty of the firekeeper was to preserve a flame for the community. One of the principal ways of preserving the flame was by use of a *wabidoo*. A *wabidoo* is a fungus that grows at the base of a birch tree after the tree has died. As the *wabidoo* grows it seems to absorb and distill much of the energy of the tree. It derives its quality from the highly concentrated essence of the tree, oils and fibers, that will sustain a spark for long periods of time. When the *wabidoo* is ignited and sheltered the flame retreats to a dull glow and appears dead until the firekeeper fans it into a flame again.

In much the same way, the Algonquin people have gone through a period that has seen our flame retreat to a dull glow—indeed our flame came very close to extinction. But, we have come through the long cold winter of death and despair and once again the human spark has begun to brighten. Like the firekeepers of old we must fan the spark of spirit into a flame of freedom, and recapture the liberty and dignity that is our heritage and our birthright on this hemisphere.

Our way of life and our love for the land reflects the impact of thousands of years of habitation on this hemisphere. However, in the past few hundred years an invasion has taken place that has almost destroyed our race. Contact with the Europeans was disastrous, none more so than the spread of European diseases. Before the invasion of the Americas, Europe had gone through three hundred years of the Black Death and its many attendant diseases. The survivors of those repeated plagues became immune to the worst effects of their own diseases; consequently they carried death to the Americas. They

brought wave after wave of virulent germs to peoples whose lives till then had been relatively disease-free. In our nation thousands of people perished, and the few who survived were weakened and traumatized by the hopelessness of their existence.

We were not the only people who suffered disastrously . . . Among other indigenous nations of Canada, as with Native peoples elsewhere in the hemisphere, epidemics extracted devastating tolls of death and misery. Depopulation estimates generally run from ninety to ninety-five percent. Dr. Woodrow Borah, a noted American anthropologist, estimates that in Mexico alone twenty-two million people succumbed to the new diseases in the sixty years that followed Cortez' arrival. The enormity and severity of this human catastrophe is unequalled in all the history of man—yet it is almost totally ignored by Canadian historians.

There were times when missionaries gave medical treatment to victims of the epidemics; there were also times when they inadvertently spread disease. These emissaries used the church and school as a propaganda base from which to colonize and assimilate the survivors of the biological holocaust, and it was not unusual for priests to preach that the only way to overcome disease was by turning to the 'true god'—the god of the missionary.

Weakened, dispirited and decimated by European diseases, we were in no position to defend our lands, and to fight the take-over of our resources. The





take-over was a gradual process in the beginning, but it quickened and became more ravenous as the land base of the colonists broadened, and technological advancement made it possible to claim more and more of the natural resources. The immigrant society used the profits of exploitation to expand in ever enlarging circles until there is little left to be claimed.

The fur trade was the first to be exploited. In the beginning there was a partnership between the fur companies and the Native, since the former relied on the Native for guidance and hunting skills, for transportation and food supplies. As soon as the fur companies were able to monopolize the trade, however, they took savage advantage of the trappers. One-thousand percent profit was not unusual.

This established the pattern for the exploiters to follow. Lumbermen quickly felled and marketed all of the virgin forests and are now pulverizing the land with huge machines that crush everything in their path. Mines and pulp mills have destroyed lake and river systems, leaving poisonous chemicals, sludge and other debris. Governments have invited tourists and so-called sports hunters to invade our lands and compete with us for our food. Hydro dams flood the shorelines of our lakes and rivers, destroying the habitat of beaver, muskrat and other fur-bearing animals, upon which much of our livelihood depends. Fish are destroyed in a massive way. Finally, our family hunting territories have been carved up and given to outsiders.

That the government discriminates against our people is evidenced by developments taking place in our territory. Our people have been subjected to colonial rule, given no opportunity to participate in making adjustments necessary for our development. Commencing from the days of the fur trade, and on through to lumbering, mining and tourism, the story is always the same: outsiders are brought in to replace Native people. The traditional sustenance of life itself — the hunting, fishing and trapping rights — are being denied our people by laws that transfer those rights to outsiders. To a hunting people these are the fundamental rights of existence — the true meaning of *human rights*.

The claiming of land, a European colonial custom, was once seen as a peculiar foreign idiosyncrasy by indigenous peoples. After all, there seemed no harm in erecting a cross and proclaiming ownership of the land in the name of some far-away king or emperor. The land couldn't be carried away. The unfortunate outcome of these arbitrary European land claims is that their descendants pretend that those claims have substance, for the same reasons as did their ancestors. The European 'explorers' based their claims to land on the divine right of kings and a false premise of European racial superiority.

Even in situations where treaties were signed and land set aside for Native use, governments have persistently broken their promises. Lands have been expropriated from reserves with little or no compensation. We are living in a crucial time. As governments continue to confiscate our land, we are becoming refugees in our own land. In response, we are forced to make our own land claims and to prove our indigenous rights to alien courts of an immigrant system that, by its very nature, constitutes a subterfuge of justice for Native people.

The moral and legal claim to ownership of the land mass that we call Canada is a questionable one but the same cannot be said of the aggressive drive to exploit its natural wealth — a feverish rush to turn all marketable resources above and below ground into cash and stock dividends in the shortest possible time. It is a madness that knows no limits. Technological advancement in the latter half of this century has facilitated the fullest exploitation of natural resources. What will happen in the next thirty years if the present waste is allowed to continue?

Modern technology, like nuclear energy, can be used as a destructive force or as a blessing to mankind. For the present, the selfish priorities of a few are winning out over the general welfare of the nation and the common good of the world community.

Internationally concerned as we are, we must remember that a cancer in any part of the global body affects the whole. A giant oil spill in the Arctic, to name only one of the dangers, could adversely effect global marine life and oxygen supplies of the world. These are some of the problems that face the firekeepers of our time.

Earlier I mentioned some spurious laws of the colonizers. It is no exaggeration to state that Canadian laws enforce a strong bias against Native people. Our jails are ample testimony to that fact. On a per capita basis there are between seven and eight times as many Native people incarcerated compared to the immigrant population. The laws exploit and destroy our people.

If we are to realize why this is so we must focus on the reality of our country. There are two categories of people in Canada: the indigenous peoples and the immigrant peoples, at law and in fact. The majority of the immigrant peoples are European and they have made all the laws. Such laws were made with the intent of appropriating all power in the hands of the immigrants. Can anyone deny that we have an imperial form of government, a government that is totalitarian and repressive to the original peoples?

In the present Parliament of Canada there are 286 seats. Of this number only one seat is held by a Native person. The greatest probable hindrance to a Native person serving in Parliament are the attitudes and laws that openly oppose the rights and equality of his own people. A Native person, therefore, endowed with conscience, cannot serve two masters simultaneously. The preponderance of power in Parliament serves only immigrant interests. This is the bias that permeates every aspect of Canadian life and is the reason for our alien laws and the resulting injustices.

It is unfortunate that the Canadian government has not attempted to solve the land issue by a joint partnership with Native people, in the spirit of justice, rather than by the legal adversary process presently imposed.

One might have expected that a more rational and humane approach to land use would have evolved over the years, but this has not happened in Canada. The government of our country claims ownership of all land and resources north of the United States border extending to the Arctic Pole, with the exception of Alaska. That attitude is hardly in keeping with Canada's commitment to the United Nations.

The United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1963), to which Canada is a signatory, reads in part as follows:

Considering that the United Nations has condemned colonialism and all practices of segregation and discrimination associated therewith, and that the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples proclaims in particular the necessity of bringing colonialism to a speedy and unconditional end.

Contrast that statement with Canada's proposed bill for a new constitution and you are confronted with a wide divergence between principle and practice. The only reference to Native peoples is found in Article 24 which reads as follows:

#### Undeclared Rights and Freedoms

24. The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed as denying the existence of any other rights or freedoms that exist in Canada, including any rights or freedoms that pertain to native peoples of Canada.

A negative and grudging concession, to say the least. Considering the record of Canadian governments on indigenous rights since Confederation, that statement can only be interpreted as meaning no rights at all.

Native people are in a very unfair position because of the inherent bias of the system and the extreme deprivation that resulted from it. Unless Native rights are spelled out in the Constitution there will be no grounds on which to counter these inequities. A search for a just Constitution can only come through the participation of the Native people, and a genuine commitment on the part of government to set things right.

We will always carry a desire for freedom and equality. The flame burns strong within the hearts of our people, like the glow at the center of the *Wabidoo*. We are determined that the glow will become a flaming torch of freedom in our time.

— Kermot Moore



Text of address prepared for the Bertrand Russell Tribunal held in Rotterdam, Holland on November 24-30, 1980.

Kermot Moore is past president of the Native Council of Canada.

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## Open Letter

TO THE PRIME MINISTER:

I write to you as a citizen of this country — a Canadian of indigenous roots — whose ancestors have been here for thousands of years. As a true citizen of a country which I consider to be the greatest on earth, my commitment is beyond patriotism. It is a spiritual commitment to the land of my ancestors. Thus I feel that I have a right, and indeed an obligation, to criticize anyone or anything which affects my land and my people.

I served twenty years in the Air Force of this country and would do so again if my land were threatened, but I consider that a lesser patriotism than my commitment to the soil that gave birth to my race. It is this love and your government's disregard for the voice of Native people which compels me to question your ability to create a just law for our land.

The way in which the Constitution is being developed is insulting and degrading to Native people, because of their exclusion from the consultative process. From a Native perspective the Constitution is being created upon precepts which can only be corrected by the participation of the indigenous side of this nation. If your government persists on this path you may hang a "Sword of Damocles" over the head of our country for many generations to come.

The founding race of this country is indisputably its first inhabitants who learned to live here thousands of years before the arrival of the Europeans. However, the writers of Canadian history have ignored and distorted the contributions made by Native people. Should this pernicious racist attitude be embodied in the Constitution the progress of civilization in our land would revert to a state of limbo for a period that could exceed your lifetime and mine.

We are told that the quest for a just constitution follows a democratic process, but this is impossible without the participation of the original people of the land. There are really two categories of people in this country — the indigenous peoples and the immigrant peoples — at

law and in fact. The majority of the immigrant peoples are European and they have made all the laws. These laws have been made with the intent of appropriating all power in the hands of the European immigrants. In the Native experience, the governments of this country are totalitarian instruments of colonial power as opposed to the democratic claim that is made for this country. And it does not make any difference which party is in power, governments will remain totalitarian because the laws of this nation have been designed to serve the exploitation of the land and its original people.

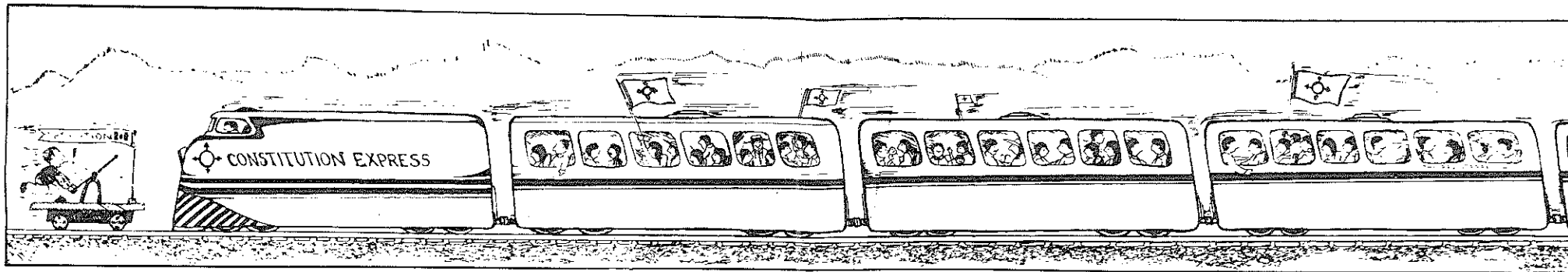
I had hoped that this situation might change if an honest attempt were made to approach the Constitution with a full commitment to human rights. However, it now appears that this freshet of hope has been enveloped in a deluge of greed. From your constitutional conference with the premiers, it appears that Sterling Lyon and his ilk feel that human rights are the prerogative of the colonizers. The underlying motives are clear to Native people: Colonialism has become totally entrenched in the 113 years of Confederation. Should human rights be genuinely recognized in this country, colonialism could be abolished, Native people would be freed and government by privilege would come to an end.

With the greed for power forming so much a part of the constitutional debate, it is doubtful that a just constitution can be fabricated unless a strong stand is taken by the enlightened elements of our society. As a nation in the twentieth century, we ought to be guided by the highest principles of human behavior, namely the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, instead of the avaricious designs of a few. The people who have suffered the most and who have lost the most will support you in this quest for justice if your purpose be true, and so will all Canadians of good will.

May universal guidance be with you.

Sincerely,

Kermot Moore



**THE CONSTITUTION EXPRESS** will take thousands of Indian people to Ottawa to demonstrate to the Canadian Government, Canadian people, that we will not accept termination of Indian rights.

If it's not successful in Ottawa, the Constitution Express will go to New York to demonstrate to the United Nations that our Treaties, Declarations, etc., are being violated.

Fund-raising will be needed to get Band people to Ottawa. Billboards can declare our position. To gain support, we will have to educate the non-Indian population of our rights and concerns.

Buffy St. Marie will be giving a benefit concert December 15th at the Orpheum.

#### Legal Action

Join the court action launched by B.C. Bands to stop Trudeau from acting beyond his powers in trying to wipe out Indian rights.

Support the court action to be launched in Europe to ensure that Great Britain stands by the Proclamations, Treaties, etc., which protect Indian Nations.

Trudeau has challenged the Indian people to prove that we have our own rights and freedoms and these have meaning for us. We must show him in the courts and we must show him to his face. We must take as many Indian people to Ottawa as we possibly can.

#### Discipline

Against such an action as this, the Government can only hope to make us look bad. We cannot tolerate any alcohol or drugs. This is a very very serious journey that we are undertaking, to defend our existence as Indian people. Our security

men will be going through strict physical and spiritual training.

#### The Constitution

Trudeau wants to go down in history as the man who made Canada an independent Nation. He wants to bring the B.N.A. Act to Canada, so that Canadian Governments don't have to ask the Queen everytime they want to change it.

This sounds fine, except that in the process our Indian Aboriginal Rights stand to be wiped out. The history of the Liberal Party's goal for the Indian people, Termination, leaves no doubt that this is deliberate. Indian Rights to lands, resources and self-determination are written into Declarations, Proclamations, Treaties and Agreements signed between the Queen and the Indian Nations. Section 91 (24) of the B.N.A. Act and the Indian Act deal with the Administration of those Agreements. Trudeau does not include those documents in the B.N.A. package. Our rights would not be protected in law.

At the same time Trudeau is introducing some new clauses that would further deprive people of their rights and freedoms.

#### The Charter of Rights and Freedoms

This draft document guarantees every individual equal rights. It does not recognize the rights of groups of people. We would no longer be Bands, Tribes or Nations. We would each be classified as Canadian.

Under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, any non-Indian could point to Indian reserve lands, hunting rights, fishing rights, rights to no taxation on reserve lands and houses, and so on, and holler

"discrimination"— why couldn't he have those things? The Charter of Rights and Freedoms would be the supreme law over any other law regarding Indian People. The documents that recognize those rights in law would have become just museum pieces, with no effect in law. Section 24 of Trudeau's resolution that guarantees "traditional rights and freedoms" would just refer to our cultural rights.

#### No Role for Indian Nations in Future Constitutional Changes

Another new clause that Trudeau has introduced would wipe out any Indian involvement in future changes to the B.N.A. Act, and once in Canada, the Federal and Provincial Governments could legislate them right out again.

Trudeau is very determined. He has railroaded his way through the House of Commons. He has not let the Provincial Premiers stop him. He has the machine for patriation in motion. He has established the proper Cabinet committee to review his resolution, but it is stationary and can only make recommendations. It cannot stop him. The deadline for this committee is December 9th. The resolution then goes back to the House of Commons for final passage. Trudeau has a confirmed majority.

The only thing that could stop him now is another powerful machine, the Indian Constitution Express. The Constitution Express will take a thousand Indian people from Vancouver to Ottawa to tell Trudeau and the Canadian people that we will never stand for Termination of our Indian Aboriginal Rights. Thousands more will come on other trains, by bus

and by air from across Canada to make sure this message is heard loud and clear. Trudeau would be violating every Proclamation, Treaty and Declaration and Agreement that Indian Nations have signed in the last 300 years.

Legal action has been started, but the courts are slow. Trudeau is counting on this to push through his resolution. We have to hold up the process in Ottawa. If there is no satisfaction in Ottawa, we must go to New York to demonstrate to the world that Trudeau has no regard for rights and freedoms in his country. This is a deadly serious mission. Unless we win this battle, everything that we believe in, everything that we have always fought so fiercely to defend, will be lost.

— Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs

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## EQUAL PARTNERS

from *The Globe & Mail*

Re the editorial "Children of the Reserve" (Nov. 17), contrary to what the government of Canada thinks about Indians (i.e., helpless people), we are human and need to learn from our own experiences and not have everyone tell us how to run our lives.

I am in total agreement when you say that "No two Indian bands are alike." We have been saying that for 100 years. However, the Canadian people and their Government have not had enough courtesy to listen. Therefore, we arrive at the present day's constitutional debate and we still have not received your ear to hear our side of the constitution coin. In fact, there have been few in-depth articles written on our reasons, both legal and rational, for demanding equal participation in the constitutional debate.

True, there have been some stories printed on our British lobby, but few Canadians truly understand why Indians, Metis and Inuit people are trying the international route.

In fact, few Canadians care why the entrenchment of our aboriginal rights should be an important part of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's reform package. And in some respects, I think the Prime Minister either doesn't understand or care to understand why we want our rights guaranteed in the constitution. Plus, he continually wears his anti-separatist blinders and seems to always mix Indians up with the supporters of the Parti Quebecois. A view that is a little narrow-minded for a man of his stature to be taking, especially if he wants the respect of the international community.

Regardless, Indian people view themselves as equal participants in the consti-

tutional debate along with the French and English. This is because provisions for our rights can be found in all the constitutional documents from the Royal Proclamation of 1763 to the British North America Act and as current as the many treaties that were signed between the Indian nations and the British Crown. In fact, Indian rights are not racial rights. They are political rights that result from the existence of aboriginal title to the land and from which sovereignty is derived to govern ourselves as nations.

Therefore, we are unlike any other racial or lobby group in Canadian history because we hold valid legal claim to be treated as equal and founding nations within the Canadian context. No other ethnic group in the country can make such a claim. But, because the Prime Minister doesn't seem to want to recognize this fact, he is now putting Indian people in a very frustrating position. There is no telling what our young people will do if they think the Canadian Government will continue to violate our rights.

Hopefully, Mr. Trudeau will mend his error before the situation reaches the point of no return. And it should be clearly understood that Indian people have always had a history of cooperation with the other founding nations. But we have also learned from those brutal experiences. Therefore, we now hope to change this disregard for our rights through cooperation and with the help of the Canadian public. However, this can only happen if news organizations like yours take greater care in accurately reporting on all aspects of the constitutional coin — not just the Government's side.

— Delbert Riley  
President, National  
Indian Brotherhood,  
Ottawa

## THE DECENTRALIST COUNTER CULTURE

"THE NEW AGE MOVEMENT is fragmentary," writes Murray Bookchin—lacking awareness of basic problems, therefore functioning as a cosmetic to the old structure but failing to replace it.

Mildred Loomis, who fills a prominent role in decentralism, digs deeply into the roots of lasting change in her book, *Decentralism*, an absorbing work written in non-academic language that tells the history of the decentralist counter culture in 26 short chapters. Emphasizing sources and directions, *Decentralism* should help familiarize that word in every household.

A basic application of decentralism is the community land trust, a legal entity to secure land, declare it unsalable, and arrange for persons to use it under an annual use-rental system rather than by payment of the market price. In the sixties, Ralph Borsodi and Robert Swann founded the International Independence Institute (I.I.I.), to teach, sponsor and assist community land trusts.

The first community land trust, New Communities, Inc., was chartered in 1969 in Georgia; over one million dollars was raised by religious, government and educational groups to purchase 4800 acres. Blacks and whites are both members and trustees, settling on 5-acre homesteads per family. Each family has a lifetime lease on the land but privately owns its own home and labor products. Some acreage is reserved for cooperative farming. The trust pays local land taxes. The land trust concept has spread to every region of the U.S.A. as well as in many parts of Europe, and to Mexico and Peru.

Mrs. Loomis summarizes the national cooperative movement and describes several intentional communities based on de-

centralist principles: Bryn Gweled and Sonnewald and Walnut Acres in Pennsylvania; Lane's End and School of Living centers. The Rodales of the million-circulation magazines, *Organic Gardening* and *Prevention*, received inspiration in their early journeys to the School of Living, Suffern, New York, founded by Ralph Borsodi, a long-time associate of the author.

The life and work of other decentralist pioneers highlighted in this book include Henry George of community-use and community land-value fame; Arthur E. Morgan, engineer who shaped the social policies of Tennessee Valley Authority, and subsequently established Community Service Inc., in Yellow Springs, Ohio where he rebuilt a bankrupt Antioch College into a major university. Included too are equally inspiring but lesser known decentralists like Ken Kern, Agnes Toms, the Treichlers, Peter van Dresser, among many other libertarians and philosophical individualists.

*Decentralism* will be an inspiration for those seeking an ethically-oriented alternative economy based on cooperative and voluntary principles. It belongs in every study-action library.

— GY

**Decentralism: Where it Comes From;  
Where Is It Going?**  
by Mildred J. Loomis  
School of Living, York, Pa. 17402  
216 pp. \$5.00

Copies may be ordered directly from the publisher or through RIKKA, P.O. Box 6031, Station A, Toronto, Ontario M5W 1P4. \$5.00 postpaid.



# THE FRAGILE ARCTIC



## Introduction

IN MOST areas of the world, the environment degradation associated with industrial development is subject to intensification as a result of a proximate associated human population. Thus chemical and aesthetic deterioration of the urban environment is a worldwide aspect of environmental deterioration as is the destruction of ecologic balance in rural areas through spillovers associated with urban growth.

Canada, as a relatively lightly populated country, experiences this class of problem with, for example, dangerously poor air quality in a number of cities and inadequate sewage treatment plants in most large population centers.

Two natural environments where pollution poses a threat in the *absence* of large human populations are: (1) the marine environment and (2) the arctic-subarctic regions of the circumpolar countries. In some cases the pollution threat in both these environments is associated with local population concentrations, as where, for example, a northern townsite develops in association with mining or hydro power generating schemes, or where a large coastal settlement dumps its waste into the inshore marine environment.

However, the focus of my discussion here will be on a rather extreme situation: the arctic regions of Canada where the total environment (marine, freshwater and terrestrial) is subjected to potentially serious damage in the marked absence of significant numbers of people. There are two main reasons for this situation to cause concern. Firstly, there is the unique nature of the northern ecosystem, and secondly, the extensiveness of this particular environment (about one half of Canada's total territorial holdings). Additionally, it is an area not devoid of human existence, for the arctic is substantially occupied by Canada's original inhabitants, the several nations of Dene and Inuit whose exclusive occupation extends back 25,000 and 4,000 years in the subarctic and arctic regions of Canada respectively.

## Fragility of Northern Ecosystems

Arctic ecosystems are generally held to be simple, immature and to lack stability and hence to be fragile. Considerable controversy surrounds the notion of "fragile" ecosystems. Some of the confusion may be semantic, and perhaps a better word than "fragile" could be adopted. However, it is generally agreed I think, that northern ecosystems are less complex than those that have existed in areas with a longer history than exists in the high latitudes.

In one respect, however, the term fragile does apply to northern ecosystems. The arctic terrain has one especially vulnerable characteristic, and this derives from the development of a permanently frozen layer known as the permafrost which extends in places from the surface to considerable depth. In the summer months, with the disappearance of the reflecting and protective snow cover, absorption of heat melts the top few inches of the frozen soil and so allows biologic activity during a few short weeks of arctic summer. This melted surface layer is called the active layer and it becomes dangerously active if physically disturbed. Normally the vegetative mat protects the active layer and the erosive forces of seasonal change are not sufficient to expose greater depths of permafrost to melting.

It is the terrain in permafrost regions to which the appellation "fragile" most appropriately belongs, for following physical disturbance of the vegetation and overlying active layer, the permafrost beneath becomes active in a progressive and irreversible process of melting and liquifying. The result of such disturbances is development of a so-called "thermokarst" terrain which like the unstable soils on steep-angled slopes, will not support vegetation and its associated fauna. The result therefore of permafrost disturbance is pauperization of the biota, and eventual destruction of the environment.

## Major Hazards to the Arctic Environment

It follows from the foregoing that any physical disturbance to the terrain constitutes a major environmental threat. Thus, for example, given the relatively slow growth of vegetation in the north, trails left by migrating herds of caribou are evident many years after the caribou have passed through an area (LeResche and Linderman, 1975). However, caribou and aboriginal land use do not cause thermokarst development, nor do they cause other irreparable damage to the land.

Major threats to the environment are now posed by the heavy equipment that accompanies the northern search for hydrocarbons, minerals and dam sites. Apart from physical damage to the terrain, there are other classes of damage associated with these industrial developments. Many terrestrial mammals in the north have poor vision, fairly acute hearing and a keen sense of smell, adaptive characteristics in regions with low light intensity or visibility obscured by blowing snow or ice-fog, or where food is buried beneath a snow cover for much of the year. Industrial development causes displacement of animals from territory polluted by alien smells and sounds. Interestingly, perhaps as a result of an insufficiency of the clues provided by poor eyesight, many arctic animals show initial curiosity toward highly visible, non-threatening alien objects in their environment; hence arctic foxes, musk-



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ox and caribou are sometimes reported among the buildings in remote weather stations or exploration camps.

Noise as a threat probably disturbs animals differently. Some animals, especially marine mammals whose power of smell are naturally less acute than are those of terrestrial species, are very disturbed by noise, and in traditional hunting times Inuit were forbidden to make noise when whale hunting, for example. Some noise was permitted, however, presumably because it approximated natural sounds: thus the rifle was not proscribed in hunting, because the sharp report of a gun shot was not unlike the sound of naturally breaking ice, and indeed seals were traditionally hunted in winter in some regions by arousing their curiosity by imitating the sound of a seal scratching the ice.

It now appears from reports slowly accumulating from empirical observation that the odors of oil and gas are especially alienating for most arctic mammals and so is the metal pollution from rusting oil drums or other ferrous materials. Studies have also shown that physical changes along the path of migrating caribou also causes disorientation which can be critical (see Freeman and Hackman, 1975, for references).

Noise disturbance is most commonly caused now by aircraft activity in the north, for most exploration is supported by helicopter and fixed-wing aircraft activity. Low flying aircraft cause birds to leave nesting areas in precipitate haste (often with high mortality among nestlings) which may be especially damaging to some parts of northern ecosystems, where colonial birds constitute the dominant pathway for recirculation of nutrients and where the avian population is a major contributor to the total metabolism of the ecosystem.

#### Why Bother About These Resources?

The grounds for concern about the survival of the arctic biota and environment are many. Each species is unique and the extinction of even local populations decreases the genetic variability (and hence, ultimately, the survivability) of the biosphere. The arctic has a good number of unique species populations, from polar bear, muskox, walrus, narwhal, bearded seal, to name a few of the large mammals, to even greater numbers of smaller species, such as lemmings, snowy owl, ptarmigan, arctic hare and Richardson's ground squirrel. There are also huge populations of migratory animals such as caribou, white whale, killer whale, snow geese, Canada geese, and millions of sea birds that spend important parts of their life cycle each year in the arctic, but at other seasons contribute to the functioning of ecosystems in the boreal or temperate zone. The dependence of our own non-arctic ecosystem therefore is linked in many ways to the continued health of the arctic ecosystems in ways scientists may not yet have determined with any exactitude, but which are real nonetheless.

The moral arguments for respect for the biosphere are usually more eloquent than politically telling, but perhaps because of the increasing need to retain and promote an ecologic (that is holistic) view of world events, they should not be overlooked. This view is perhaps best summed up by David Suzuki (1970):

Man alone of all creatures can look at a whooping crane or a whale and know "That is beautiful," and his appreciation of that animal is an important part of man's dignity. When we destroy another species, we in fact demonstrate a contempt for ourselves because we destroy a bit of that spiritual essence that makes man unique.

#### The Government Response

There was an early recognition in Canada that wilderness areas should be preserved for future generations, and many have paid tribute to the Canadian National Parks program.

Concern for the renewable resources of the north have occupied a large proportion of the discussions of the Northwest Territories Council (the colonial-type governing body) since its early days, and a complicated set of game laws and their successive amendments are the tangible result of this long-standing concern. As early as 1917, for example, following heavy hunting to meet the needs of fur traders, explorers and whalers, the dwindling Canadian stocks of muskox were placed under total protection.

The legislative concern for wildlife conservation largely stemmed in those early years from the fact that the native inhabitants of the north relied for sustenance of an intact northern ecosystem was in the best interests of both the local people and a weak and distant government administration. These early years of northern administration have been described elsewhere (Jenness 1964; Fingland 1966; Rea 1968).

Perhaps the most important government initiative in the inter-war years was to proclaim, in 1926, the Arctic Islands Game Preserve covering parts of the mainland north of the tree-line and all the arctic archipelago (including Baffin Island) stretching as far as the North Pole. This huge area was reserved as the exclusive trapping and hunting territory of the native inhabitants together with a very few non-native residents who also depended on local wildlife resources. Specific laws, enacted under the N.W.T. Game Ordinance regulated the harvesting of certain species. Exploitation of marine mammals and fish were regulated by Federal Acts, and migratory birds by an International Convention to which Canada was a party.

In the 1950's a number of changes occurred in the northern regions of Canada, which threatened the imagined ecologic balance as perceived by southern Canadians.

Firstly, caribou, a main life-support of many northern hunters, suffered a mysterious and drastic decline in numbers. News of the attendant human suffering was presented in dramatic and graphic detail to the southern populations, and in the ideological climate of the 1950's, something clearly had to be done by the federal agencies responsible for the north. The 1950's, you will remember, saw the start of the Cold War, the era of mounting anti-colonialism and the time when the two major international power blocs were seeking political and economic alliances with increasing numbers of uncommitted newly emerging nation states. The Canadian north was, for strategic and military reasons, in the spotlight and it could not for long be pretended that all was well there, if it quite clearly was not; more and more evidence suggested that indeed, all was not well (e.g., Mowat 1951; Harrington 1954).

A new Federal Department was created, the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, and because of the various Federal agencies operating in the north, it assumed an inter-agency coordinating function. A large part of the responsibility born by the new department was with respect to the Inuit population (though the Dene people continued to be administered by the Department of Citizenship and Immigration). However, given the collapse of the native economy (the fur trade was in decline and poor health further militated against self-sufficiency) responsibility toward the people of the north was seen to be discharged most effectively by ensuring health, education and welfare programs on the one hand, and promoting various economic development schemes on the other. The main ecologic consequence of the health, education, and welfare schemes was a concentration of population into administrative centers, where these services could

be administered more readily. This movement caused further disruption in renewable resource harvesting, as the native population now lived in settlements which were often sited with reasons other than ease of renewable harvesting in mind.

Some of the economic development schemes introduced at this time were connected with resource harvesting: fish canning and freezing, seal netting, logging and saw milling, whale hunting, to mention a few. However, the main thrust of national policy in these years was to encourage expansion of industrial activity into the north, especially mining, but also oil and gas exploration. These initiatives were supported by programs which provided financial incentives for speculative investment, and certain logistic and technical infrastructure (such as roads, remote airstrips, navigation aids, geological mapping and mineral assay services and so on).

The federal Department of Northern Affairs was by now enormous, with one of the largest budgets of any federal department, and with responsibility for the National Parks Service, the Canadian Wildlife Service, the administration of welfare and education in the Territories and in Arctic Quebec, and promotion of northern economic development.

One possible impediment to northern development, at least in theory, was the existence of a game reserve over most of northern Canada. A game reserve is not quite as sacrosanct as a national park as far as development activity is concerned, but in 1965 it was legislated out of existence. The search for hydrocarbons (and metallic ores) was now increasing year by year and the main environmental legislative enactment was the creation of Land Management Zones, over an area roughly corresponding to the Arctic Islands Game Preserve, but initially excluding the mainland immediately west of Hudson Bay and Baffin Island (predominantly a hardrock area, therefore of little interest to petroleum geologists).

To explore in an area designated a Land Management Zone requires a Land Use Permit, which is issued, or not, after consideration of a variety of factors, including the environmental impact of the proposed activity. The shortcomings of this administrative device as a means of protecting the northern environment have been detailed elsewhere (Usher, 1971; Usher & Beakhust, 1973) and all we need note here is that in practice the inherent conflict between economic development on the one hand and environmental protection on the other is exacerbated rather than overcome by the current administrative practice wherein both functions are legislated, administered and enforced by a single government department.

In 1970 the federal government recognized the existence of this problem, for the Throne Speech in Parliament was explicit in stating:

There is an inherent conflict of interest . . . between those who are seeking the exploitation of non-renewable resources and those who are charged with the responsibility of protecting the environment.

To help resolve this conflict, a separate Department of Environment was created, wherein the Canadian Wildlife Service and the Fisheries Research Board (both active agencies in the Canadian north) joined with other existing agencies having a mandate to protect the Canadian environment. In theory the new Department of Environment has a large measure of responsibility for maintaining the quality of northern environments, through legislation such as the Fisheries Act, the Inland Waters Act, the Clean Air Act and so on. However, the discharge of those protective responsibilities appears to be made very difficult, if not impossible, by the over-arching involvement of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in the north, for

this powerful department is, in practice, more responsive to the developmental lobby than to the environmental lobby.

The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources has been renamed the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. The effective alliance between industry and this department and the relative ineffectiveness of countervailing environmental viewpoints is becoming increasingly documented (see especially *Northern Perspectives*, published by the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, Ottawa, and recent Science Council of Canada Reports on Northern Development).

Some federal initiatives have followed the increasingly vocal concern of several environmental, nationalistic and native groups which conclude that all is not well in regard to northern environmental protection and resource management. For purpose of illustration, four responses only will be mentioned here:

1. *New Northern Policy*. In March, 1972, the Minister of Indian Affairs announced a new policy in which social concerns of the people of the north and concern for the northern environment would rank higher in the governmental decision-making process than development of non-renewable resources.
2. *Creation of a "busy" (but uninformed) citizenry*. The federal government is now not merely a regulatory body but a promoter (it owns a 45% share in Panarctic Oils, a major competitor in the northern oil and gas search, and a 18% share in a lead-zinc promotion in Baffin Island). Thus there is reluctance to provide interested citizens with the background information upon which many regulatory decisions are based. The public is, however, invited to participate at various low-level discussions, so that the appearance of participatory democracy (a 1968 federal election promise) is maintained (see Franson 1971; Usher & Beakhust 1973; Vincent 1975).
3. *Neutralizing the Department of Environment*. When the Environment Department (DOE) was established in 1969, arctic specialists in the Canadian Wildlife Service were transferred en bloc to that new department. Other environmental specialists, in the Environmental Protection Service, the Fisheries Research Board and so on (all now with DOE) serve as members of various inter-agency committees charged with northern environmental management; these committees are invariably chaired by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) and answerable to that minister. The role of DOE has thus become progressively more advisory; at the present time the Northern Development Department is building a technical bureaucracy parallel in nature and function to that of the Environment Department so that advisers from 'outside' DIAND will soon no longer be required.
4. *Cosmetic Changes*. In accord with the increasing centralization of legislative, administrative and evaluative procedures within one single department, a series of cosmetic changes have occurred to give rationality to the imminent demise of Department of Environment responsibility in the Canadian North. Thus the Northern Economic Development Branch (of DIAND) has become the Environment and Natural Resources Branch and Resource Management Officers are now called Environmental Protection Officers.

Another quasi-cosmetic change was the recent extension of Land Management Zones to cover the remaining areas of the arctic mainland and Baffin Island. However, the now required Land Use Permits still remain an ineffective device for protecting northern ecosystems in the face of non-renewable resource exploration activity (Freeman and Hackman 1975).

## Responses of Non-Governmental Organizations to the Challenge of Northern Development

Just as I outlined the growth of a northern development bureaucracy in relation to the international ideological circumstances of the 1950's, so the growth of a concerned Canadian citizenry in the 1970's can be best understood in relation to national ideological issues of the day.

In the late 1960's growing suspicion of "big business" in the minds of many was joined by a growing suspicion of "big government." An enlarging, centralized, government bureaucracy became viewed in increasingly negative terms, such that several government departments tried to establish some of their agency functions outside of the national capital area. A persistent problem in Canadian history has been regionalism, though in the past, given the huge land area, the small population and limited wealth it was an almost inevitable national phenomenon. In 1967 Canada entered into celebration of its Centennial Year and a great deal of effort was expended to promote inter-regional awareness and concern. Together with visible expressions, in Quebec, of the national dangers inherent in cultural (or regional) repression, a growing awareness that Canada's economy and culture was in need of repatriation from foreign domination, and anticontinentalism (especially prevalent in the universities) resulted in quickened national political and cultural awareness throughout many segments of society. The common theme of these varied events was a concern with nationalism; the continuing so-called "sell-out" of Canadian resources, at "bargain basement" prices angered increasing numbers of people and fuelled vocal and political opposition to the prevailing and time-honored practice of encouraging foreign investment in resources extraction and export at any (low) price.

The north became an immediate focus of this concern. Firstly, the resources therein, being untapped, were still Canadian owned. Secondly, most Canadians were brought up to believe (a) the second century of Canada's history belongs to Canada, and, (b) the north holds a storehouse of Canada's future wealth; from these premises it followed that Canadians *must* control northern development if there was to be a second century for Canada. And thirdly, given the increasing affluence of Canadians in the 1960's and 70's, a growing unease (if not guilt) was felt toward the plight of Canada's native people. Southern Canadians recognized that through their unique and internationally acclaimed art and cultural heritage these forgotten people were relevant to the creation of a distinctive national identity distinguishable from that of an ostensibly similar, but more dominant and to-be-separate-from culture to the south. For purposes of national identity creation then, one must look north.

At about the same time an international concern with "ecology" was gathering supporters in Canada; and given the peculiarly susceptible nature of arctic ecosystems and an awareness that Canada, a politically and numerically small nation, was custodian of a significant proportion of the world's circumpolar genetic resources, some serious lobbying on behalf of the northern environment was clearly in order. It now appears that the strength of the lobby startled some of the bureaucrats charged with defining Canada's role at the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment, and a hasty rewrite of Canada's position paper at Stockholm became necessary following public outcry almost on the eve of that conference.

It would be tedious to list all the non-governmental organizations (NGO's) that have joined in defence of the environment, but the degree of NGO involvement can be illustrated by pointing out that not only are federations of wildlife and nature organizations vocal in their concern, but so also are several political, commercial, civic and religious groups too.

Industry has responded in various ways. Several major oil companies established an independent Environmental Protection Board, composed of scientists in universities and elsewhere; this Board addresses itself to fundamental questions concerning environmental impacts, by sponsoring seminars and publishing the results of its discussions. (However, this board recently was disbanded).

The Canadian Gas Arctic Study was composed of a series of technical, environmental and social impact and feasibility studies sponsored by a pipeline consortium hoping to build a gas pipe line from the western arctic up the MacKenzie River Valley. The reports were prepared by industry scientists and consulting firms in support of the consortium's claim that such a pipeline is feasible and would have minimum impact on the human, physical, and biological environments of the north. Both the Science Council studies on the north and the report of the Berger Enquiry in respect to a MacKenzie Valley pipeline indicated that these studies were inadequate in many important respects.



SPRING  
EQUINOX  
by  
Jack Howard



The International Biological Programme (IBP), largely government funded, but staffed by academic, industry and government based scientists, was active in the Canadian north; it has largely completed its research, and has recommended several sites of especial ecological significance to be set aside as permanent ecological preserves (McLaren and Peterson, 1975). Some of these proposed sites are in prime areas of current oil and gas exploration activity.

The most effective lobby calling for eventual rationalization of environmental management in the north has been the Canadian Arctic Resources Committee (CARC). In 1971 a group of university-based scientists, several having international reputations in ecology, law or administration, formed an *ad hoc* group to act as "honest broker" between government, industry and the general public. Their initial efforts to do this were rebuffed by the powerful Indian Affairs and Northern Development Department, but the committee persisted, though increasingly finding itself in a patron role (i.e. disseminating its own values), rather than occupying the initially proposed broker role. At the present time CARC sponsors irregular seminars (e.g. on oil leasing or pricing policy), publishes a monthly informational newsletter (*Northern Perspectives*) and occasional reports stemming from seminars or research projects, and acts as a specialized resource group for native Canadian and other citizen organizations.

The native organizations have also involved themselves in environmental management concerns. Native peoples in Canada are not against development of their lands, but favor the type of development which allows them to grow with any development, rather than be left further behind, which has been their unfortunate experience to date. Insofar as they are speaking of *social development*, whereas the northern development plans of industry and government are designed to maximize *economic development*, there are fundamental disagreements between industry and government on the one hand and native peoples on the other. The native peoples' position is that the environment and people must remain in harmony if meaningful human existence is to continue; therefore there is considerable common ground between the native groups and environmental groups. I would go so far as to say that as the native groups are strongly nationalistic (after all, they have nowhere to go if anything happens to the body politic known as Canada) there are common grounds too with the politico-nationalistic motives of organized groups, and the strong element of spirituality in their environmental concern has struck a supportive note from several assemblies of Canadian churches.

#### Summary and Conclusion

This paper has reviewed the development of recent interest in the management policies and programmes in the Canadian north. The principal actors in this drama are various industrial development groups whose goals are shared by the influential economic development branch of the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Insofar as this particular branch of government has prime responsibility for regulating the potentially harmful environmental spillovers from much development activities, yet is itself cast

in the role of developer, a decided conflict of interest exists. To rationalize this conflicting situation a new and separate Environmental Department was recently created, but as the national purpose has been politically defined as development of northern non-renewable resources, it has been expedient to progressively diminish the role of the Environment Department in northern environmental decision-making.

The principal non-governmental actors include several environmental groups, who in most cases are opposed to the government-industry rationale for northern development, wherein it is deemed necessary to exploit these resources in the immediate future rather than conserve them or determine when, in the context of a conserver society ethic, the best time for exploitation will be. The native organizations are ideologically aligned with the environmental groups insofar as they also propose a freeze or go slow on development until certain socially beneficial reforms are enacted within the context of a land claims settlement.

— Milton M. R. Freeman

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FOR A

## CHARTER of Inalienable Rights

FIRST ARTICLES OF AN INVIOABLE CONSTITUTION

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SUCH A CALAMITOUS AND DESTRUCTIVE LAW AS THE WAR MEASURES ACT, WHICH IS STILL STATUTORY EVEN 35 YEARS AFTER THE ENDING OF THE LAST WORLD WAR, WOULD FIND NO ACCEPTANCE, BUT REJECTION, UNDER SUCH A BILL OF RIGHTS ENSHRINED IN THE CONSTITUTION. TO BE EFFECTIVE, THE BILL OF RIGHTS MUST CONTAIN ABSOLUTE GUARANTEES AGAINST THE RULE OF TYRANNY, IN WARTIME AS WELL AS PEACETIME. IF, AT ITS BIRTH OUR CONSTITUTION IS NOT TO BE TARNISHED, EVERY CANADIAN WHO CHERISHES BASIC INALIENABLE HUMAN RIGHTS, MUST DEMAND THAT SUCH A CHARTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS BE ENSHRINED IN THE PREAMBLE OF THE CONSTITUTION AS THE BILL OF RIGHTS, UNCONDITIONALLY PROTECTED FROM POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY OF LEGISLATIVE OR JUDICIAL AUTHORITIES AT ANY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT . . . . .

## Books

The Women's Press has just produced an appealing book for children about overcoming prejudice, titled *Stone Soup*, by Carol Pasternak and Allen Sutterfield.

*Stone Soup* is a colorfully-illustrated book about immigrant and Canadian children from many countries of the world, now sharing the same school class in Canada, who overcome their fears of strangeness by learning about one another and their different cultures while preparing a wonderful stone soup. 32 pages, \$4.95 paperback; \$7.95 cloth.

Canadian Women's Educational Press,  
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*Jinjo* by Ryokichi Ozawa, and *Toko*, by the same author, are two captivating folk tales translated from Japanese, published by Tundra Books, Montreal.

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Tundra Books are distributed by Collins Publishers, 100 Lesmill Rd., Don Mills, Ont.

The Two Sisters by Himani Bannerji (Kids Can Press, 585½ Bloor St. W., Toronto, Ontario M6G 1K5) with illustrations by Khaletun Majumdar is also a delightful folk tale for children.

## MULTISMORGASBORD

You Eat What You Are

Thelma Barer-Stein

McClelland & Stewart

Toronto, 1979, hardcover

624 pp. \$19.95

THE visual initiation to this book is a grotesque design on the jacket, of various shapes and colors of food, which in composite, form the features of a human image. Absurd to look at, but fun.

The author of *You Eat What You Are* offers the reader in fifty-two chapters a profile of the traditional foods, eating customs and table courtesies of at least an equal number of major ethno-cultural groups. Traditional names of popular dishes, processes of food preparation, religious and customary rituals of mealtime, and even what particular foods are available according to geographical location, season and life style are given in detail.

Although the author writes concisely, the information presented is unreserved and thorough. The material is extensively researched, but personal experimentation is presented only when it is of interest to the general reader.

At a time when communication among the races is spreading in the contemporary world, it is a step in a positive direction to be aware of the different cultures which influence a lifestyle. What better place to start than with such a basic everyday activity as eating?

What makes this book precious is that it can be used as a source of daily learning, not merely as a book that, once read, is put away on the shelf. *You Eat What You Are* is highly recommended for every household as an excellent accompaniment to the kitchen cook book.

—Lena Nabigon

PLEASE ADVISE US PROMPTLY  
WHEN YOU CHANGE ADDRESS

## The Ukrainian Connection . . .

A Statistical Compendium on the Ukrainians in Canada, 1891-1976,  
by William Darcovich and Paul Yuzyk  
Ukrainian Studies & Research Endowments, University of Ottawa, 835 pp. \$25.

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# They Won't Go Away...

Visible Minorities and Multiculturalism: Asians in Canada, Eds.: K. Victor Ujimoto and Gordon Hirabayashi. Toronto: Butterworths, 1980. pp. ix + 388.

THE twenty-five essays presented here are taken from the Canadian Asian Studies Association meetings in 1977 and 1978. The ethnic emphases cover every major Asian group in Canada, with several general papers, one on foreign students in Canada, and two on the ethnic writer. The emphasis in these essays vary quite widely, some historical, some covering current and old issues, some comparing various ethnic communities, or ethnic and host community, or comparing the ethnic group in the new land and in the old country. Some papers test personal hypotheses of the writers and several of these cannot find data or make interpretations to substantiate their original hypotheses. Some papers cover the differences in generations and different interpretations in scholarly perspectives and emphases. Political implications of being a visible minority are raised throughout, but these do not become primary issues.

The coverage also includes differences in perceptions of how a cultural group enters a society and makes its home there, at what rate, using what methods, and at what level of consciousness of penetration. It is an assumption of almost every paper that each cultural unit must accommodate, assimilate or adapt to the host society. At several points this assumption is verbalized. Part of the assumption is that the reverse is not always or often true, that the host society must also accommodate itself to the new ethnic units. The question whether the host society is ever welcomed in the ethnic unit is never raised. But this is so questionable since the very fact of racism, discrimination from the host society, indicates the difficulty the host society has in dealing with any particular group — yet the group will not go away.

One further curious factor is touched on. It is assumed that the Asians are minorities because the non-Asian Anglo-Saxon layer is the host society. The author of the first essay tries to define host society as those "resident in Canada before 1900." She recognizes that the Native Canadians are the original hosts. But it is then assumed that they are hosts no longer. The difficulty of such a definition is the recognition that several Asian groups have been in Canada prior to 1900, but they do not consider themselves, nor are they considered, part of the host society. The host society is thus assumed to be the layer of those who have power and authority, who control the government, the economy, politics, education, etc. The other curious assumption, then, seems to be that no matter how long a visible minority remains in Canada, they remain visible minorities and do not become part of the host society. Perhaps some other term than *host society* ought to be found.

## Minority Status

But this particular discussion leads to one of the points Eileen Baar makes in her essay on approaching the Japanese Canadian experience from a different (open) perspective than that used formerly (closed). She assumes that the Canadian Japanese have moved away from being a minority. She defines minority status in terms of hostile environs, restrictive economic conditions and competition with the Anglo-Saxon (p. 350). As a community moves away from these conditions, the essayist then assumes that they have then lost their minority status. The fact that the Canadian Japanese have moved away from these minority class conditions is assumed and not questioned. However, if they lose their "minority status" economically and politically, they are still "visible minorities." Applying her parameters to Canadian Jews might clarify the difficulties in her model at this point. The Jews may not be minorities in the sense of economic status, etc., but they too are very much a "visible minority." Her model leaves

Roland Kawano, a regular contributor to Rikka, will guest-edit a special Summer issue of this magazine on *The Church and Multiculturalism*.

much to be desired here. Yet this is one of the few essays which attempts to deal with a visible minority in Canada in the third and fourth generation. Her attempt at structuring a model for ethnicity at this level is more an actual description of conditions than a model, though it is helpful indeed.

In writing about "Problems of the Third World Writer in Canada," Cyril Dabydeen says, "Ethnic groups should form their own publishing houses and publish their own magazines. Rikka is doing this already." (p. 334). Dabydeen's thesis is that the third world writer is in exile in Canada, part of a visible minority, not adapted or even adaptable, writing of far off homelands in a new land and new territory foreign to him. What Dabydeen is giving expression to is part of the overall sense of dislocation of Canadian culture as it looks at itself, and the rest of his essay bears this out.

The other writer whose essay appears here contends that the sense of dislocation is not as stressful as it may seem. Joy Kogawa writes, "But the Asian Canadian person bears that bridge [between old and new cultures] within." (p. 325). This is the marginality, the specter of which haunts or beautifies the visible minority. The positive nature of her comment may well be due to the fact that this essayist is a second generation Canadian, who knows only Canada as motherland. And for some the bridge is broken, and some stand on one side, and some on the other side.

The essays by Doreen M. Indra and Ruth Groberman are substantially the same papers published earlier in Rikka (v4, n3/4, Autumn-Winter 1977), guest-edited by Victor Ujimoto. It is unfortunate that neither publisher nor editors have provided a note to that effect.

The text here by these two dozen different writers serves to focus the fact that the visible minorities are what they are: too visible to go away. The underlying assumption seems to be that no matter how many generations may have passed, they are still New Canadians.

— Roland Kawano

Trauma and Tanka...

## ORDEAL IN ANGLER

AN Issei from Fukuoka-ken, Japan came to Canada in 1920. His dream was of someday owning a large farm in Canada, but as the job market changed, his own dreams changed. In 1930 he returned to Japan and married. Now, he wanted to save enough to return to Japan. But one Sunday morning bombs fell on Pearl Harbor. In 1942 he was ordered to the Hastings Park Exhibition Centre and from there to various camps. Because he protested against some bureaucratic bungling, he ended up in the prisoner of war camp in Angler, Ontario.

This story is told from the diaries which Nakano kept at this time, pieced together by reminiscences which Leatrice, his daughter, translates along with English renderings of the Tanka poems. Of course, the main story is about the evacuation experience, the separation of the family, the bungling of the government, the prisoner of war camp, and resettlement in Toronto.

But there is another minor thread, and that is the growth of a poet. It is under the pressure of separation and of the need to find new resources that Nakano opens himself to the deep beauty of nature and disciplines himself to the ancient forms of tanka and haiku. Besides, in the isolation of Angler, he was educated at the informally held Haiku Club and by reading a number of the tanka and prose classics. But this discipline is also a part of Nakano's spiritual search, a search which led him into the intense poetical disciplines, which opened him to the wild beauty of the British Columbian wilderness, and which eventually led him to become a Christian. We are only told a part of this last story, but Nakano underlines it for us by his personal recognition of the intense opposition to Christianity of his own spirit and traditional upbringing. Nonetheless, his Japanese bible accompanies him on this pilgrimage, and several times he quotes from Isaiah, one of the prophets of the exile.

They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength;  
They shall mount up with wings as eagles;  
They shall run, and not be weary;  
And they shall walk, and not faint.

It is this Hebrew poetry which is both consolation and strength to this Japanese exile.

This is a short work with an afterword on the conditions surrounding the immigration and subsequent racism against Asians by UBC history professor, W. Peter Ward. It is a delicate work, translated into English, of an experience that is slowly becoming part of the larger memory of the Japanese of the West. After resettlement in Toronto, Mr. Nakano worked for a quarter of a century at Canada Packers. And all this time he continued his study of Tanka. In 1964 he was one of twelve finalists, and the first Canadian ever, in the annual Imperial Poetry Contest.

His case is not unique among the Japanese Canadians. The poets exist at all levels of the Japanese community. It is certainly a far cry from the poets of the host society, most of whom have had training through college, a number of whom support their poetry by teaching and other learned professions. Mr. Nakano evidences the average man for whom traditional poetry was a solace in stress, to become a pillar of peace.

— Roland Kawano

**Within the Barbed Wire Fence: A Japanese Man's Account of his Internment in Canada**  
by Takeo Ujo Nakano and Leatrice Nakano.  
Toronto: The University of Toronto Press,  
1980. (pp. x + 126; \$10.00).

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## The Last Word

# Go in' my way . . .

IN YOUR article "Our Earth is Alive," you state that ancient Indian tribes believed earth was a living being, and now a modern scientist has come to the same conclusion.

The white man continues to amaze me with his logic in having spent a fortune in research to prove "scientifically" the obvious.

You imply that only the Indians of long ago believed this fact. This is false. Why do you think that Canada's Native people today are so concerned about so-called modern developments that exploit and destroy the environment?

The belief that "Mother Earth" is alive is a basic value behind our traditions. We are one with our environment and must learn to adapt to it, not conquer it.

I found James E. Lovelock's closing statement very interesting. "In the future, humankind might learn to collaborate with other species — some of which, like whales, may already have evolved further toward harmony with Gaia (Earth)."

This is an anachronism, however. Native people — who are part of humankind, by the way — have known for centuries how to collaborate with the species and continue to do so to this day.

I only hope that our brother, the non-Indian, through his million-dollar research projects will discover the obvious before it is too late and he completely destroys our mother the Earth who has given us life. Don't you realize yet that our survival as human beings depends on our ability to adapt to the earth's cycles and not on our abilities to conquer it.

Our son is only four years old and he already knows what Dr. Lovelock has "discovered." He is not an "ancient Indian" by any stretch of the imagination.

— Roger Obonsawin

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practice, and public opinion. He studied at the U. of Michigan (MA., PhD) and is Professor of History and Chairman of the Department, Rampart College since 1965.

## EXCERPTS FROM WHERE WAS THE GENERAL?

Shortly after Gen. Marshall vanished early Saturday afternoon, Dec. 6, the Japanese Memorandum, 902 from Tokyo began to come in, and while the Japanese Embassy in Washington was busy taking it down, unknown to them, the American intelligence systems were doing the same, and converting it into English somewhat faster. And this had catastrophic consequences. The combined Army and Navy team of code-breakers were not only more successful than the Japanese Embassy people in coming up with an English language version of this memorandum, and well ahead of the latter. The difficulties of the Embassy decoders led to a delay in furnishing their diplomats with a version in time to make the scheduled presentation at the State Department, compounding their problem with accusations of planned deceit to cover the air attack on Hawaii as a consequence.

But this legend does not fit with the facts. Even the Japanese educator-historian Saburo Ienaga, though bitterly hostile to the Japanese regime which took Japan into war with the U.S.A., exonerates them of the almost universally-held notion in the U.S.A. that they had "planned a perfidious attack without any prior warning." This is "incorrect," Ienaga flatly declared. It was the Japanese government's clear intention to notify the State Department "immediately before the attack" at Pearl Harbor that diplomatic relations were considered broken, but this formal notice was delayed because "they had difficulty with the last long message from Tokyo." (Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945*, New York: Pantheon Books, 1978, p. 136.)

Ladislav Farago in his *The Broken Seal* (New York: Random House, 1967), the most heavily documented pro-Administration apologia and diversionary effort, frankly admitted it was the Japanese Embassy inefficiency in failing to have the 14-part message in acceptable English in time for delivery to Sec. of State Cordell Hull, as originally promised, and not a part of some devilish "sneak attack" plot, though the latter misconception persists as the almost universal American belief.

What is really repelling about that drama in the offices of the State Department early in the afternoon of Dec. 7, 1941, was the fakery of Sec. Hull in pretending to read what was rendered him by the Japanese diplomats Nomura and Kurusu, and then launching into a diatribe of billingsgate aimed at these two, intended more for the record than anything else. Like everyone else privileged to read "Magic," Hull had already seen this message, thanks to the more speedy efforts of U.S. intelligence. Therefore, his whole performance was far more theater than it was the execution of his duties as a diplomat, and his simulated sense of outrage simply another contribution to the tight little scheme of propaganda being built around the entire incident by the Administration, to make themselves look like aggrieved innocent victims and the Japanese sinister, scheming deceivers. It worked in precisely that way, and the American public responded in a manner which must rank close to the top as an achievement of a propagandist's dream, probably unequalled in the history of devious statecraft.

James J. Martin is the author of *Men Against the State*, *American Liberalism*

and *World Politics*, *Revisionist Viewpoints*, and *The Saga of Hog Island*.