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EDITORIAL

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This is the fifth issue of the *Journal of Indigenous Studies*. Each issue is quite unique; the process of reaching publication is often a circuitous and difficult one but we continue because we believe that what we are doing is important. We thank our contributors, readers, advisors, and subscribing institutions for their patience and understanding. The period between issues has not yet become as regular as we would like!

We are proud to announce that the *Journal of Indigenous Studies* received an honourable mention in awards given out by the Council of Editors of Learned Journals in the category—Best New Journal (1992).

It is our hope that we can continue to provide a voice for academic research that speaks directly to Indigenous peoples about issues *they* have identified. A special thanks goes to Ingrid Gallagher and Catherine Littlejohn, the editor of the last issue, for helping to re-focus our mission and mandate back to the Aboriginal community. It was this editorial feature as well as our relevant and diverse subject matter which was deemed worth mentioning by the fourteen judges of the CELJ competition. Cathy has left the Gabriel Dumont Institute and is working as a

researcher and analyst for the Metis National Council in Ottawa. We regret she is no longer editor but we welcome her as an active member of our advisory board.

The question of the dialectical relationship between language and identity animates the discussion of the first three articles of this, Volume 3, No. 1, of the *Journal of Indigenous Studies*.

"I am I and the Environment" looks to the links between the hunting of the Inuit, their sense of community, and their concept of identity. Co-authors Arlene Stairs and George Wenzel show how the Inuit construction of reality is an integrated phenomena. We see the unity between self-definition and definition of Nature in an Aboriginal world-view, indeed each informs and completes the other. We are pleased to provide the abstract of this article in Inuktitut to demonstrate our commitment to two-way dialogue and accountability.

Edward Te Kohu Douglas, a Maori scholar, provides in "Maori Language Nests" a vivid description of attempts at language retention among the Maori people. Of particular interest to Aboriginal people in North America, concerned with the preservation and renewal of their languages and cultures, are the assumptions behind Maori language maintenance programmes and the impact that language nests have had on communities throughout New Zealand.

Following and complementing Te Kohu Douglas's article, is an informal but informative description by Agnes Grant of "Contemporary Maori Music". We reproduce this as an extended letter to the editor—part travelogue, part ethnographic study—because it provides the reader with an account of how integral music and song is in contemporary Maori life in New Zealand.

The dynamics of Aboriginal literature and culture in a changing world underline the study of "Paula Gunn Allen", Native American writer and critic. This literary biography by Deborah Plant establishes a context for this "tribal feminist" and "word warrior" and deepens our appreciation of the commitment necessary for the survival and continuance of Native American cultures. As Plant concludes, the work of Paula Gunn Allen is a splendid manifestation of the Cheyenne saying, "A nation is not conquered until the hearts of the women are on the ground".

The struggle by Aboriginal cultures for survival as distinct societies is a worldwide phenomenon. In "A Global Community" Radha Jhappan outlines the growing inclination by Indigenous peoples throughout the world to appeal to international bodies such as the UN and OAS to draw attention to their plight and to bring external pressure to bear on their national governments. Jhappan points out that such calls for intervention in "domestic (often localized, resource related) disputes" become challenges to traditional concepts of citizenship with implications for how Aboriginal communities define themselves as 'sub-national nation states' at the international level.

The diversity of these articles and their relevancy to Aboriginal peoples is a continuing strength of the *Journal of Indigenous Studies*. I would like to thank Ingrid Gallagher and Lorraine Amiotte of the Gabriel Dumont Institute for their assistance in preparing this issue for publication without an editor-in-chief.

The future bodes well. Volume 3, No. 2, will be devoted to issues in Aboriginal

education. Articles will come primarily from the College of Education at the University of Saskatchewan with an editorial perspective given by a woman of Inuit ancestry, Karla Williamson, of the Indian and Northern Education Program. Volume 4, No. 1, will be guest edited by Harry Anthony Patrinos of the World Bank and International Development Association in Washington, D.C. The articles will be part of a special session at the Learned Societies Conference at Carleton University in Ottawa in June 1993. The issue will focus on "the cost of being Indigenous" in terms of unemployment, debt, and education and training around the world.

We encourage readers to respond to the points of view expressed here, to recommend and review books, to advise us of conferences and programs of interest, and to help us network with those at the community level and at the national and international level as well. The criterion of successful and appropriate academic work in the field of Indigenous Studies will increasingly be relevancy to and direction from the population that constitutes the subject matter. We continue to call for a partnership between sources of traditional knowledge and the world of academe. We believe this is a valid and timely role for the *Journal of Indigenous Studies* and the Gabriel Dumont Institute.

R. JAMES MCNINCH
ASSOCIATE EDITOR

ÉDITORIAL

Voici le cinquième numéro de la *Revue des études indigènes*. Chaque numéro est très unique; le processus qui mène à la publication est souvent indirect et difficile, mais nous continuons parce que nous croyons que ce que nous faisons est important. Nous remercions les personnes qui ont collaboré avec nous et qui nous ont conseillés, ainsi que les institutions abonnées, pour leur patience et leur compréhension. La période de temps entre les numéros n'est pas encore aussi régulière que nous l'aimerions!

Nous sommes fiers d'annoncer que la *Revue des études indigènes* a reçu une mention honorable parmi les prix décernés par le Conseil des éditeurs de revues savantes, dans la catégorie—Meilleure nouvelle revue (1992).

Nous espérons pouvoir continuer à exprimer la recherche universitaire qui s'adresse directement aux peuples indigènes au sujet de questions qu'ils ont identifiées. Nous remercions tout particulièrement Ingrid Gallapher et Catherine Littlejohn, l'éditrice de notre dernier numéro, pour nous avoir aidés à diriger à nouveau notre mission et notre mandat vers la communauté autochtone. C'est cet éditorial et aussi nos sujets pertinents et variés que les quatorze juges du concours du C.E.R.S ont jugé dignes d'une mention. Cathy a quitté l'Institut Gabriel Dumont et elle est chercheuse et analyste pour le Conseil national des Métis à

Ottawa. Nous regrettons qu'elle ne soit plus éditrice, mais nous l'accueillons en tant que membre actif de notre conseil consultatif.

La question du rapport dialectique entre la langue et l'identité anime les discussions des trois premiers articles de ce *Volume 3, No 1* de la *Revue des études indigènes*.

"Je suis moi et l'environnement" examine les liens entre la chasse chez les Inuits, leur sens de la communauté et leur concept de l'identité. Le co-auteurs Arlene Stairs et George Wenzel montrent que la façon dont les Inuits construisent la réalité est un phénomène intégré. Nous voyons l'unité entre leur propre définition et la définition de la nature d'un point de vue mondial autochtone, en fait chacun informe et complète l'autre. Nous sommes heureux de présenter le résumé en inuktitut pour démontrer notre engagement vers un dialogue et une responsabilité à double sens.

Edouard Te Kohu Douglas, lettré maori, nous offre une description vivante des efforts de maintien de la langue chez les peuples maori dans "Les nids de la langue maori". Les suppositions à l'origine des programmes de maintien de la langue et l'impact que les nids de langue ont eu sur les communautés partout en Nouvelle-Zélande sont d'un intérêt particulier pour les peuples autochtones d'Amérique du Nord.

Suivant l'article de Te Kohu Douglas et le complétant, nous avons une description de "La musique contemporaine maori" par Agnes Grant. Nous reproduisons cela comme une lettre à l'éditeur prolongée, une étude en partie récit de voyage et en partie ethnographique, parce que cela donne au lecteur un compte-rendu de la façon dont la musique et la chanson sont intégraux dans la vie maori contemporaine en Nouvelle-Zélande.

Les dynamiques de la littérature et de la culture autochtone dans un monde qui évolue soulignent l'étude de "Paula Gunn Allen", auteur et critique amérindienne. Cette biographie littéraire de Deborah Plant établit un contexte pour cette "féministe tribale" et "guerrière mondiale". Elle approfondit notre appréciation de l'engagement nécessaire pour la survie et la continuation des cultures autochtones d'Amérique du Nord. Comme Plant le conclut, le travail de Paula Gunn Allen est une splendide manifestation d'un dicton cheyenne, "Une nation n'est pas conquise tant que les coeurs des femmes ne sont pas sur le sol".

La lutte des cultures autochtones pour survivre en tant que sociétés distinctes est un phénomène universel. Dans "Une communauté mondiale", Radha Jhappan souligne la tendance grandissante des peuples indigènes dans le monde entier à faire appel à des groupes internationaux comme les Nations Unies et L'Organisation des états américains pour attirer l'attention sur leur situation critique et pour amener de la pression externe pour concerner leurs gouvernements nationaux. Jhappan souligne que des appels d'intervention de ce genre dans les "disputes nationales (souvent localisées et liées aux ressources)" deviennent des défis envers les concepts traditionnels de citoyenneté, avec des implications sur la façon dont les communautés autochtones se définissent comme "états nationaux sous-nationaux" au niveau international.

La diversité de ces articles et leur pertinence pour les peuples autochtones est une force suivie de la *Revue des études indigènes*. J'aimerais remercier Ingrid

Gallagher et Lorraine Amiotte de l'Institut Gabriel Dumont pour avoir aidé à préparer ce numéro sans éditeur-en-chef.

L'avenir est de bon augure. Le Volume 3, No 2, sera consacré à des questions sur l'éducation autochtone. Les articles viendront principalement du collègue d'éducation de l'université de la Saskatchewan, avec une perspective éditoriale donnée par une femme de descendance inuit, Kara Williamson, qui est dans le programme d'éducation indienne et du Nord. Le Volume 4, No1, aura un éditeur invité, Harry Anthony Patrinos de la Banque mondiale et de l'Association du développement international à Washington, D.C. Les articles feront partie d'une session spéciale à la conférence des sociétés savantes à l'université Carleton, à Ottawa, en juin 1993. Le numéro sera axé sur "le prix que cela coûte pour être autochtone" en terme de chômage, de dettes et d'éducation et de formation dans le monde entier.

Nous encourageons nos lecteurs à réagir aux points de vue exprimés ici, à recommander des livres et à en faire la critique, à nous recommander des conférences et des programmes intéressants et à nous aider à établir un réseau avec des personnes au niveau communautaire et local et au niveau national et international aussi. Le critère d'un travail universitaire réussi et approprié dans le domaine des études indigènes sera de plus en plus la pertinence pour la population et la direction de cette population qui en est le sujet. Nous continuons à demander un partenariat entre les sources de connaissances traditionnelles et le monde universitaire. Nous croyons que c'est un rôle valable et opportun pour la *Revue des études indigènes* et pour l'Institut Gabriel Dumont.

L'éditeur adjoint,
JAMES MCNINCH

ecological relations, most notably the harvesting of large marine and terrestrial mammals.

This has especially become the case in the last two decades when, under the expanding rubric of ecological anthropology (see Anderson, 1973; also Smith, 1981), the study of Inuit resource harvesting and food production has expanded our knowledge and understanding of hunter environmental and economic relations well beyond that provided by the rich, yet basically descriptive, ethnographies of the preceding seventy-five years. The breadth of this work on Canadian Inuit, Alaskan Inupiaq and Yupik, and Greenland Kalaallit includes studies on land use (Freeman, 1976; Brice-Bennett, 1977), bioenergetics (Kemp, 1971), environmental knowledge (Nelson, 1969), resource scheduling (Lowenstein, 1981; Nelson, 1981), socio-ecology (Smith, 1981), and social organization, resource sharing and local economy (Damas, 1969, 1972; Wolfe, 1979; Worl, 1980; Wenzel, 1981), to name but a few examples.

While these, and the larger body of Inuit research of which they are a part, present a range of operational models applicable to the ecological-economic analysis of Inuit resource utilization, all approach the subject from an externalized empirical perspective. Of those few studies which touch on the social and cognitive importance of Inuit ecological relations (see Hutchinson, 1977; Fienup-Riordan, 1983; Sabo and Sabo, 1985), the primary focus is on structuralist explanation; on cognitive modelling, particularly of hunting, without attention to the social genesis of human-environment cultural models. Only Fienup-Riordan (1983) examines harvesting in a societal context, rather than as a construct explainable through ecological rationalization or cosmological referencing alone.

Research among Eastern Arctic Canadian Inuit suggests that an understanding of the social dimension of Inuit harvesting rests in Inuit interpretations of human community - non-human environment relations, and that these are evidenced in the ways in which Inuit approach animals and regard food. It is proposed here that Inuit harvesting is embedded within a social relational continuum in which the individual harvester forms not an intermediate link through which food is extracted from the environment, but rather the medium through which community and environment are integrated. This paper is an attempt to examine the cognitive relationships entered into by Inuit through harvesting. The examination is based on a view of culture as a socially created cognitive model with which individuals actively and continually negotiate their identities. "I am I and the environment", borrowed from Ortega y Gasset's "Meditations on Hunting" (1985) for the title of this paper, is seen as a summary of all that Inuit food, *niquituinnaq*, represents in unifying Inuit environment, community, and identity.

Several aspects of human-environment relationship critical to an understanding of the Inuit cultural model are examined in the first three sections of this paper: (a) the structuring relationship between society and harvesting ecology, (b) the particularized community-environment relationship between humans and animals, and (c) the defining relationship of persons (*inummarit*) to both community and environment. The fourth section then explores how these relationships are incorporated into the Inuit modelling of the world through cognitive construction of a world-image identity. The final two sections consider the

centrality of identity concepts to the study of cultures, and the potential expansion of such concepts through a growing understanding of Inuit culture.

THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF INUIT HARVESTING

A relationship between Inuit social structure and subsistence production can only be posited if two conditions are accepted. The first is that this system is composed of two aspects, resource harvesting and the allocation of harvest products. The second is that this system is both ordered and rational. Inuit ethnological data (see Damas, 1969; Worl, 1980; Wenzel, 1981; Fienup-Riordan, 1983) support both these conditions. Most importantly, these data demonstrate a clear association between the organization and structure of Inuit inter-personal social relations and the organizing and structuring of Inuit ecological relations.

This association is consistent with the work of Heinrich who noted that, beside technology, "kinship ... is the most important other adjustive mechanism since there is little else in the way of integration at a higher level than kinship ..." (1963, p. 68). Indeed, no other means is available to Inuit for the efficient and effective organizing and execution of harvesting activities. Task group formation, decision making and resource choice, resource allocation and distribution, and hunting itself, are all organized and managed through the behavioural structure based in Inuit social relations.

This is logical if only because wildlife harvesting tasks require an organizational structuring for the integration of personnel, equipment, and economic resources. In communities where individuals, households, and extended families are joined in a single social network, the rules which direct interpersonal and intergenerational relations (see Wenzel, 1981, 1991) form a highly efficient means of effecting harvesting activities in a high-risk natural environment. To associate Inuit communities and renewable resource harvesting without recognizing this social structural aspect is to misunderstand that, for Inuit, subsistence encompasses not only spatial, technological, temporal, and information and spiritual dimensions, but also a critical social dynamic.

INUIT AND ANIMALS

Research on Inuit wildlife harvesting has most often taken an econometric approach to harvesting analysis. Inuit hunting, quintessentially focused as it is on the capture of large mammals, is especially amenable to interpretation in quantitative terms: numbers of animals harvested; the frequency of harvesting success; aggregate edible biomass; rates of caloric exchange; optimum task group size. Inuit, on the other hand, note that success in harvesting neither reflects nor is predicated on individual harvester material effort. Rather, a harvester's success is indicative of the person's cognitive referencing to both the human and animal communities with which he interacts (Wenzel, 1985 Field Data).

Inuit emphasize that the core of the relationship between humans and animals is human recognition that an equity exists with animals as participating members of a shared environment. To non-Inuit observers, resource harvesting is grounded

in a combining of technology, knowledge of the local natural environment, and skill. Inuit, however, note that the critical elements in hunting are proper attitude and intent toward animals.

The first element, proper attitude, directly reflects the equally essential roles of humans and animals in the ecosystem. Animals are worthy of respect because they are sentient beings (see Wenzel, 1983; also Nelson, 1969) and are, therefore, cognizant of the thoughts and speech of hunters. A hunter who seeks animals only to demonstrate prowess presents an attitude which is inconsistent with the equity of humans and animals, and indicates a lack of seriousness toward the most serious relationship that exists between humans and animals. Such a hunter will not be a successful harvester. According to Inuit, only a hunter whose thoughts are focussed on the *relationship* between himself and animals shows the correct attitude.

The second critical element according to Inuit pertains to individual intent, and is explained in two ways. The first is that the hunter must intend to utilize the remains of the animal as fully as possible for food. While it is possible that an animal may not, in fact, be eaten or be only partially consumed, it is the intent of food use that is the essential and principal reason for harvesting.

The second aspect associated with intent is that food produced from harvested animals should not be for the sole use of the individual harvester. Animals, like land, are common property (see Berger, 1972, 1985; Usher and Banks, 1986) and, as such, belong to no one. Therefore, in the sense of any proprietary rights, even after capture, animals remain general to all—not specific to any individual. The literature on Inuit harvester socialization (see Birket-Smith, 1929; Fienup-Riordan, 1983) and land use and occupancy (Freeman, 1977) all bear out this aspect of non-proprietary relations between humans and animals, and their shared environment.

The process of producing *niqituinnaq* therefore requires specific and essential cognitive ordering by Inuit with regard to animals. An Inuk must approach animals with an attitude of respect for a co-resident being and intend that the products of the animal's generosity be available to all those with whom the harvester may have contact.

INUMMARIIT

While much of the above discussion pertains to the behaviour of individual harvesters vis-à-vis animals, it should not be construed as denoting a conceptual relationship existing between individual humans and individual (or all) animals. It is, instead, referent to two social groupings, one animal and the other human. For Inuit, being *inummarik*, to mean being a most genuine person, derives from the full community-environment world-image in which the *inummarik* harvester finds his identity and by which he lives.

Brody (1975) explains *inummarik* by stating that a person can work, talk, and even walk *inummarik*; most importantly, however, a person is being *inummarik* when he eats *inummarik*. It is *niqituinnaq*, Inuit food, that conceptually and concretely integrates human community with the natural environment.

Discussion with Inuit about the essential qualities of a person who is *inummarik* led to a picture in which, among other things, a person who was *inummarik* was generous (*ilgasuuq*). Further, by *ilgasuuq* Inuit meant not simply material largesse, but the manner and attitude by which they expressed their generosity. *Ilgasuuq* is not simply an action; it is also an aspect of a genuine person's entire demeanour.

Graburn (1972), in his analysis of in-group classification among Inuit, was told by informants that sharing, especially of food (*ningiqtuq*), was a trait distinguishing Inuit from other humans. Brody (1975, pp. 136-137) was told, in reminiscences about the time when all Inuit were *inummarit*, that,

The way we lived in camps was by living together ... food—country food—was easy to share ... it was always possible to share out game killed by one hunter, to share it out between all families in camp.

The reality of Inuit sharing is that an intricate layering of allocative mechanisms exist by which any person in need of food is afforded access through the structural constructs of the social system.

The basic form of sharing, *ningiqtuq* or *tugagautuq*, has been described by Inuit as the movement of food upwards to geneologically and terminologically superior kinsmen within the harvester's extended family, or *ilagiit*. Once this "upward" passage of food has been completed, with the oldest male in the extended family receiving the supplies, further flow of subsistence products within and beyond the *ilagiit* can occur. The primary means of dispersal occurs through *tiguttuinaq* in which subordinate *ilagiit* members, who may have been food suppliers and/or processors, can freely remove food from the extended family head. For non-*ilagiit* persons however, other mechanisms operate with respect to food. Rather than *tiguttuinaq*, a complex set of commensal and offering practices, centering on the extended family head, function to achieve the widest possible dispersal of food resources within communities and among individuals.

Four main systems of food distribution occur in parallel with intra-*ilagiit* sharing. These involve communal meals, or *nirriyaqtuqtuq*, the inviting of guests (*akpaalugit*), the distribution of cached and previously stored food (*minaqtuq*), and the giving of food gifts (*paiyuktuq* or *quaktuaktuq*). All of these latter practices are directed beyond the *ilagiit*, although extended family members commonly participate in *nirriyaqtuqtuq* commensalism.

Harvesters who are *inummarit* are, therefore, correct in aspect both towards the environment and toward community, towards both animals and men. Their sharing patterns simultaneously distribute the food given by animals and affirm the structure of society. The ethos of *inummarit* is critical to the successful continuation of relations with all beings.

CONNECTEDNESS OF COMMUNITY AND ENVIRONMENT

Fienup-Riordan (1983, pp. 345, 346) in her discussion of the value placed by Nelson Island Yup'ik on traditional subsistence pursuits, states that,

... when a person lives like his grandparents from the land and sea, he feels that those grandparents are still alive in him ... Thus, living off the land is the ultimate *security* at the same time that it makes possible, nay, mandates *generosity* What comes freely must be given freely in order to ensure that it will return.

Through a life that unifies the land, the animals, and the community past and present, the Inuk hunter acquires, reconstructs, and lives out a world-image which provides both security in his own identity and direction for his behaviour. He does not hunt only to eat, but also to structure his community, and ultimately to build a cognitive model of the world by which he is defined and directed. To be *inummarik* is to be actively engaged in lifelong cycles of interaction with, and cognitive integration of, the human and non-human environment. The more complete and harmonious one's world image, the more genuine one's being.

In the acts of harvesting animals and sharing food, Inuit must encompass all elements and levels of organization in the environment. Only thereby can they build the image integrating hunting and sharing. This cultural necessity is illustrated in patterns of food utilization which, as described above, are seen by Inuit in terms of cognitive and social as well as material needs. Clearly, a full understanding of Inuit harvesting cannot allow segregation of the world into subsystems as in the Western scientific tradition, nor can any one aspect be left out or exaggerated. Voids or imbalances in the world-image of the hunter threaten his continuing existence ecologically, culturally, and psychologically. Individual prowess or possession, for example, would create discontinuity in the hunter's world-image—his model of human-environment integration—and so would weaken his identity (*inummarik*) which is formed by that image. *Niqituinnaq*, in which generous exchanges among animals and humans are inherent, provides protection against this danger, and has been used here as a key datum in the cognitive modelling of Inuit culture.

IDENTITY, CULTURE, AND INUIT

To accept the cognitive model of Inuit culture presented here, one must first accept the centrality and usefulness of identity as a conceptual basis for culture study. While concepts of "identity", "the person", or "the self" have an uneven history in social science, often rejected in favour of more presumedly observable constructs, there is currently renewed attention to integrated person-culture concepts (see Knorr-Cetina, 1981, pp. 2-7, regarding the "cognitive turn" in studies of society, and Michelle Rosaldo, 1984, pp. 140, 152, regarding the "cultural turn" in studies of the person). Rosaldo (1984, p. 146) proposes that "what is most true of individuals, their deepest sense of self, is located in a set of actions — hunting" and other focal activities of the cultures in which they live — and that "these deeds do not achieve separation of the individual from the group". Her mentor Geertz (1983, p. 59) demonstrates with some authority that "the concept of the person, is, in fact, an excellent vehicle by means of which to examine ... another people's turn of mind."

An additional step in accepting a cognitive identity model of culture is acknowledgement of cross-cultural variability in identity concepts. "The Western conception of the person as bounded, unique ... whole" is, in Geertz' wide-ranging analysis, "a rather peculiar idea within the context of the world's cultures." Shweder and Bourne (1984, p. 193) answer their title question, "Does the Concept of the Person Vary Cross Culturally?", with a well-documented and definitive "yes". They propose two major alternative conceptualizations of the individual-social relationship, the "sociocentric organic" and the "egocentric contractual". These concepts are re-incarnations and extensions in cross-cultural perspective of two identity concepts described within Western culture by earlier social scientists (Mead, 1925, James, 1910): the "me" or objective social person and the "I" or subjective private self. Among many traditional societies studied, including the present examination of Inuit culture, the social person predominates; "there is no necessary gap between the 'presentation' and the self" (Rosaldo, 1984, p. 146). In Western society there is a contrasting preoccupation with "hidden inner selves" and with privacy and property as essential to identity (Bruner, 1986, pp. 66-68).

One further step for understanding culture in terms of identity concepts is accepting the possibility of situational identities. Numerous ethnographic studies suggest, for example, that "our notions of a constant 'I' ... are not found in tribal cultures in which kinship and identity are forever things to be negotiated in diverse contexts" (Rosaldo, 1984, p. 46). A "context-dependent, occasion-bound concept of the person" is seen in a diversity of cultures which construct a "sociocentric organic solution to the problem of individual-society relationship" (Shweder and Bourne (1984, p. 191). The evidence for situation-defined identity rather than a constant core "character" also reaches back, as do the two major concepts of individual-society relationship, to earlier cultural studies (e.g., Boas, 1911, p. 133). Scholars progressively extending this evidence have formulated a number of constructs for the culturally contextualized study of identity: e.g., "man-acting" (Nadel, 1951), "activity" (Leont'ev, 1981; Wertsch, 1981), "behavior setting" (Barker, 1968), "recursion" (Johnson-Laird, 1983), "social space" (Fortes, 1970), and "negotiation" of the "transactional self" (Bruner, 1986).

In particular among these lines of study, the complementarity between Fortes' comprehensive social-ecological anthropology and Bruner's constructivist cognitive psychology provides a broad social science base for "world-image identity"—the person-community-environment construct being proposed here as central to an understanding of Inuit culture. In Fortes' cultural formulation of identity,

an individual's social space is a product of that segment of the social structure and that segment of the habitat with which he or she is in effective contact. ... The individual creates his social space and is in turn formed by it (Fortes, 1970, p. 27).

Bruner's personal sense of identity connects with this cultural formulation:

Just as I believe that we construct or constitute the world, I believe too that Self is a construction, a result of action and symbolization. Like Clifford Geertz and Michelle

Rosaldo, I think of Self as a text about how one is situated with respect to others and toward the world. ... The interpretation of this text *in situ* by an individual is his sense of self in that situation (Bruner, 1986, p. 130).

INUIT WORLD-IMAGE IDENTITY

Inuit *world-image* identity is proposed as a culture-specific integration of these two formulations, distinct from conventional *self-image* concepts of identity in Western cultures. It is suggested that Inuit find their identity in a richly detailed and all-encompassing ground, and that the process of becoming a mature person is directed towards grounding rather than towards autonomy—a figure-ground reversal of much Western thought concerning human development (e.g., Erikson, Freud, Piaget, as discussed by Bruner, 1986 and Gilligan, 1982). The Inuk maturity ideal (*inummarik*) is group and environmental interdependency rather than self-sufficiency.

It is the active cognitive construction of a world-image which grounds Inuit identity. This cognitive construction rests on continual negotiation with the structures of society, which in turn rests on community interaction with the environment. As the present examination has attempted to show, no phase of this ongoing cycle can be omitted in an analysis of Inuit culture. Ecological-economic (“functional”) explanations of culture focus on society-environment adaptation, omitting the phase of cognitive construction; cognitive (“structural”) explanations focus on mind-world modelling, bypassing the phase of social negotiation; and even the more integrating social explanations, seen among the emerging person-culture constructs reviewed above, focus unevenly on ecological, social, and cognitive phases of the identity cycle. Although new directions in cognitive anthropology (e.g., Holland and Quinn, 1987) recognize the gaps in social and ecological analyses, and interdisciplinary developments in sociogenesis (e.g., Bain, 1983) recognize the gaps in ecological and cognitive analyses, there remains a need for constructs which integrate all three phases of culture analysis. This need became critical in the present examination of Inuit culture, leading to the proposal of world-image identity.

As well as stimulating an overall attempt at more comprehensive culture analysis, this examination of Inuit hunting and community reveals several specific cultural features deserving systematic attention. A primary feature is the unifying of human and non-human systems through Inuit cognitive constructions in the process of grounding identity. To Shweder and Bourne’s (1984, p. 193) egocentric/sociocentric dichotomy of cultural identity concepts, Inuit studies suggest a third category of “ecocentric” identity—with eco-encompassing human, animal, and material. Perhaps it is the special intermediary role of animals which provides this full-cycle integration of the Inuk world image. Although not human, animals are cognizant, contributing to human identity by participation in construction of the image, thus helping humans cognitively as well as materially.

Animals also have an intermediary role in the related cultural feature of *ilgasuuq*, generosity. World image is not one’s own solo creation, but is con-

structed under constant negotiation with the culturally-inherited image (Goodman, 1984). Through Inuit food-sharing patterns, animals mediate the networking of social relationships within which Inuit must carry out this negotiation of identity. Social sharing of the animal is also cognitive sharing of the image with both animals and humans. The careful social structuring of Inuit generosity vis-à-vis animals—and extending to life generally as modelled on Inuit food (*niqituinnaq*; *ningiqtuq* and *inter-ilagiit* distribution patterns)—constructs and insures the building and maintenance of world image. Generosity is thus critical to one's continuing existence through repeating phases of the identity cycle. The Inuit concept of generosity, and all cognitive construction understood as grounding of identity, does not distinguish between affect and information; values and facts are fused. Inuit represent harvesting and sharing as concretely in terms of attitudes and intent towards humans and animals as they do in terms of knowledge and overt skilled behaviours.

Generosity is simply normal to the central cultural feature of *inummarik* living. Ongoing generous interactions, circling through all elements of the human and non-human environment, are essential in sustaining a genuine "ecocentric" existence. *Inummarik* living must be expressed anew in each situation; it is not a fixed quality of a bounded person. In effect, the person is defined anew and holistically in each new context. One (even non-Inuk) may be told "You are *inummarik* today"; queries about an absent person may be answered "I don't know how she is (*inummarik* or not) now". The centrality of *inummarik* identity to Inuit culture is still evident despite culture-contact pressure which has brought to the concept (a) a good/bad moral or ideological connotation, rather than the traditional sense of intactness/disintegration, and (b) a person-fixed, bundle-of-traits definition rather than a sense of context-specific identity negotiation. Hunting provides both the means for continual construction and reconstruction of world-image identity, and the "metaphor" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) by which Inuit live *inummarik*. Opposite the frontispiece of "Living Arctic", Brody (1987, p. vii) cites a recent précis of this life by Peter Green of Paulatuk:

I have sat down many times and thought over the differences or the distinction between my people's way of life and your way of life. We are people who are free to go hunting every day.

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BIOGRAPHIES

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years to only 30-35,000 fluent speakers in a total Maori population in excess of 500,000. In 1982 Maori-medium preschool centres (Kohanga Reo or language nests) were established to try to halt this decline. Although heralded as a major break-through in language maintenance, the language nests programme has not become an unqualified success. This paper looks at the philosophy behind Maori language maintenance programmes and the impact that language nests have had on communities throughout New Zealand.

Résumé L'avenir du maori, langue des autochtones néo-zélandais, en tant que langue vivante et en voie de développement est en danger. En dépit de plusieurs programmes destinés aux apprenants de tous les âges des niveaux pré-scolaire à adulte, le nombre d'usagers parlant couramment la langue continue de décliner. La plupart des locuteurs natifs sont âgés de plus de 50 ans et dans nombre de tribus il n'y a qu'une poignée de locuteurs natifs qui ont moins de 40 ans. Malgré deux décennies de promotion de la langue maori dans les écoles secondaires et dans les universités, peu de personnes quittent le système scolaire à l'aise en maori à moins qu'ils ne soient des locuteurs natifs. Des enquêtes faites au milieu des années soixante-dix ont indiqué que quoiqu'il y ait plus de 70 000 personnes parlant maori, moins de un pour cent des Maoris de 5 ans commençant l'école étaient des locuteurs natifs. Des estimés plus récents de l'importance du groupe linguistique suggèrent qu'il a diminué de moitié dans les dernières quinze années, avec seulement de 30 à 35 000 personnes parlant couramment la langue aujourd'hui.

En 1982 un programme ambitieux fut lancé pour établir des centres pré-scolaires en maori (Kohanga Reo ou Nids linguistiques). À ce jour, plus de 500 centres ont été établis desservant 8 000 Maoris de niveau pré-scolaire, mais ceci ne rend compte que de 15% des 55 000 enfants sous l'âge de cinq ans tandis que le programme a pour but de desservir 75% des ces enfants d'ici 1995. En 1987 le gouvernement a passé la loi sur la langue maori pour lui donner un statut officiel limité et établi une Commission sur la langue maori pour en promouvoir l'usage. Néanmoins, la langue des autochtones manque toujours de prestige dans son propre pays.

Cet article étudie la philosophie derrière les programmes de maintien de la langue et l'impact qu'ont eu les nids linguistiques sur les communautés à travers la Nouvelle-Zélande. On a rencontré plusieurs difficultés. Le maintien de la langue tient peu de place dans les affaires quotidiennes de la majorité de ces nids linguistiques et la plupart fonctionnent dans un environnement essentiellement anglais. Il faut investir plus de ressources humaines et financières si l'on veut que ces programmes de maintien de la langue réussissent. Quoique proclamé comme une découverte majeure en maintien de l'acquis linguistique, le programme de *nids linguistiques* n'a pas obtenu un succès inconditionnel. Cet article discute de certains de ces problèmes.

EARLY LANGUAGE POLICY

When Europeans first came to New Zealand at the close of the eighteenth century, they found it was inhabited by Polynesians, soon to be called Maori. Their numbers were estimated at between 250,000 and 400,000. Maori were organised into about thirty independent and sovereign tribes, further subdivided into more than two hundred sub-tribes. Although there were dialectal differ-

ences, they all spoke one common language which also became known as Maori. In the two hundred years of contact with Europeans and for almost all of the 150 years of organised European settlement and settler government, the Maori language, once the first language of New Zealand, and like the Maori people themselves, has been relegated to a minor position. Unlike indigenous languages of Alaska or Canada, Maori was universal to the whole country. When this was transcribed by missionary-scholars, first The Bible, then other written works began to be produced in Maori and a standard orthography was produced. From the late 1830s onwards, Maori communities eagerly accepted Christianity and mission schools, so that by the middle of the nineteenth century almost all adult Maori were literate in their own language and many were also literate in English. Maori achieved a level of literacy which was much higher than that of the British colonists.

About 100 years ago, when the colonial settler government accepted responsibility for, and control over, Maori village schools, the medium of instruction in these schools became English. Maori as a language of communication in schools was dis-favoured and suppressed. Many older Maori people recall being beaten for speaking Maori at school as recently as the 1930s and 1940s. Maori is a language unique to New Zealand, although its close relationship to Hawaiian, Tahitian, Rapanui, and other island Polynesian languages, is recognised.

If Maori is to survive as a living language, it must do so in New Zealand. Furthermore, the responsibility for its future rests with all New Zealanders, both Maori and European (Pakeha). In 1986 a community group was successful in having the Waitangi Tribunal set up to hear claims by Maori against the Crown being in breach of the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Tribunal found that the Maori language, as a treasured possession of the Maori tribes, required protection by the Crown under the Treaty. In 1987 Government established a Maori Language Commission to promote greater use of the Maori language, and to prepare for the eventual recognition of Maori as an official language. Within a year, limited official recognition was accorded Maori in the courts—it became possible for Maori people to present their oral evidence in Maori (with the prior concurrence of the presiding judge). There was no provision for the court proceedings to be conducted in Maori though. Other than this very limited application in the courts, Maori does not have any other official status.

WHO SPEAKS MAORI IN NEW ZEALAND?

In short, the only speakers of Maori are middle-aged and older adult Maori. From 1973-78 a survey of language use in Maori households and communities was conducted by the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, under the direction of Dr Richard Benton. Benton reported (Benton, 1979:11), that in the mid-1970s Maori was spoken by:

1. a majority of Maori people over the age of about 30 in North Auckland, parts of the Bay of Plenty, the East Coast of the North Island, and some other quite localised parts of the country.

2. Most Maori people over 50 in most parts of the North Island.
3. A few young people and children in some places.
4. Most children and younger people in a very small number of rural areas
5. Very few non-Maori (Pakeha) were known to be fluent speakers of Maori – certainly less than 500 and probably less than 200.

Benton's survey was a random sample so he extrapolated to the Maori population as a whole to suggest that about 20-25 percent of Maori (70,000) are able to speak the language conversationally and a further 25-30 percent (115,000) were able to understand the language easily (Benton, 1979:11).

Because these data are based on a survey that began in 1973 and was completed in 1978, 20 years has elapsed since his first field-work; during this time the number of fluent Maori speaking adults has continued to decline. A recent assessment (Mataira and Manawaiti, 1989) of the extent of Maori language decay estimates that there are few fluent Maori speakers under forty years of age and most are over fifty. Our own observations indicate that the stock of fluent Maori speakers is being depleted at an alarming rate. We are of the view that Benton's estimates were too high, and the degree of fluency that his informants claimed was greater than actually existed. In all Maori comprise about 15% of the national population, but fluent Maori speakers now comprise only about 3% of the national total.

Despite the linguistic resource still available, it is important to recognise that Maori is very much a minority language and culture in an overwhelmingly monolingual and monocultural Anglo-Celtic society. Maori is the language of the disadvantaged and the oppressed and must compete with English, the mother tongue of the dominant culture.

Many people in New Zealand believe that there is a renaissance of Maori culture under way at present. Notwithstanding this, the future survival of the language is far from assured. Why does Maori lack status prestige? According to the linguistic anthropologist Andrew Pawley, there are many reasons which he lists as the unpalatable truths about Maori language held by the majority of the New Zealand community, both Maori and Pakeha.

THE UNPALATABLE TRUTHS—WHY MAORI LACKS PRESTIGE

1. Maori has almost no role in the practical affairs of the nation.
2. Maori is of no use overseas.
3. There are only about 500,000 Maori and most don't speak the language.
4. Maori vocabulary is not adapted to modern needs. It belongs in the past not the future.
5. All Maori speak English. There is no need to speak Maori outside Maori contexts. There is no point expanding the functional range of Maori.
6. Schools, national radio and television and other state institutions have very little time for Maori language, literature and culture.
7. The private media and other powerful economic institutions have no time for Maori

8. Maori is usually badly taught. There are not enough teachers, and few are properly trained.
9. For those who have learnt some Maori, there are few situations where it is natural for non-native speakers to use Maori.
10. Maori authorities and authorities on Maori have not done as much as they could to improve the image and position of the language.
11. Governments have not made any serious commitments financially or organisationally to improve the position of Maori.

Some of these unpalatable truths are actually myths that can be easily refuted, others are misplaced reasoning, such as learning second languages are only useful if one travels overseas, others are prejudicial statements that could also apply to English or other living languages. Others still are moot points. Some people would argue that the Government already does too much to promote Maori language learning and usage, others think that the government's commitment is woefully inadequate.

COMMUNITY RESOURCES FOR MAORI LANGUAGE LEARNING

On paper, the resources committed to the learning of Maori seem extensive. At all levels of the formal education system, some inputs of Maori language are evident. Six of the seven state universities have Maori language courses, and almost half of the 25 polytechnics and community colleges offer courses too.

At many secondary schools, Maori is offered as an optional subject in all five years. Unfortunately, most pupils studying this language are themselves Maori and for other reasons do not succeed at school, most leaving before they complete high school. They leave with only rudiments of the language and unable to comprehend most conversations in Maori. Even though the secondary school system has expanded its contribution to Maori language learning, especially amongst Maori pupils, Maori language is both poorly taught and poorly learnt in secondary schools. In the last decade, the number of pupils studying Maori at secondary schools has numbered more than 15,000 and some elements of Maori culture are a necessary part of teacher training in all teachers' colleges.

The Ministry of Education has agreed (albeit rather reluctantly) to the establishment of eleven bilingual primary schools, 28 bi-lingual units in English-language primary schools and six Maori medium schools (Kura Kaupapa Maori or KKM). Besides the bilingual primary schools and bilingual units, there are itinerant teachers of Maori and advisers in Maori education who assist teachers in primary schools to develop programmes in aspects of Maori language and culture.

At preschool level, Maori language resources have been downgraded or ignored until kohanga reo were established in 1982. Before the establishment of Kohanga Reo, most preschool education services worked on the assumption that Maori children must be prepared for life in a Pakeha world. The preschools neglected the language resources of Maori parents and grand-parents in their communities. We must note, however, that the majority of Maori parents associ-

ated with preschools and primary schools are monolingual English speakers themselves and are embarrassed, both by their own lack of competence in the Maori language, and their lack of sophistication in the language and culture of the school system.

For adults, a national network of classes and learning groups has been established to teach Maori to adults who have no prior competence in Maori again the students are mostly Maori but there is an increasing number of Pakeha. These groups learn by what has become known as the 'rakau method', which uses the target language plus mime, gesture and body language and the serial introduction of vocabulary, concepts, comparison and then grammar. Groups meet in all sorts of different places, on marae, in factories, in halls, homes, schools, and now Maori language preschools—kohanga reo. A nationally organised group, Te Ataarangi Trust, coordinates the funding and manages the resources used in adult language learning programmes.

In formal schooling systems, most teachers are Pakeha. They often express goodwill towards the survival and development of the Maori language, but little real commitment to it. Teachers probably reflect the views (or prejudices) of the rest of the society.

If Maori is to appear in public life, some sort of proportional representation is appropriate—a few minutes each day on national television and radio, a formulaic line or two in public speeches to mixed Pakeha and Maori audiences, a summary translation of the text of certain public documents such as some hospital notices or Air New Zealand instruction booklets. Some call this tokenism, others call it a realistic proportional representation. Anything more would be uneconomic, unnecessary and unfair to the taxpayer. If only three percent of the population speaks Maori that is about all they warrant.

In the community at large, the most common belief is that Maori language survival is appropriate, but it is up to the Maori themselves to ensure this. Few people have any idea of the pervasiveness of English in New Zealand life. New Zealand is one of the world's most monolingual nations. English is the first language of 95% of the 3.4 million population, and the only language of 90%; English dominates in all public domains. English to them is their language of communication; until a few decades ago, non-English speakers would be berated for speaking in public, such as on buses, in their own language.

New Zealand Pakeha were obsessed with the notion of assimilation. Only recently has the concept of multi-culturalism or pluralism been accepted, but few people appear to be willing to commit public resources to the development of minority languages and cultures. To the majority of Pakeha New Zealanders, such enterprise is outside the realm of the public purse, and while it may be allowed to proceed, it should not do so at the expense of 'mainline' education or of the dominant culture.

As an indication of the extent to which Maori has been ignored as a national resource by Pakeha, after an extensive search, the National Maori Language Commission were unable to find more than 30 fluent speakers of Maori who were not Maori themselves. (Most of these were missionaries or school-teachers).

In broadcasting, the commitment of public resources to Maori language

programmes is minimal. After a very protracted struggle for funding, equipment and broadcasting warrants, a Maori language radio station was set up in Wellington 1986 and now seems reasonably assured of continuing funding. This station has a strong signal, originating close to the geographic centre of New Zealand but it cannot be picked up in the northern third of the country where the majority of Maori live. In 1990, the state-owned Radio New Zealand expect to establish a three station network which will offer Maori (but not fully-in-Maori) programming to areas where more than fifty percent of Maori people live. In 1989, Nga Kaiwhakapumau i te Reo (The Wellington Maori Language Board) and others succeeded with High Court injunctions against the Crown's decision to privatise the public broadcasting system. The basis of the injunction was that the Crown had a treaty obligation to promote the use of Maori, and would be severely restricted from doing so if it did not have ownership and control over a significant part of the broadcasting industry. Following successful court action by Maori, the Crown announced a scheme whereby the establishment costs of some tribal radio stations could be subsidised from the public broadcasting fee (an annual user-charge for all owners of television and radio receivers).

Apart from these Maori stations, there are no Maori language programmes on private radio stations, and only limited air-time is made available on Radio New Zealand, or the three public television stations. A five minute per week Maori radio news programme was started during World War II, which was expanded in the 1960s to 30 minutes per week. Throughout the 1970s decade, Maori people requested more Maori language and Maori content programmes on radio and television through letters, lobbying and petitions to parliament. Official policy was to give as little or nothing to Maori causes or to under-fund them. This was meant to break the spirit of their protagonists and cause them to come back in under the assimilationist blanket.

In 1978 the Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand established a Maori and Pacific Islanders' programmes unit, Te Reo o Aotearoa, which produces a variety of programmes, ranging from five-minute news broadcasts each day in Maori to weekly programmes in English and/or Maori about Maori affairs. Many Maori people saw the expansion of Maori radio broadcasting as too little, too late, and noted with some cynicism that the expansion occurred after radio had been relegated to a minor place in comparison to television. As for television, Maori were always in the news somewhere—usually depicted as 'baddies', unemployed, uneducated, protesting their low status, or reacting violently to outside stimuli, but sometimes as 'goodies', trotted out to welcome visiting royalty or other overseas dignitaries, and to bolster our official though recent commitment to a 'multicultural' society. Recent increases in Maori broadcasting time has raised the Maori language content to almost half of one percent of all on-air television time and less than 3% of all news broadcasting time.

MAINTAINING MAORI SOCIAL COHESION

There are both social and demographic difficulties in fostering Maori social institutions. Because of a high birthrate, two out of three Maori are under 21 years

of age. There are only small proportions of Maori in the age cohorts over 45 (46,000 or 12 percent of the Maori population) who make up the vast majority of Maori language speakers. In arithmetic terms, there are four Maori in the preschool and school-age groups for every Maori aged 45 or over—i.e. one surviving grandparent for every four children. Kaumatua (the venerated elders) number only 12,000 and comprise a mere three percent of the Maori population. Older people are more likely to live in rural areas and small country towns. In contrast three-quarters of Maori children live in the 10 main urban areas of the North Island. Urbanisation has deeply affected the cohesion of tribal groups, with families from all major tribes being widely dispersed through all the urban areas.

Demographic causes, combined with rapid social change and Westernization, and a paucity of individual and group financial resources, exacerbate the problems of Maori cultural learning and social development, and make the overlaying tribal kinship patterns weaker with each passing year. It goes without saying that Maori education attainment levels are much lower than those of Pakeha (Manat Maori, 1991:11-13); that Maori unemployment is much higher than Pakeha unemployment at all ages, but especially amongst school leavers where unemployment rates for Maori are variously estimated at between 50 and 65 percent (i.e. more than four times that of Pakeha school leavers). (Ministerial Planning Group, 1991:29-30) All these factors are further complicated by widespread inter-marriage between Maori and Pakeha which tends to subordinate the culture of the Maori spouse to that of the Pakeha spouse, and increases their difficulties in Maori cultural transmission.

LANGUAGE AS A POLITICAL OBJECTIVE

Kohanga Reo (language nests) had their intellectual beginnings in the 1960s when Maori university students sought to perpetuate and enhance the declining practice of grand-parents rearing one or more of their grand-children. At successive Maori students' and young people's conferences, Maori grand-parents were urged to foster, and raise as Maori speakers, one or more of their grand-children. The aim was to bridge the widening gap between the bilingual Maori older cohorts, and their monolingual English-speaking descendants. Early in 1982, at the bidding of the national council of tribal elders, the Department of Maori Affairs established a pilot kohanga reo in a suburban area of Wellington.

Three objectives have been identified and stated for the language salvage programme.

First Kohanga Reo are expected to arrest the decline in numbers of Maori speaking people in New Zealand.

This is stated as bridging the gap between the bulk of Maori language speakers over 40 and the new generation aged 0-5 years, the foundation of our future. It embodies the belief that, if the Maori people are to survive as an identifiable people into the 21st century, then their distinctive language and culture must survive as well.

Second Kohanga Reo aims to give Maori people greater control over their own lives, to give them the ability to plan and organise their own futures within the context of the whanau or extended family system.

Such a system still exists in Maori society, although it is under attack from economic and social forces associated with rural-urban migration, high work-force participation rates of both men and women in the wage economy, and the influences of the Western nuclear family system that is all pervasive around them. This aim is articulated as *Tu Tangata*—‘the (tall) stance of the people’, which aims to raise Maori self-awareness and self-actualization.

Third The long term objective is to achieve Maori control over Maori resources. Effecting change in the educational system has been difficult and requires constant effort. It has been a never-ending task to convince teachers, principals and educational administrators that each Maori child has a right to her/his individuality, and therefore a right to expression and education in her/his ‘mother tongue’. This endless task has met with only limited success.

This third objective is stated in terms of *Mana Maori Motuhake* (the spirit of Maori autonomy) and can best be described as a desire for Maori themselves to decide what they want for themselves, for Maori to control their children’s socialization and education, and the content and context of that education in the wider New Zealand community perspective. It can be seen from another perspective as a desire to remove the Pakeha right of veto over Maori life and social institutions.

These three objectives are inter-related and self-reinforcing. Taken together they strongly denounce the majority culture’s preferred future of racial and cultural amalgamation (assimilation). At the same time, these objectives do not reject a joint future, but emphasise a future based on recognition of the equality of different cultures.

With these objectives in mind, the strategy is to provide a Maori language and social environment which will produce bilingual (Maori) children at the age of five years, and at the same time, to ensure that the standard of child-care and preschool education is as good as that provided in English language preschools. Only in this way can Maori parents have a genuine choice.

The Government Review of Kohanga Reo was told that:

For any language to continue to live, a substantial proportion of the population needs to continually speak it. At present through the kohanga reo movement, 15% of Maori children under five are learning Maori. In order to ensure the survival of the language, the National Trust aims to increase the proportion to 75% within the next ten years.

(Government Review 1988:19).

Initially, plans were based on a supposed birth cohort of 6,500 per year but these

are conservative estimates. According to the 1986 census figures, where ethnic self-identification is more likely than at birth registration, there were 36,000 children enumerated as Maori and a further 19,000 who were enumerated as being of Maori descent—a total of 55,000 (i.e. almost 25 percent of all children under five). Each birth cohort on these revised figures is 7,100 on the narrower definition of Maori and 11,000 on the broader definition of Maori (Department of Statistics, 1981:16).

On revised figures, these aims should be to engulf between 7,200 and 11,000 new-born Maori babies per year, and to gather up the 22,000-33,000 under three years old now (depending on the definition of Maori used).

AIMS OF THE PROGRAMME

According to the 1988 Review, (*Report of the Review of Te Kohanga Reo*), the aims of kohanga reo were widely held and varied little from tribe to tribe. They could be summarised as follows:

1. Children will learn the Maori language and culture, including the spiritual dimension, through immersion.
2. Language and culture learning will be fostered and supported by all members of the kohanga reo whanau (extended family).
3. Members of the kohanga reo whanau will learn a range of other skills (for example administration) within the whanau setting.
4. Collective responsibility for the administration and operation of the kohanga reo will be fostered through whanau development.
5. All involved will be helped to feel a sense of being accepted and belonging which is crucial for empowerment.
6. The content context and control of learning will be in Maori.

IMPLEMENTING THE PROGRAMME

Although promoted by the Department of Maori Affairs, the kohanga reo programme draws heavily on Maori community resources for its implementation. The first pilot centre was established with greater monetary input from government than subsequent ones. Besides the Maori language speakers, the kohanga reo draw upon Maori communities for buildings, finance, equipment, social and spiritual support, and upon Pakeha for tolerance and goodwill. From national resources they draw establishment and continuing financial assistance. Inputs from other government agencies such as Social Welfare (whose responsibility covers income maintenance for low income families including supplements for fees at child-care centres and creches), Education (which is responsible for kindergartens and the supervision of educational programmes in all pre-school centres), and the Department of Labour (which provides wage subsidies for job creation programmes), have been crucial in most kohanga reo.

There is little doubt that the Department of Maori Affairs entered the area of child-care and child development through kohanga reo because Maori were dissatisfied with the extent of Maori in the education system. Despite an increased emphasis on Maori in schools, the Ministry of Education has moved very slowly indeed in establishing either bilingual schools or Maori streams in otherwise English language schools.

One of the biggest problems are the teachers. Overwhelmingly they are incapable of mounting a bilingual Maori programme and feel threatened by the prospect of it. (There are more New Zealand teachers who are bilingual in French and English than in Maori and English and there may well be more teachers in New Zealand who would argue strongly for bilingual education in New Zealand provided it was in "useful" languages such as English and French, Spanish, Japanese or German). This is a serious problem and one which the Ministry of Education will have to face as children from kohanga reo reach school age with a bilingual competence that will need to be nurtured through the primary and secondary schools.

Over 600 kohanga reo are now established and working in all parts of New Zealand. By the end of the first year (1982), more than 30 were established and many others planned. The original objective was a kohanga reo in every community for which there is a demand for language maintenance—at least 300 such centres were envisaged, but this objective was surpassed within the first three years. Some communities took a long time to be convinced, others leaped into the deep-end with little further thought. But all the growth in numbers has not been matched by growth in quality child-care nor in growth in effective Maori language learning. Many parents wait to see the efficacy of the existing centres before committing their children and their resources to the programme.

At the national level, control over the movement has been passed to a Kohanga Reo National Trust, with regional guardians in each major tribal area (Taurima). It is the long-term objective of the National Trust to progressively transfer responsibility for kohanga reo operations to Tribal Councils.

Many Tribal councils have expressed their reluctance to take on this programme without additional financial support, but one or two of the more progressive ones have welcomed the devolutionary move and see kohanga reo and tribal language maintenance as a high priority in their human resources development plans.

Wherever kohanga reo have been established they have sought to assert Maori control, not always successfully. But because so few Pakeha people have Maori language competence, the centrality of Maori language learning has helped to keep control in Maori hands. Kindergartens and play centres have responded cautiously, but favourably, to their establishment, by asking preschool advisers in the Ministry of Education to help them expand the Maori content of their own programmes. With the long-term prospect of one-fifth of the country's preschoolers choosing between kohanga reo or existing preschool alternatives, some kindergarten teachers and play centre supervisors want to offer attractive programmes that will compete for the Maori parents and their preschool children.

SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The first of these problems is that communities often consider a kohanga reo to be a good idea, but lack confidence in themselves to implement such a programme. For kohanga reo to thrive, ordinary people need to convince themselves that they are capable—not extraordinary, just capable of carrying it through. The more familiar the structure and organisation of the kohanga reo to existing social institutions in their own lives, the easier it will be for such people to rise above their poor self-image. In existing kohanga reo, those tasks that are most familiar to the participants are the easiest done; fundraising and catering are good examples of this.

The number and ages of children have proven to be major problems in many centres. Centres range in size from 5 children to 53, depending on available buildings, demand for places and staffing. In a suburban Auckland language nest, there are 25 children, of whom 12 are under 18 months and four are three-years-old and the remainder are four or five years old. A wide range of ages implies a range in ability, and a range in appropriate programmes, which means specialised activities tailored to the social and verbal and the motor skills and cognitive development of the children.

Presumably this wide range will disappear as more centres are established, and the backlog of three and four-year-olds, whose parents want them to attend kohanga reo, pass on to primary school. From a whanau perspective, a wide range of ages is more natural an environment than a grouping of (say) just four-year olds or just two year olds. In extended family households of three and four generations, or in rural village communities, such variation in ages is considered not just normal but desirable. Nonetheless, such a wide range of children's ages implies a large number of adults to meet their varied needs.

The largest single group of children in language nests are three year olds, (30% of all enrolments). This suggests that the majority of parents do not want their very young children to go to kohanga, and that once their child gets to age four, where state funded kindergartens are available, they withdraw their children from kohanga reo and place them in kindergarten. There was no comment on this as a likely trend in the Government Review, but there appears to be a failing commitment from young parents. The apparent truth is that for most of them, the prospect of kohanga reo and the commitment to a five year (or even life-long) programme of social and cultural change is too daunting and they take the easier way out.

Associated with age differentials are differences in language skills. Ideally the programme aims to attract babies and young infants who will be exposed to a Maori language environment daily for four to five years. Even where this is achieved, there are still considerable differences between children who come from homes where there is little or no Maori spoken, and those who come from Maori or bilingual homes.

In the beginning, it was assumed that by age five, children would leave kohanga reo with fluency in both English and Maori. Contact with English-

speaking parents, television and neighbours was expected to provide sufficient exposure to English for the children to be well able to cope with the English language environment of the primary school. The task of kohanga reo was to immerse the child in a Maori milieu to ensure that the child will gain equal facility in Maori. Most centres expect parents to reinforce at home the Maori that children hear at kohanga reo. To increase the level of communication between parents and children in both languages, every kohanga reo has part-time Maori language classes for parents. Most parents are keen to become bilingual themselves, and by attending these classes, raise their own levels of Maori language fluency.

Because the programme expects four or more years of commitment by parents, there is the continued problem of flagging interest and commitment from them. Attendance costs are high in most full-time centres (\$40-\$60 per week) and working mothers appear to be the most committed parents. Working mothers who need day-care facilities in order to keep their jobs are not only the section of the community which is likely to be most supportive, but also they are the most likely to support the whanau (extended family) concept of the centre, where parental roles are shared by 'mothers, fathers and grandparents'. They are also the parents least likely to be critical of the kohanga reo programmes, because of the shortage of alternative day-care.

Finding and keeping suitable staff at kohanga reo is a difficulty encountered by most centres from the very beginning. It was originally stipulated that the supervisors and their assistants should be paid adequate wages to ensure a commitment from them. They should be native Maori speakers, over 35 years of age, and have grown up in a Maori communal environment. Not only are these staff expected to provide language resources for the centre, but they are also expected to be role models of 'traditional' Maori family life which the programme seeks to maintain and enhance in the community at large. What has transpired over the years is that many of the most suitable people from a role model standpoint are weak in Maori language, and many of those who are strong in Maori language are not always suitable role models in other aspects of Maori life and values such as being able to relate easily to young children and their parents. Many fluent speakers of Maori lack understanding of the pressures that younger parents feel to conform to western-orientated value systems and behaviour.

Besides these qualities, parents expect that their children will be challenged by the environment in which they are placed, so a background in developmental play is considered essential for the staffing of a kohanga reo. The smaller centres, with 10 or less children, tend to be the least successful because the staff in them have to be all things to the children and cannot specialise so easily to maximise their respective strengths. Many of the staff appointed are finding child-care to be a demanding commitment because they are too old or in poor health. Again the size of the centre seems to be crucial here; the larger centres draw upon a wider range of people and can better match available human resources to the variety of tasks needing attention.

If there is one clear failure that neither the centres themselves nor the National Trust seem prepared to face, it is that there are too many centres and the best

teaching, linguistic and role-model resources are spread too thinly. Where there are over 500 nests in the country, most are ineffective in meeting the language learning objectives.

The majority of Maori children leave kohanga reo with an inadequate, often grammatically faulty comprehension and use of Maori. Some kohanga reo in the South Island, where there is a particular paucity of fluent speakers, seriously consider giving up on the language learning objective, because they cannot get native speakers to stay in the job. Few native speakers are able to stand the pace of being all things to parents, children and trainees at once, and only the most exceptional are able to maintain Maori language usage in a sea of blank faces.

PHILOSOPHICAL PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

One of the main philosophical difficulties encountered by kohanga reo at first was defining the objectives of the programme and implementing them in a variety of different communities. After the pilot scheme got under way, a small team of women travelled throughout the country meeting Maori communities and explaining the philosophy of the kohanga reo. They emphasised different aspects of the programme at different times and places, mainly because the transmission of knowledge was oral/aural rather than written, and their presentation to communities included a lot of responses to individual questions. Because part of the strategy of kohanga reo is to emphasise its Maoriness, and to maintain political control of the initiative, much of the discussion was conducted in Maori. For the same reason, little has been written down in either English or Maori because to many Maori people, the written word is treated as static and unalterable.

Unfortunately, much communication in Maori society is still largely based on face-to-face verbal exchanges; this is not efficient over large numbers of people and messages suffer transformation as they are repeated. The overall objective is to save the Maori language by re-creating an environment where those who speak the language will transmit it to young children so that it will become their mother tongue. To get this objective accepted by parents, who are themselves monolingual English-speaking, it is necessary to offer their children a child-care environment which can compete more than favourably with existing English language alternatives. So far the most enthusiastic parents have been urban, better-educated in terms of formal schooling, and who might pass for 'middle-class' within a class-based model of New Zealand society.

Although strongly influenced by Western (Pakeha) values, these people have a strong emotional commitment to their 'Maoriness' and are more able to rationalize their need to maintain a Maori identity within New Zealand society. Their very sophistication with Pakeha cultural values also means that they have clearer and more critical views of the kohanga reo programme objectives and higher expectations of what it should do for themselves and their children.

In most kohanga reo there exists conflict between the expectations of the parents and those of the staff. Many people working in kohanga reo have a restricted view of their objectives, partly because of their age and experiences,

and partly because of poor communication between themselves, the national advisers, the local management committee and the parents.

One of the major areas of conflict is a problem in all centres. Relatively sophisticated, urban parents, already used to developmental play as a stimulus for their children, expect the same level of stimulus in kohanga reo. While this is an objective of the programme, it is not given high priority in most centres.

It is envisaged that the Te Kohanga Reo programme will operate using the same basic principles for child care and growth at present adopted by the best pre-school, kindergarten and play centre organisations. The difference will be the use of Maori language as the only means of verbal communication in the centre and the fact that it is a whanau operation in the true Maori way. (Department of Maori Affairs, 1982:8)

Despite the best attempts to expand the range of play activities so that children will be stimulated by a wide range of experience from day to day, most centres offer restricted play activities and they focus their language programmes around a verbal exchange between the child and the Maori language speaker. Small centres, in fact the majority of kohanga reo centres now operating have only one fluent speaker present for most of the time. As a consequence, children are not exposed to the wide range of language that would be present if two or more fluent speakers carried on conversations in Maori so that the children could hear Maori speech in a wider range of contexts and even as "background noise" besides language specifically directed to them as individuals.

The range of play equipment available, or being used, is often minimal, and as a consequence children are restricted by an unnecessarily restrictive environment. The stock answer to this criticism is that the child is being immersed not just in a language, but in a social system which is mutually reinforcing through its component values, expectations, norms and sanctions. A common response to criticism from outsiders has been:

"It doesn't matter if the physical environment appears arid, the children are engulfed in love and spirituality".

In many kohanga reo the children are gathered together and taught Maori language in a repetitive and rote manner. As a consequence, the children are being trained to respond to adult stimulus, and not to explore the environment themselves. The emphasis of the supervisors and their helpers has been on language transmission, but to the exclusion of many other activities where a wider vocabulary would develop. The long-term consequences of this type of child-rearing may well be the growth of personality types that are passive and non-experimental nor exploratory and which lack initiative.

While they are young, such children are easy to manage in a child-care centre, but restricting their experiences this way may well lead to a new generation of Maori speakers who lack initiative and exhibit many of the traits of the classically-described authoritarian personality.

Related to this problem is the paucity of preschool experience amongst the people who conceived, and are promoting, the scheme. The main advocates in the National Trust have had primary teacher training or social work training, and are not as sensitised as they might be to the differences in preschool and infant school learning modes.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH SCHOOLS

From the outset, schools acted very cautiously to language nests. Some principals no doubt hoped that the experiment would fail, others wanted it to succeed. For the vast majority of primary schools though there is little or no linkage with kohanga reo. There are no Maori language teachers or at best a token programme organised around a weekly visit from an itinerant teacher of Maori who visits five or ten different schools each week to offer support and advice to classroom teachers with little or no competence in Maori language.

A few active communities sought to link the language nests into the local school which would be supportive of kohanga reo objectives. They fought for the establishment of bilingual units in existing schools to take children as they finished with kohanga reo. In 1987 there were 38 classes which had been self-designated as bi-lingual; together they catered for 1428 children. By 1991, there were 154 such classes established which catered for over 6,000 children. (Manat Maori, 1991:7). There are over 2000 primary schools and over 600 kohanga reo so the strike rate for bilingual units has been very low indeed). For the majority of children who have been to kohanga reo, their early Maori language experiences and what degree of fluency they had obtained have been lost.

A further seventeen primary schools are designated as fully bi-lingual. In these schools, all children should receive instruction in both English and Maori with the objective of ensuring that they become equally competent in both. Most of these are located in rural communities where most or a significant minority of the children speak Maori at home. One of these bi-lingual schools has extended its classes into the junior high school age range. These schools do not have many difficulties in integrating kohanga reo children into grade one and beyond.

More recently, a third alternative has surfaced—Kura Kaupapa Maori (KKM—Maori Medium schools) here the original concepts of kohanga reo: immersion in Maori in a Maori cultural context and with Maori forms of sanctions have been incorporated. The first two of these schools were established by communities in defiance of Education Ministry authority. Now a further seven have been established with official support. All are in major urban areas, and are directly linked to groups of kohanga reo. KKM have been established because of the expressed desire to have Maori control over Maori language input and importance. These KKM catered for an estimated 250 students. (Manat Maori, 1991:9).

All of these language maintenance programmes suffer from the same chronic lack of finance and human resources. As Pawley points out, if there is no real commitment from the majority population, the language has no status. These programmes also point to the difficulties Maori have had and continue to endure in the face of an uncommitted majority population which has at best only a

passing interest in the aspirations of the indigenous minority people, and which is able to veto progress merely by demonstrating its indifference.

The continuing lack of official status has taken its toll on Maori but the very existence of kohanga reo, and the stated objective of having Maori children once again grow up in their mother tongue, has encouraged many grandparents to heed the call of the times and take on the care and control of their young kohanga reo aged grand-children. In many rural communities and some urban ones too, there is a new generation of young Maori who have been subjected to the forces that brought kohanga reo into being:

Whanau ana te tamaiti, rarautia atu, a ka whangai ki te u, a i te wa e kai u tonu ana korero Maori atu ki a ia.

"When the child is born, take it, put it to the breast and from then begin to talk Maori to it."

What kohanga reo has done has been to break the mystique surrounding the power of English. The kohanga reo movement has not just established pre-school language nests, but it has helped to create a climate for change in New Zealand which has led Maori to establish bi-lingual schools, bi-lingual classes in schools, and Maori total-immersion schools. Within a decade, kohanga reo has helped Maori to realise that they themselves can force open some of the locked doors which serve to keep Maori educational, social, cultural and political aspirations and achievements suppressed. The idea of kohanga reo has encouraged a significant number of couples to place their young children with grand-parents who are raising them to speak Maori as their first language. To these children more than any other will the mantle of leadership finally pass, for in the 21st Century they, more than any others, will be carriers of that distinctive set of humanity's traits that comprise Maori culture.

CONCLUSION

There are no clear-cut simple solutions to the problems encountered in these language maintenance programmes, other than those solutions that arise from experience, trial and error, and communicating difficulties, and solutions between the various parties involved. All of the programmes are seriously under-funded. Maori people ask why they must pay \$40-\$60 per week to ensure that their child has the right to preschool education in their mother tongue, when their Pakeha neighbours receive the same, or better, education in their mother tongue for \$2 per week. The glib answer to that is that the choice is the parents' own.

'If you choose to send your child to kindergarten, you can have it for \$2 per week; but if you choose to send your child to kohanga reo then you will have to pay for that privilege, but the choice is yours.'

And that really sums up the power of the dominant culture to restrict choices for the indigenous minority.

What lessons are there for Alaskan and Canadian native languages? The great barrier is the belief that English (or another imperial metropolitan language and culture) is superior to that of the colonised indigenous people. All languages are capable of communicating a full range of feelings and to describe a full range of social situations. The New and Old Testaments of the Bible were translated into Maori over 160 years ago. Those who are familiar with the language of the Old Testament will appreciate that that is no mean task for any language, and every language whether it is from the South Pacific or the Bering Sea is capable of that precision.

Finally, despite falling short of its objectives, losing its way, and its downright failures, what we see as the most exciting aspect of the kohanga reo programme is its claim for indigenous autonomy; for the right of Maori people to control their own lives, according to their values, and to co-exist in harmony with these values, in a multi-cultural society reinforced by an enhanced self-worth. Perhaps in the long run, the problems outlined above and any others which I have omitted, contain the seeds of their own resolution because the problems encountered are generated by the desire to stand tall and be proud to assert that one is Maori in a predominantly Anglo-Celtic society.

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BIOGRAPHY

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AGNES GRANT

Brandon University

Abstract What follows in the form of an extended informal letter to the editor, describes the crucial role music and song plays in Maori culture. As such, it serves as a fitting postscript to the preceding article on Maori language nests.

To most Canadians, New Zealand music is synonymous with Kiri Te Kanawa, the Maori soprano who sang at the wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana. Perhaps one thinks of war chants where physically superb young men, with rolling eyes and lolling tongues, chant the ancient *hukka* to strike terror into the hearts of their enemies.

To the Maori, the indigenous people of New Zealand, singing is an integral part of daily living. Recently I was part of a tour group that spent two and a half weeks in Maoridom. We covered New Zealand from the Bay of Islands in the north to Invercargill in the south, from Whakatane on the east coast to Manipouri on the west. We travelled mainly by bus so the natural beauty of the countryside, from pastoral sheep flocks to the rugged shorelines of the Tasman Sea, was an added bonus. Tourism, however, was not the purpose of our trip.

In 1978, the Maori enunciated a philosophy of *Tu Tangata* which means to "stand tall." It was aimed at bringing about a re-emergence of the Maori as a proud people, capable of determining their own positive destiny. Part of that movement led to the eventual establishment of *Kohanga Reo*, a program which combines day care and pre-school education in a Maori style of operation and communication. The Maori language is used exclusively; grandmothers and mothers provide care and instruction. *Kohanga Reo* are sustained by an almost universally shared ideology among Maori people—the belief that urgent steps need to be taken to ensure the survival of oral Maori language. *Kohanga Reo* are supported at the grassroots level, relatively free of major bureaucratic structures and have served to make parents more aware of the education process. In 1988 there were approximately 500 *Kohanga Reo* in New Zealand operating in rural and urban areas. They have revolutionized Maoridom and have provided the basis and impetus for other forms of alternative education (Kirkness, 1987).

Though language development was a main interest we all came away profoundly moved by the singing and oratory of the Maori. We had been coached in Maori protocol before we left Canada; written materials as well as a tape

recording of Maori speakers describing their customs were provided by the pass tour organizers. The tape included some songs by Maori singers. Our curiosity was piqued. How could this singing be integrated into 20th century living?

We found no aspect of *Maoritanga* (the accepted word for Maori culture) where song was not an integral part. No ceremony was complete without singing, whether it was a ceremony to welcome us or a ceremony to bid us farewell. Songs were a part of evening prayers; they were a part of every meeting with Maori people but were also sung just to while away the time. When we visited *Kohanga Reo* the children sang for us. When we visited a school the grades 4-6 children sang for us, first informally in the classroom and then formally at a gathering in the courtyard. The teachers sang for us in the staffroom as we had our morning coffee break. Paddy and Molly La Whata, a woodcarver and his wife, showed us around their studio, their home and the surrounding countryside, and before bidding us farewell, they stood together at the front of our bus and sang Paddy's song.

The only musical instrument we heard was a guitar. I asked about traditional instruments and was told only seashells with holes drilled in them to produce different notes had been used. Some commercially taped music, however, utilized a flute. As well, traditional stick songs exist but we only heard one example of these during a performance put on for the benefit of tourists at Rotorua.

We did not have long to wait for our introduction to Maori singing after our arrival. We were met at the Auckland airport by a contingent of Maori men and women and were invited into a private meeting room for welcoming ceremonies. The men made short welcoming speeches, each followed by a song led by the women. The group of singers was small but the music sent shivers up our spines; even then we were impressed with their naturalness and the spontaneity of their singing. Unaccompanied, they sang as naturally as they talked; there was no staging. It was a spontaneous outpouring of welcome, an expression of joy at receiving guests, an expression of pleasure in our company. How often do we hear, "Words cannot express ..." The Maori have retained the key, handed down from traditional times, to expressing feelings when words alone are inadequate. Our throats tightened and we blinked back tears. We were soon to learn, however, that there was no need to hide the tears. Emotions were openly and honestly expressed and shared. Touching and openly showing affection, joy or even gentle censure, were the norm.

We were a group of twenty-nine educators representing peoples of the Sto:lo, Kwakwaka'wakw, Cree, Okanagan, Shuswap, Island Lake Cree, Sarcee, and Salish, as well as Canadian and one Australian Caucasian. During our stay we visited seven different marae, spending from one to three nights at each.

The marae are at the heart of *Maoritanga*. *Maoritanga* encompasses the whole of Maori lifestyle—tribal living, behaviour, thought and feelings passed on from generation to generation (Tauroa, 1986: Intro.). Perhaps the easiest way to explain the concept of a marae to a non-Maori is to call it a "compound" of buildings but that is an inadequate term because it is the land itself that is sacred. The courtyard which the buildings encompass is the real centre of the marae and is used for all

ceremonies unless the weather is so inclement as to make the carrying of voices impossible.

The buildings found on each marae are the *whare* (the house), the kitchen-dining area and an ablution block. The *whare* faces the gateway onto the marae and may be referred to as the ancestral, carved, large, meeting, sleeping or council house (Tauroa, 1986:71). It is a simple rectangular building somewhat similar to a West Coast longhouse. Elaborate carvings decorate the roof beams and pillars. It is designed to represent the ancestor in a symbolic way. The carved figure on the roof top represents the ancestor's head, the carved pieces extending toward the ground represent the arms of the ancestor, held out to welcome visitors. The ridge pole represents the backbone and the rafters represent the ribs (Tauroa, 1986:71). The carvings represent the history of that group of Maori and we soon learned to cast appraising eyes over the decor, anticipating the storytelling that was to come. Stories were recounted lovingly and in great detail by master storytellers on every possible occasion.

As a rule there was no furniture in the house but we found some with simple pulpits and benches since the house is also used as the Christian church. We toured Maoridom in December so we were not surprised to find a Christmas tree decorated with paper ornaments in the last house we visited. The *whare* is also a particularly sacred place because this is where funerals are conducted. The casket occupies a place of honour opposite the main entrance and on several marae the dead were honoured by a recognition of this sacred place during the welcoming ceremonies.

The *whare* is where the guests sleep. Hosts sleep on the left side of the house while guests sleep on the right. Our group of twenty-nine occasionally spilled over to the left side. Mattresses were placed on the floor side by side and were left there for the duration of the visit unless the house was needed for some other purpose. In one *whare* benches were left in the middle of the room and in several others 12" shelves had been built at the foot or head of the mattresses and hooks were driven into the walls. Shoes were left outside except for one city marae where theft was feared so a special mat was provided for the shoes just inside the door.

We all slept well on the marae. Screenless windows were wide open. The fresh air was delightful since we had left frigid temperatures behind. The lack of flying and crawling creatures was also a pleasant change from Canada. Birds began to chirp before daybreak and at six-thirty or seven a cheerful Maori woman would come in and tell us, first softly and then more insistently that another beautiful day had begun. Next to the *whare* and sometimes attached to it is the kitchen-dining room complex. Huge ranges and sinks indicate that at times, at least, large crowds attend feasts and ceremonies.

The Maori do not live on the marae. Rather it is the focal point of the community and everyone takes responsibility for maintenance. It is a community centre in a way that is rarely found in mainstream Canadian society today, but is reminiscent of the school house of pioneer days. Marae life, however, has many similarities to Canadian reserve life today. The three main buildings are part of every marae

but there are usually other buildings as well. The ones we saw were *Te Kohanga Reo* and classrooms ranging from computer classes to traditional bone carving shops. One marae had a "hall of fame" which they called their "memory lane" and another had a youth hostel.

The marae is the place of greatest *mana* (prestige), the place of greatest spirituality, the place that heightens people's dignity and the place where Maori customs are given ultimate expression (Tauroa, 1986:6).

The marae is that chiefly place where the heights of Maoridom and its values are expressed. Only in such a special place can the high levels of *wairua* (spirituality), *mana* (prestige), and *tikanga* (customs) be practised in their true setting. The marae is the place where people stand tall. Here they are able to stand upon Earth Mother and speak. Here they may express themselves, they may weep, laugh, hug and kiss. Every emotion can be expressed and shared with others—shared not only with the living but also with those generations who have gone *ki tua o te arai* (beyond the veil).

(Tauroa, 1986:6)

It is not surprising then, that a place so spiritually significant would rely heavily on music. Traditional people have long believed that music has special powers to convey words and thoughts to unseen powers. It is a medium beyond words alone.

Our tour bus would usually arrive at the gate late in the afternoon. We were normally accompanied by a *kaumatua* (a Maori elder of either sex) and a Maori "guide." The guide would check to see if all was in readiness and brief us on the protocol of that marae. The people in our group who had taken their traditional regalia were decked out in all their splendour. This change of clothes sometimes created a problem. We often travelled great distances in a day and public washrooms were few and far between. Changing of clothes might have to be done on the bus (women) or behind a bush (men).

We would wait by the gate until we heard the *karanga*, a welcoming call from a woman on the marae. The *karanga* has been described as "a long keening call of welcome, which is just about the most emotion-charged, spine-chilling sound one could experience" (Te Wiata, 1987:16). One of the Maori women accompanying us would answer the call and we would move forward a few feet. Women grouped together in front, men behind and on our flanks (to guard against traditional dangers). The *karanga*, half spoken, half sung has a recognizable pattern but the composition does vary according to the occasion. It incorporates a welcome to the marae and also welcomes the spirits of the dead. The two callers alternated and chanted in unison, creating an unforgettable musical cadence. Each group honours the other. We moved forward a few paces at a time, pausing for prayer and the honouring of the dead, both theirs and ours. The *karanga* provides a "safe word passage" (Tauroa, 1986:36) and it is only after the *karanga* that a group can safely move onto the marae. It is always a woman who calls. It is a spiritual call and a position of great responsibility because the woman calls not only for herself but for her extended family and the tribe. The *karanga* carries with it the prestige of the marae.

Benches were set out for us, leaving an open area between us and our hosts. The men seated themselves in the front row and the speeches began. The first speeches came from our hosts and always began in Maori. We knew they were speeches of welcome but at times they sounded very threatening as ancestral prowess was recalled. Every speech was followed by a *waiata*, a song to compliment and support the speaker's words. Women select the songs and Hiri and Pat Tauroa point out:

It is the act of singing the *waiata* that is important. The quality of the singing might enrich the event, but it is the act of supportive singing that is the most significant (Tauroa, 1986:51).

The whole host group, whether comprised of a few adults or a large group including school children, joins in the singing. An example of a *waiata* might be as follows:

<i>E hara i te mea</i>	Love is not only
<i>No naiane i te aroha</i>	A thing of today
<i>No nga tipuna</i>	It has been passed down
<i>Tuku iho, tuku iho.</i>	From our ancestors.

(Tauroa, 1986:53)

The quality of the singing was always good and actions frequently accompanied the songs. It was not unusual for hymns to be sung as well. Two of the most popular hymns were "Amazing Grace" and "How Great Thou Art," sung first in Maori and then in English.

After three speakers and three songs from our hosts it was our turn to respond with an equal number of speakers. The women out-numbered the men in our group three to one, which had implications for the way our part of the ceremony was conducted. Not all the men in our group were used to or felt qualified to speak either, so our chief was the major spokesperson. First the *kaumatua* who had accompanied us spoke in Maori on our behalf and the *waiata* was limited to the *Kaumatua* and however many Maori had accompanied us on to the marae. The men from our group did very well in their oratory and in singing their individual songs but our group singing was dismal. We had valiantly had a "choir practice" in the Los Angeles airport but could not produce anything suitable for such a solemn occasion. We contented ourselves with supportive actions with our hands as the men sang. Later we explained to our hosts that we came from more than ten different cultural groups and had met for the first time on the tour so we hoped our musical deficiency was forgiven. The great distances in Canada and the isolation of one cultural group from another was often difficult for our Maori hosts to appreciate.

The speeches and songs were followed by the *hongi*, a pressing of noses. This could be a handshake and/or a hug, a kiss on the cheek, a pressing of noses once or twice, perhaps accompanied by a pressing of foreheads as well. We soon learned that no two people, even on the same marae, would greet us in exactly the

same way. We relaxed, accepting whatever greeting was offered and responded with the traditional *Ki Ora* or *Te Nakway*.

One of our most treasured memories is of the tiny pre-schoolers anxiously holding little noses aloft, waiting for us to take the initiative. Particularly intrigued with our chief Simon Baker, in his handsome eagle feather headdress, they slipped into line a second and third time in order to greet him again until they were spotted by an alert older child.

Once welcoming ceremonies were over, we were ushered into the dining room for a meal. During or after the meal more welcoming speeches or informational talks might be given; each speech was followed by a supporting song. It was not unusual to see the cook or her helpers pop out of the kitchen to lead the singing.

Only after ceremonies and meals were over were we free to get our bags out of the bus. As we prepared for night the workers on the marae cleaned up the meal, then joined us for *Karakia* (vespers). The prayers and hymns were Christian and often the melodies were familiar to anyone raised in a European Christian tradition. Once, vespers were conducted by a Presbyterian minister, a non-Maori, who was a member of the marae. He passed out hymnals and it was easy to sing along reasonably well in Maori.

After vespers other topics were introduced and a great sharing of myths, legends, stories, cultural practices and concerns of special significance to indigenous people took place. The women from our group were allowed to speak after the men, an unusual concession on a marae, but it was understood that the women on the tour were playing an important role in educational and social change in Canada. Several of the women in our group performed the sweet grass and strawberry ceremonies common in their cultures. On the last marae we visited, the Maori women spoke also—a recognition of the roles all women are fulfilling. Only two rules seemed to apply consistently during these informal sessions; no speaker must be interrupted and every speech must be followed by a song. Again we were at a disadvantage but we did slightly better during informal sessions than in formal ceremonies. We chose old stand-bys like "This Land is Your Land" and a Maori favourite, "Springtime in the Rockies." This was soon translated for us into Maori and we learned to sing it in both languages.

When it's springtime in the Rockies
I'll be coming back to you.
Little sweetheart of the mountains
With your bonnie eyes so blue.
Once again I'll say I love you
As the birds sing all the day.
When it's springtime in the Rockies
In the Rockies far away.

E Nga Pauwai o Runga
Hokimai ano ahau
Te aroha o nga maunga
Huri mai o knaohi
E u tonu te aroha
Te manu a tangineci
E Nga Pauwai o Runga
Pauwai o mai rano.

However hard we tried, our singing always paled compared to that of the Maori and it was not until we tried Christmas carols that we came anywhere close to a melodious rendition. The Maori often joined in our singing; I believe it was out of pity.

These evening sessions could go on for many hours but fortunately listeners were not expected to stay awake if they were too tired. Already prepared for night, we merely pulled sleeping bags over our heads and went to sleep. This further diminished our already weak group of singers and those of us who willingly sang felt an obligation to support our speakers. When our speaker finished a story he would hit his drum to signal the end of the speech and hopefully inspire a song. Half asleep, we would struggle out of our sleeping bags to stand and sing. Should there be any sound in my bedroom, even today, that remotely resembles a West Coast drum, I swear I would leap out of bed and burst into "Springtime in the Rockies."

We normally left the marae after breakfast so the meal was followed by the *poroporoaki*, the farewell speeches. Intense feelings had been shared during the brief times we were there and the songs frequently triggered considerable emotion. We left each marae with the strains of *Po Atarau* (Now is the Hour) lingering on our minds.

Music from Western cultures has been adapted to fit Maori beliefs and customs but music and oratory are inseparable in Maori ceremonies. One *kaumatua* recounted the history of a rural area through which we were travelling. The history is closely linked to landforms; landforms are linked to legends. She also told us the names and uses of trees and plants along the way. This was not enough, however, to fill all the time, so she sang old hymns in Maori for our entertainment between stories.

Every Maori *kaumatua* is a singer and storyteller. These oratorical skills were developed among the Maori long before the coming of Europeans. The oratory of today retains many characteristics of traditional styles. Contemporary Maori orators use unhurried delivery, ritual phrases, stylized gestures, distinct articulation and deliberate pauses to enhance their speeches. They use both English and Maori languages effectively and have large, precise, formal vocabularies.

There is, of course, a secular side to Maori music. Our tour was not intended to examine this side of the culture. We did meet members of a Maori gang, complete with black shirts, beards and tattoos who, after cooking our *hangi* (pit barbecue) picked Bob Dylan songs on their guitars. We spent a delightful afternoon in a *Kohanga Reo* singing rounds and light-hearted songs under the direction of a very talented matron. At the University of Wellington we heard of a Maori political party and listened to its theme song, sung to the tune of "One Day at a Time, Sweet Jesus." Modern musical groups, accompanied by bands, may sing about Haley's comet or life in a small town and may be made up of Maori, Samoans and Pakehas (fair-skinned people). We visited an "Initiatives" program, an affirmative action program for unemployed youths; various skills were being taught, among them those of popular band musicians.

Most of the singing, whether religious, secular or popular, deals with the theme of Maori identity. Other songs are clearly identified as being "borrowed." There were references to music lessons for children, advanced music study in universities or other countries but perhaps these aspects were not emphasized because we had come more specifically to experience Maori culture. The majority of songs were Christian in orientation intertwined with respect for Maori traditions and

the importance of retaining those traditions. The following is an example of the many Maori values incorporated into a popular song.

Te Rina
 Oh my Te Rina
 As you grow up, my darling
 I would like you to remember
 Never to turn from the teachings
 Of those who love you very much.
 Because you are the most prized
 Amongst all the beautiful things we treasure.
 So go forward, my darling,
 Hold your body pure and with a happy smile
 Proceed in dignity
 As did your ancestors.

One day our *kaumatua* was celebrating his sixty-sixth birthday. After the evening meal we sang "Happy Birthday" to him in English, then the Sto:lo version. Then a group of Maori women, not much younger than he was, sang their song—a light-hearted ditty complete with actions that said, "I'm a bird, I can fly, I can jump."

On another day, on a long bus trip, our *kaumatua*, a superb orator and repository of all there is to know about traditional Maori ways, surprised us all by knowing every classic Western song from "Home on the Range" to "The Streets of Laredo." Not unexpectedly, he also launched into the music of "My Fair Lady" since his chief interest was languages, both Maori and English. And all through Maoridom, no doubt because of the composition of our tour group, we heard innumerable versions and imitations of Nelson Eddy and Jeanette MacDonald's "Indian Love Call."

This same *kaumatua* deplored the misuse of the English language today, noting the increased acceptability of colloquialisms and a general acceptance of incorrect grammar. He pointed out that New Zealanders can tell the difference between Canadians and Americans because Canadians use "eh" at the end of a sentence. He found the English usage of our tour group generally acceptable, but suggested that we should refrain from saying "yah" as often as we do.

Yah, we should do that sometime, eh?

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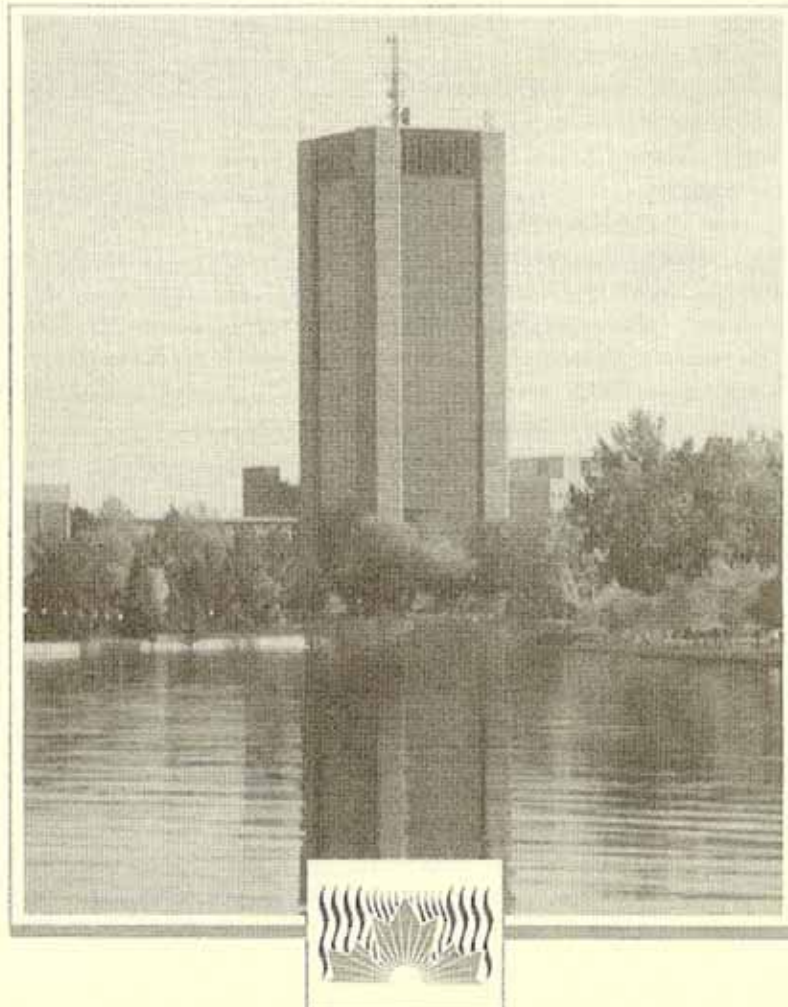
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BIOGRAPHY

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"aesthetics are not extraneous to politics" Paula Allen is a "word warrior." As she fights to reestablish the centrality of the feminine principle in Native American culture, she simultaneously reinterprets Native American cultural and literary aesthetics in specifically Indian terms, taking back the fundamental right of self-definition, thus self-determination. As a woman, born of the strength of so many women before her, Paula Gunn Allen, in the fashion of these women, works toward the reality of her vision: the survival and continuance of Native American cultures and societies. Her work is a splendid manifestation of the Cheyenne saying, "a people is not conquered until the hearts of the women are on the ground."

Résumé Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna/Sioux Pueblo), est poète, romancière, essayiste, érudite, interprète culturelle et critique marquante de la littérature amérindienne. Elle aussi "féministe-tribal," la fille "d'une fille de la dernière gynécration sur terre." Ce droit inné est un des facteurs fondamentaux qui guide sa parole littéraire et forme sa vision des peuples amérindiens. C'est aussi la base de sa force; pour Paula Allen, la force des femmes autochtones américaines est la base des cultures amérindiennes.

Comme le font d'autres femmes autochtones américaines, Paula Gunn Allen persévère et continue de raconter les histoires des peuples autochtones américains. Ses efforts littéraires ne sont rien de moins qu'une position contre la destruction continue des cultures amérindiennes, une résistance contre "l'apartheid intellectuel" et la "colonisation littéraire." Sachant que "l'esthétique n'est pas extrinsèque à la politique" Paula Allen est "une guerrière de la parole." Tout en luttant pour rétablir la centralité du principe féminin dans la culture amérindienne, elle réinterprète simultanément l'esthétique culturelle et littéraire amérindien en termes spécifiquement indiens, reprenant le droit fondamental d'auto-définition et donc d'auto-détermination. En tant que femme, née de la force de tant de femmes avant elle, Paula Gunn Allen, à la façon de ces femmes, travaille vers la réalité de sa vision: la survie et la continuité des cultures et des sociétés amérindiennes. Son oeuvre est une splendide manifestation du dicton cheyenne, "un peuple n'est pas conquis jusqu'à ce que le coeur de ses femmes ne soit par terre."

The ever-growing throng of Native American voices in contemporary American literature speaks to the persistence and insistence of Native American peoples who continue to resist individual and cultural devaluation and annihilation. With the "barrel of a pen," Native American literary artists continue their struggle for autonomy and empowerment. One might describe Paula Gunn Allen, a quintessential literary figure, as one of those "word warriors." She is poet, novelist, essayist, scholar, critic and cultural interpreter. She is one of the leading critics of Native American literature. Paula Gunn Allen (Laguna/Sioux Pueblo) is also a "tribal-feminist," the daughter of "a daughter of the last gynocracy on earth," one of the ways she describes herself in *Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back* (1). This birthright is one of the underlying factors which guides her literary word and shapes her vision of Native American peoples as survivors and as celebrants of the vitality that allows them to persist in the face of possible extinction.¹ It is also the basis of her strength; for Paula Allen sees the strength of

Native American women as the bedrock of Native American cultures. She asserts,

it is upon the survival of Indian women that the survival of American Indian culture and society depends. ... ("The Grace That Remains" 382)

The statement is a crucial one since 70% of all Native American tribes were woman-centered, gynecentric, and "always the children of egalitarian, peace-minded, ritual, and dream/vision-centered female gods."² But as a result of the onslaught of Christianity and patriarchy, the status and power of female gods, thus, of women, have been brutally and violently undermined.³ The creatrix in most Native American traditional societies was "fundamentally female—potential and primary," which allowed for the authoritative power women held. However, Anglo-European colonization, with its attendant androcentric world view, devalued American Indian women as it simultaneously vitiated their authority. The destruction of the feminine context of Native American traditional society amounts to deicide. Deicide necessitates gynocide and gynocide is tantamount to genocide (*Sacred Hoop* 14, 268). The changing of female-gendered creators to male-gendered or "generic" creators and the obliteration of records pertaining to gynocratic government are all part of "the colonizing process of story-changing."⁴

Yet American Indian women persevere and continue to tell their own stories, and because they do, American Indian cultures continue. Paula Gunn Allen writes,

American Indian women are weavers, medicine people, bead and leather workers, dancers, artists, basketmakers and seamstresses. Upon their knowledge of traditional crafts and sciences rests the whole of Indian cultures. ... They are educators, health professionals, lawyers, grantwriters, advisory committee members and mental health professionals. Their expertise can be used to end the new wave of genocide which includes forced sterilization, malnutrition, substandard education, housing and sanitary facilities, and a pervasive sense of despair that, as much as the actual economic condition, robs Indian life of promise. ("The Grace That Remains" 382).

And, as Allen states in her introduction to *Spider Woman's Granddaughters*, American Indian women writers are also "word warriors." She notes the militancy in their work:

the contemporary prose and poetry of American Indian writers, particularly of woman-centered writers, is a major part of Indian resistance to cultural and spiritual genocide. (*Sacred Hoop* 42)

Though American Indian women were not wont to "go on the warpath," Allen writes, "they could and did" (*Spider Woman's* 25). For, the undeclared wars against Native Americans which began with the coming of Columbus continues. "Indian control of the image-making and information disseminating process is crucial" in the battles against "intellectual apartheid," "aesthetic colonization,"

and their political ramifications (*Sacred Hoop* 42, 194-5; *Spider Woman's* 3).

Because Paula Gunn Allen knows that "aesthetics are not extraneous to politics" she, also, is a woman writer at war (*Spider Woman's* 3). As she fights to reestablish the centrality of the feminine principle in Native American culture, she simultaneously reinterprets Native American cultural and literary aesthetics in specifically Indian terms, taking back the fundamental right of self-definition, thus self-determination. As a woman, born of the strength of so many women before her, Paula Gunn Allen, in the fashion of these women, works toward the reality of her vision: the survival and continuance of Native American cultures and societies. This quest permeates all that she does. In Native American traditional cultures, this continuance is the domain of women. As the traditions of tribal men are about change and transitoriness, those of women are about continuity, "that is, all that goes into the maintenance of life over the long term" (*Sacred Hoop* 82).⁵ This quest is evident in her work as poet, novelist, essayist, critic and cultural interpreter. Her work reveals her experiences as Laguna/Sioux Pueblo and reflects concerns with which Native American peoples continue to struggle: genocide and potential extinction, survival, endurance, continuance, reconciliation (of that which is Indian and non-Indian), and regeneration.⁶ In her essay, "Answering the Deer," she writes,

The impact of genocide in the minds of American Indian poets and writers cannot be exaggerated. It is an all-pervasive feature of the consciousness of every American Indian in the United States, and the poets are never unaware of it. ... American Indians take the fact of probable extinction for granted in every thought, in every conversation. (155-6)

How does one survive in the face of collective death is the question Paula Allen asks and one with which Native American writers are always confronted. One solution, according to Paula Allen, is "bearing witness." Her poetry "bears witness" to genocide and destruction, as in her poem "The Warrior (For Ira Hayes)":

Dayward he crouches, something
flickers for a second in his eyes and is still.
He watches mesas march like disciplined grey and blue troops
into the sky. The order of it. How
they go so silently into the unknown, so neatly
in their terraced ordering
He thinks about gathering wild onions in the western
Magdalena hills every spring
and walking long shimmering hot hiways
in search of another drink.
The long way home.

He hunches, thinking about marches, lost
in thought behind his unreflecting eyes, about

the long, hopeless years of dying until he threw himself
 on the ground at the conquerors' feet and begged:
 LET US GO HOME

And the long march back into years until the next marches
 to the Pacific, to the Philippines
 to crest after crest of blood drenched hills
 to the top of one to raise the conquerors' triumph skyward
 and the march back home
 to dying, shrinking fields and scorching skies and no water
 at all; and the march through hero's speeches,
 through relocating centers,
 through drunk midnight streets,
 through broken resolutions,
 through rehabilitation centers
 through mindless unreflected stone drunk afternoons:

in the kingdom of the blind
 the one-eyed man is marched out every lambing time
 and ritually sacrificed so the blind will be able to tell the deaf
 what it is to see the daylight sky. (*Shadow Country* 13-14)

Her poetry, as well, deals with the struggle of Native American peoples to come to terms with such destruction. And because Native Americans have survived and are continuing, in spite of opposing forces, Paula Allen's poetry also "bears witness" to strength, continuance, and an affirmation of the future—all themes found in her poem "Grandmother."

Out of her own body she pushed
 silver thread, light, air
 and carried it carefully on the dark, flying
 Where nothing moved.

Out of her body she extruded
 shining wire, life, and wove the light
 of the void.
 From beyond time,
 beyond oak trees and bright clear water flow,
 she was given the work of weaving the strands
 of her body, her pain, her vision
 into creation, and the gift of having created,
 to disappear.

After her,
 the women and the men weave blankets into tales of life,
 memories of light and ladders,

infinity-eyes, and rain.

After her I sit on my laddered rain-bearing rug
and mend the tear with the string. (*Songs From This Earth 3*)

These themes are also found in Paula Allen's novel *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*. Ephanie Atencio, the protagonist, is a woman who is confused, disoriented, suicidal, out of harmony with herself, her family, her environment(her) life. She is distracted and does not understand the source of her distraction. She seeks wholeness, but is at a loss as to where she might find it. She seeks her very life which seems always to be slipping away from her. Ironically, when she is at the point of taking her life, by hanging, she begins to regain it and is saved by her own will to live. Her determination to continue living is strengthened by the voice of her mother echoing, "stand up for your rights, stand up to them, don't let them see you hurting" (12) and by Grandmother Spider, who watches over her from a distant corner in the closet.⁷ At this point, Ephanie begins to remember what had happened to her life and why it had been lost to her. She recalls the change which took place in her after having fallen from the apple tree and broken two ribs and punctured a lung:

After she fell she had begun rising early to attend morning Mass. Had given up grandiose daydreams for Lent. Had forgotten how to spin dreams, imaginings about her life, her future self, her present delights. Had cut herself off from the sweet spring of her own being. (203)

Ephanie also recalled the priests and nuns who made her feel guilty and ashamed of herself and the lack of love and laughter at the convent school. The resulting sense of emptiness sent her in search of fulfillment. She pored over books and found what was lost and taken from her and her people. With that, Ephanie had the courage to dare to remember all that she had endured. With her remembering came reintegration, strength, wholeness, and the finding of self. Having found self, Ephanie wanted to affirm self by telling her story to her friend Stephen, and, in essence, bear witness to her own regeneration:

Tomorrow I'll write Stephen. Tell him what I've found. Myself. I found me, after all this time. (206)

The remembering is critical since loss of memory is the root of oppression.⁸ Ephanie remembered how it was, she remembered her mother, her grandmother, the stories of Grandmother Spider, Uretsete and Naotsete, Yellow Woman, and the woman who fell from the sky. And with the remembering came the understanding that what is understood must be passed on. Spirit woman tells Ephanie,

The work that is left is to pass on what we know to those who come after us. It is an old story. ... Your place in the great circling spiral is to help in that story, in that work. To pass on to those who can understand what you have learned, what you know. (209-10).

As the story progresses, Ephanie accepts the work before her. In doing so, she grows stronger. Her bad dreams and nightmares dissipate. Her perception becomes clearer. And as she passes on all that she has borne witness to, she, her heritage, her culture continues.

Paula Allen "bears witness" in her poetry and her fiction. Like Ephanie, she passes on to others what she remembers and what she has learned. She renders to her readers/listeners ideas, myths, legends, songs, poems, and stories which portray her particular and collective Indian experience. Because this experience speaks of a way of being in the world which is so different from the world which surrounds it, the Western, industrial world, Paula Allen finds it necessary to be not only poet and novelist, but also critic and cultural interpreter. As she suggests in the following paragraph, this role is essential:

... The Indian people ... who don't buy modern poetry or literary novels in large numbers, are very busy trying to preserve the elements of culture and tribal identity that are left them, while accommodating these to the larger American society around them. Audiences for the American Indian writer from among other Americans are sparse because of the many large and trivial differences in assumptions, expectations, experiences and symbol structures between Indian and non-Indian. The American Indian writer has difficulty locating readers/listeners who can comprehend the significance of her work, even when she is being as clear and direct as she can be, because these differences in experience and meaning assigned to events create an almost impossible barrier. ("Answering The Deer" 156-7)

Her work, then, is to break down the barriers, open up lines of communication, root out misunderstandings, and to render Native American literature more accessible to the non-Indian audience while maintaining the literature's authenticity. Dispelling the "Romantic Fallacy" of many readers and some writers of Native American literature becomes a major objective of this overall task.⁹ When Native Americans are viewed narrowly as idealistic, simple, nature-loving, metaphysical creatures, there can be no meaningful dialogue between Indian and non-Indian, thus no meaningful understanding of Native American literature. There is respect for a people's literature only when there is respect for a people. Allen's essays and articles describe and define what is Indian; for the literature produced by Native Americans can be understood only in context of the culture which produces it. As she explains in "The Sacred Hoop,"

Literature is one facet of a culture. The significance of a literature can be best understood in terms of the culture from which it springs, and the purpose is clear only when the reader understands and accepts the assumptions on which the literature is based. (54)

However, it is the tendency of non-Indian readers/critics to interpret Native American literature based on their own cultural assumptions and values, imposing on the literature a world view which inevitably leads to misinterpretation, misunderstanding, and frustration for some. This cultural imposition leads

students of American Indian literature to apply terms such as “primitive,” “savage,” “childlike,” or “pagan” to the literature (“Sacred Hoop” 54). Such readings reinforce and perpetuate the “Romantic Fallacy,” and undermine the humanity of Native American peoples.

To dispel such wrongheaded notions, Paula Allen’s critical essays and articles work to place Native American literature again in its context. In them, she discusses the relationship between the literature and the people and the land, whence the literature springs. In “Iyani: It Goes This Way,” she writes,

We are the land. To the best of my understanding, that is the fundamental idea embedded in Native American life and culture in the Southwest. More than remembered, the Earth is the mind of the people as we are the mind of the earth. The land is not really the place (separated from ourselves) where we act out the drama of our functioning. It is not the ever-present “Other” which supplies us with a sense of “I.” It is rather a part of our being, dynamic, significant, real. It is ourself, ... it is as truly an integral aspect of our being as we are of its being. (191)

One can see how important it is to understand this fundamental idea when reading or teaching Native American literature. For example, it would be almost impossible to grasp the essence of a work like N. Scott Momaday’s *The Way to Rainy Mountain* without understanding this intimate union between the people, the Kiowas, and the land. As the Kiowas descended the mountains of the northwest, they changed in accordance with the environment which surrounded them. During these southward migrations, the Kiowas

acquired horses, the religion of the Plains, a love and possession of the open land ...; they had come of age as a people. They had conceived a good idea of themselves; they had dared to imagine and determine who they were. (*Rainy Mountain* 4)

The freedom, imagination, and courage are derived from their relationship with the land.

The union of the people and the land as Allen explains and describes is something more complex and sophisticated than the notion that Indians are simply “close to nature.” It expresses ideas which are the foundation of the culture’s literature—its ceremonies, myths, stories, legends, songs, etc. It helps to explain and make comprehensible the relationship between the earth, itself, the plants, creatures which creep and crawl, the four-leggeds, the two-leggeds, and the winged, in short, all that is. That relationship is egalitarian. This idea is quite different from the Western/Christian idea that one creature or aspect of creation is more significant than another. In Native American belief, everything has its place and purpose, none being more important than another:

The notion that nature is somewhere over there while humanity is over here or that a great hierarchical ladder of being exists on which ground and trees occupy a very low rung, animals a slightly higher one, and man (never woman)—especially “civilized” man—a very high one indeed is antithetical to tribal thought. The American Indian sees

all creatures as relatives (and in tribal systems relationship is central), as offspring of the Great Mystery, as cocreators, as children of our mother, and as necessary parts of an ordered, balanced, and living whole. ("Sacred Hoop" 59)

It is this order, balance, unity and harmony which is fundamental to Native American existence. The necessity of creating and maintaining these elements of the culture is what gives rise to the literature:

The tribes seek— through song, ceremony, legend, sacred stories (myths), and tales— to embody, articulate, and share reality, to bring the isolated private self into harmony and balance with this reality, to verbalize the sense of the majesty and reverent mystery of all things, and to actualize, in language, those truths that give to humanity its greatest significance and dignity. ("Sacred Hoop" 55)

Thus, the tribe seeks to create a "harmonious whole," a "singular unity that is dynamic and encompassing." This purpose is vastly different from that of Western literature wherein the objective is, more often than not, "one of pure self-expression" and where the individual as the alienated or isolated "other" is emphasized. The idea of the "private soul at any public wall," Allen writes, is alien to native thought. The individual is not emphasized as an entity separate and apart from the cosmos; for individuation results in "psychic fragmentation" ("Sacred Hoop" 55-6). The individual who suffers the experience of "psychic fragmentation" is a recurrent figure in Native American literature. Such a figure points up the violence of the hegemony of Western culture while it underscores the need for the continuance of cultural traditions which reconnect individuals with their particular Native American culture and restores psychic and spiritual balance and unity.

Insight into the dynamics of "psychic fragmentation" helps one to better understand the nature of the illness Ephanie suffers in *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*. It likewise demystifies Tayo's illness in Leslie Silko's *Ceremony* and that of Abel in Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*. Both are out of harmony with the whole. Both suffer physical, psychological, and spiritual fragmentation. But through ceremony, they are healed: Tayo reorients himself to the land and the stars. He rounds up the spotted cattle. He plants flowers. He renews his reverence for all life, and he becomes whole. Abel becomes whole again by gradually learning to articulate his reality, to order his world, by ordering his words. Through language, he comes into harmony with the self and the self comes into harmony with the cosmos. One can see, therefore, how an imposition of a philosophy of individuation onto Native American literature can and does result in misinterpretation. Individuation, isolationism (separatism), opposition, dualism and conflict are all concepts characteristic of Western culture and literature and are alien to Native American thought ("Sacred Hoop" 56). Whereas Native American narrative possesses a circular structure, is integrative, and ritualistic, Western narrative tends more toward linearity and is conflict-oriented.¹⁰ An unspoken assumption of Western thought and literature is that "conflict is basic to human existence." This assumption, Allen explains, manifests itself in the basic

Western narrative structure of conflict-crisis-resolution (*Sacred Hoop* 237; 178). Such assumptions militate against understanding the narratives of Native American peoples.

In addition, one sees contrasts in the understanding of spatial relationships. This also hinders an appreciation of Native American literature. As Paula Allen writes, the difference between a Western and an Indian perception of reality

lies in the tendency of the American Indian to view space as spherical and time as cyclical, whereas the non-Indian tends to view space as linear and time as sequential. The circular concept requires that all "points" that make up the sphere of being to have a significant identity and function, while the linear model assumes that some "points" are more significant than others. ("Sacred Hoop" 59)

The Native American sense of space is reflected in concepts that deal with

the supernatural as well as the more tangible (phenomenal) aspects of the universe. Native American thought makes no such dualistic division, nor does it draw a hard-and-fast line between what is material and what is spiritual, for the two are seen to be two expressions of the same reality. ("Sacred Hoop" 59-60)

The interrelatedness of all things, their interdependence and the significance of all is the basis of Native American literature ("Sacred Hoop" 59-60).

The sense of integration, balance, and harmony sought in Native American culture is also determined by the Native American's concept of time. In "The Ceremonial Motion of Indian Time: Long Ago, So Far," Paula Allen gives this analysis:

[the] traditional tribal concept of time is of timelessness, as the concept of space is of multidimensionality. In the ceremonial world the tribes inhabit, time and space are mythic. (47)

Because the element of time in Native American cultures is understood in concepts which are antithetical to those in the West, time is one of the most frustrating aspects of Native American literature for non-Indian students. Their frustration might be compared with that of Father Olguin in Momaday's *House Made of Dawn*. At Francisco's death, Abel performs the necessary rituals and then informs the priest of what has happened. But the old priest is confused, and in the pitch-black of pre-dawn he asks Abel,

Good Lord, what time is it, anyway? Do you know what *time* it is. I can understand how you must feel, but—. (190)

What Father Olguin does not understand is that the time is not just before dawn. It is Francisco's death time.

Because the Native American sense of time is cyclical and ceremonial, achronology is the structural device often used by Native American novelists. It

is the device Paula Allen uses to structure her own novel *The Woman Who Owned the Shadows*. The reader never gets a chronological sense of time, a definite sense of beginning, middle, end as is characteristic of Western novels. And because Ephanie has tried to live her life in a Western time frame, she has a confused sense of time:

It seemed so late, so early, so indeterminate when she got up. But there are people coming today, or did they come and now they're gone. Why they went so early. She began to dig, habitually. Down into herself. Trying to find a point that would give her the time. Clocks evaded her. When she looked at one she forgot to register what it said. ... (3-4)

A simple chronological ordering is insufficient to deal with Ephanie's illness, which is a case of "psychic fragmentation." Only when she understands that time is cyclical, ritual, ceremonial and emotional does she begin to heal and become whole. In "Ceremonial Motion," Paula Allen writes that in her novel,

events are structured in a way that emphasizes the motion inherent in the interplay of person and event. ... [Ephanie] wanders through a series of events that might have happened years before or that might not have happened to ... her personally, but that nevertheless have immediate bearing on the situation and ... the protagonist's understanding of it. (147-8)

Achronicity helps the protagonist to fuse the fragments of her world and to achieve "psychic integration," wholeness. Paula Allen explains that chronological time ("factory time") promotes psychic fragmentation and is disempowering, while ceremonial time promotes psychic integration and is empowering. She expounds,

Chronological organization ... supports allied beliefs that the individual is separate from the environment, that man is separate from God, that life is an isolated business and that the person who controls the events around him is a hero. (*Woman* seldom—indeed virtually never—is addressed or referred to in western theological or philosophical speculations.) That understanding, which includes ... the belief that time operates external to the internal workings of human and other beings, contrasts sharply with a ceremonial time sense that assumes the individual as a moving event shaped by and shaping the human and non-human surroundings. ("Ceremonial Motions" 149)

These ideas are manifested in Paula Allen's poem "Hoop Dancer":

It's hard to enter
circling clock wise and counter
clockwise moving no
regard for time, metrics
irrelevant to his dance
where pain is the prime number

and soft stepping feet
praise water from the skies

I have seen the face of triumph
the winding line stare down all moves
to desecration: guts not cut from arms,
fingers joined to minds,
together Sky and Water
one dancing one
circle of a thousand turning lines
beyond the march of gears—
out of time, out of
time, out
of time. (*Shadow Country* 8)

Allen acknowledges that achronicity presents a “technical problem” which may obstruct a novel’s readability. But at the same time, the time-structuring device used has to do with the “ultimate significance of the book” and the novelist’s quest for continuance. As she puts it:

It determines which kind of consciousness will be reflected in the novel—western, industrial consciousness or Indian consciousness. (“Ceremonial Motion” 150-151)

Writers who choose chronological time might make their works more easily readable for non-Indian readers, but they also may reinforce the “Progressive Fallacy.”¹¹ According to Allen, these writers

[further] the stereotyping tendencies of American readers, and [make] their version of Indians conform to the version of those who see Indians as dying victims of the white man’s world.

... There is also a connection between telling Indian tales in chronological sequences and the American tendency to fit Indians into the slots they have prepared for us. The Indians used to be the only inhabitants of the Americas, but times change. Having perceived us as belonging to history, they are free to emote over us, to re-create us in their own history-based understanding, and dismiss our present lives as archaic and irrelevant to the times. (“Ceremonial Motion” 151)

When perceived in its proper and specific cultural context, literature written by Native Americans is no longer “archaic and irrelevant to the times.” The literature takes on more meaning. Also one can begin to see the relationship between Native American literary forms and Native American (oral) culture. In “Sacred Hoop,” Allen shows,

[t]he two forms basic to Indian literature are the ceremony and the myth. The ceremony is the ritual enactment of a specialized perception of a cosmic relationship, while the myth is a prose record of that relationship. (61)

The purpose of the ceremony is to bring about integration and a sense of community among all orders of life. She writes further,

The structures that embody expressed and implied relationships between human and nonhuman beings, as well as the symbols which signify and articulate them, are designed to integrate the various orders of consciousness. (63)

Defining and explaining those structures and clarifying the symbols are part of the function of the critic. Paula Allen does just this in her work. In "Sacred Hoop," for example, she points out the use of repetition in ceremonies as a structural device. She explains that the device of repetition, is used to induce a hypnotic effect so that the individuals's attention may be diffused in order that the individual may become one with the cosmos. It serves to unite the people with the All-spirit, a unity which empowers them, giving them control over natural and supernatural phenomena and control over their own destinies (63-8). These facts dispel earlier simplistic explanations by Western critics who contended that the device of repetition was used to ensure attention and remembrance, to make familiar the threatening unknown, or to make sure one gets something that one wants badly (66-7). When taken out of its cultural context, the significance of repetition is misunderstood. The same is true for other aspects of the literature which are taken out of context and analyzed and explained from a perspective which is not wholistic.

All facets of Native American culture are interlocking. To separate any part from the whole is to distort it. Critics and teachers alike must guard against such distortions. Paula Allen recognizes the utter importance of the critic as cultural interpreter, one who bridges the gap between the Indian and non-Indian worlds. The role of critic is a complex one, particularly for the non-Indian. But in the introduction to *Studies in American Indian Literature*, a collection of critical essays and course designs which she edited, Paula Allen has given some guidelines for critical study which the critic and teacher should find quite useful in their study and interpretation of the literature. She sets forth her ideas of what constitutes the critic's task and what approaches a critic might take in analyzing and interpreting Native American literature.

First of all, Paula Allen points out that aesthetic dimensions of Native American literature (that which has to do with intellectual harmony, structural balance, thematic or symbolic unity, and utility) varies from tribal culture to tribal culture and differs greatly from non-Indian literatures. So what is significant in a given work is determined by the particular culture from which it is derived (ix-x).

The critic, therefore, not only must clarify symbols and allusions but also must define or describe whole perceptual-interpretative systems. (x)

It is the special task of the critic to provide a contextual framework that will bridge the cultural distance between the Native American writer and the non-Indian reader in such a way that a work is understood "in terms that do not distort it" (x).

As a set of criteria for critical study, she sees these categories as important ones:

- I. Significance and context
- II. Aesthetic quality and the interrelationship of the following:
 - A. Structure
 - B. Context
 - C. Oral tradition (xi)

In addition to these guidelines, Paula Allen suggests that critics and teachers give attention to the issue of paternalism. She discourages an "overly romantic" attitude toward the literature, the people, their traditions and values. This attitude, the "Romantic Fallacy," is a dangerous one; for it denies tribal peoples their humanity and dignity:

First instructors should present these literatures as they were intended to appear to the primary audiences, so that the student or reader can enter into the universe in which the material belongs. Second, exercises in literary colonialism are dangerous to the Indian people, for they can lead to intellectual confusion, self-hatred, or rejection of the education such study is designed to further. And third, interpreting Indian cultures and artifacts as examples of unalloyed primitivism or nobility can lead to feelings of contempt for American Indians, feelings that can often result in political action against them. When Americans cannot view Indians as people with histories, cultures, customs, and understandings worthy of study and dispassionate observation, they ignore the real plight of too many Indian people who must go without jobs, food, decent housing, or, far too often, the simple human right to survive. (xii)

Throughout her discussions of Native American literature, Paula Gunn Allen emphasizes the significance of the interrelatedness of Native American culture. Her work is reflective of that interrelatedness. Her work, as well, reflects her dedication to "recovering the feminine in American Indian traditions"; for, realizing the significance of the feminine principal is crucial to any conception of Native American life and culture and its continuance. In every aspect of her writing, Paula Allen advances Native American thought while she interprets and illuminates Native American belief systems. As poet, essayist, and novelist, Paula Gunn Allen, on the one hand, reveals to us aspects of Native American cultures. Her works tell what it is to endure and they teach "the lesson of respect for all that is," which she claims as one of Native Americans' essential contributions to literature ("Iyani" 193, 238). On the other hand, as critic, Paula Allen explains and interprets that culture to us. A literary leader, she is both storyteller and mediator. And like the women before her, she is a warrior whose battle it is to help American Indian cultures and societies survive and continue. She does this through her work; for she knows that

the power of imagination, of image, which is the fundamental power of literature, is the power to determine a people's fate. ("Stealing the Thunder" 268)

In "Angry Women are Building," Allen notes this Cheyenne statement:

a people is not conquered until the hearts of the women are on the ground. (212)

ENDNOTES

- ¹ These ideas are paraphrased from Paula Allen's essay "Answering the Deer" (155).
- ² Allen quotes D'Arcy McNickle in "Stealing the Thunder" (266).
- ³ "Angry Women Are Building," states that "cases of violence against women [wife-abuse, rape, battery, murder, incest] are powerful evidence that the status of women within the tribes has suffered grievous decline since contact" with Anglo-European America (191).
- ⁴ Allen writes that "transformation from egalitarian, gynecentric systems to hierarchical, patriarchal systems requires meeting four objectives: The first is accomplished when the primacy of female as creator is displaced and replaced by male-gendered creators ... (*Sacred Hoop* 41). The direct result of this is the devaluation and disrespect of women.
- ⁵ It is to be noted that though traditional roles were gender-based, they were not sex-specific in an absolute sense: "individuals fit into these roles on the basis of proclivity, inclination, and temperament" (*Sacred Hoop* 196).
- ⁶ These conclusions are drawn from Paula Allen's essay "Answering the Deer."
- ⁷ This passage from "The Ways of Our Grandmothers" explains the significance of Grandmother Spider:

In the beginning was thought, and her name was Woman. The Mother, the Grandmother, recognized from earliest times into the present among those peoples of the Americas who kept to the eldest traditions, is celebrated in social structures, architecture, law, custom, and the oral tradition. To her we owe our lives, and from her comes our ability to endure, regardless of the concerted assaults on our, on Her, being, for the past five hundred years of colonization. She is the Old Woman who tends the fires of life. She is the Old Woman Spider who weaves us together in a fabric of interconnection. (11)
- ⁸ This idea is expounded upon in the essay "Who is Your Mother," in *Sacred Hoop*, 213-215).
- ⁹ The "Romantic Fallacy" is a perception of Indians as "innocent and magical beings who have run afoul of fate and [whose] ways of tribal life were simple, stark, and pure, guided by a few simple philosophical principles and a transcendent comprehension of the laws of the universe which the Indians, in their simple but pure way, adhered to unflinchingly" (*Sacred Hoop* 129).
- ¹⁰ "American Indians are tribal people who define themselves and are defined by ritual understandings, that is, by spiritual or sacred ceremonial shapings... Ritual rather than politics or language forms the basis of the tribal world and contemporary novels by American Indian writers reflect this grounding. This is not to say that the novels are rituals; rather, they derive many of their structural and symbolic elements from certain rituals and the myths that are allied with those rituals (*Sacred Hoop* 79).

- ¹¹ The "Progressive Fallacy" "allows American Indians victim status only. And while its adherents suffer some anguish when encountering the brutal facts of exterminationist policies, they inevitably shrug resignedly and say – quite directly – that Indians have to assimilate or perish" (*Sacred Hoop* 5).

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BIOGRAPHY

Deborah G. Plant is from Baton Rouge, Louisiana. In 1978 she completed her undergraduate degree in Fine Arts at Southern University before studying French at Atlanta, Nebraska in Creative Writing, Ethnic Literature, and Literary Criticism. Her doctoral thesis focused on Zora Neale Hurston, a writer, anthropologist, and folklorist from Harlem. In 1988 she accepted the position of Assistant Professor of African-American Literature at Memphis State University. Currently she is completing a book on Hurston, a book-length manuscript on literary artists and activist Ngugi Wa Thiong'o and is researching contemporary African women writers.

GLOBAL COMMUNITY? : SUPRANATIONAL STRATEGIES OF CANADA'S ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

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Abstract The globalization of politics and economics in recent years has, among other things, multiplied the strategic options available to sub-national minorities attempting to induce domestic policy shifts which match their political aspirations. In particular, indigenous peoples throughout the world have appealed to international bodies and conventions to bring external pressure to bear on their respective governments. The essential purpose of international lobbying is to enhance the legitimacy of Aboriginal claims at the superstate level by the crafting of international covenants and standards for the treatment of indigenous peoples.

This paper analyses the internationalization of Canadian Aboriginal politics in recent years. It is intended to illustrate the wide range of activities in which Aboriginal peoples have engaged at the international level. It also evaluates the efficacy of actions aimed at different international organizations and external actors. Hence, the analysis focusses on: the development of international coalitions among indigenous peoples; the use of such international organizations as the United Nations, the European Community, the Organization of American States, and the International Labour Organization; and the enrollment

of external actors in resource disputes as exemplified by the James Bay Crees' successful lobby of American governments and publics to stop the Great Whale hydroelectric project. It is argued that because international covenants and declarations are exhortatory rather than legally enforceable, their efficacy is more symbolic than practical. On the other hand, international lobbying tends to be more effective in the short term where external actors can be persuaded to intervene in concrete disputes between Aboriginal nations and Canadian governments. The internationalization of Aboriginal politics is ultimately a challenge to governmental sovereignty over domestic policy. It suggests that: (a) nation-states do not have the moral authority to act upon their populations without reference to international norms and values; and (b) external actors have the right and even the duty to intervene in domestic policies concerning Aboriginal peoples, who characterize themselves as 'nations' in their own right.

Résumé La mondialisation de la politique et de l'économie des dernières années a, entre autre, multiplié les possibilités stratégiques des minorités sous-nationales qui essaient de provoquer des changements de politiques domestiques pour les faire concorder avec leurs aspirations politiques. En particulier les peuples indigènes à travers le monde ont fait appel aux conventions et aux groupes internationaux afin de mettre des pressions externes pour influencer leurs gouvernements respectifs.

En général, de telles actions ont pour but de cultiver des alliés capables d'interventions dans les réclamations autochtones au niveau du super-état en créant des alliances et des standards internationaux pour le traitement des peuples indigènes. Cet article analyse l'internationalisation des politiques aborigènes en se concentrant sur l'utilisation d'organisations internationales telles que les Nations-unies, la Communauté européenne, l'Organisation des États américains et l'Organisation internationale des travailleurs. On soutient cependant que parce que les alliances et les déclarations sont souvent des voeux pieux plutôt que des lois leur efficacité est plus symbolique que pratique.

L'internationalisation de la politique autochtone est, en fin de compte, un défi aux concepts traditionnels de citoyenneté en suggérant que: (a) les états-nations n'ont pas l'autorité morale d'agir envers leurs populations sans se référer à des normes et à des valeurs internationales; et (b) des facteurs externes ont le droit et même le devoir d'intervenir dans les politiques domestiques concernant les peuples autochtones, qui se caractérisent eux-mêmes comme des nations de leur propre droit.

The acceleration of trade liberalization, economic interdependence, global communications, and political rapprochement in the post-Cold War period has been accompanied by the enhanced importance of international organizations such as the United Nations and regional interstate associations like the European Community. The so-called 'new economic order' is complemented politically by the development of a new moral order stressing the values of democracy, freedom, self-determination and human rights. Such norms, long enshrined in international human rights conventions, have been reinvigorated by the collapse of Soviet-style communism. The escalation of civil wars in various parts of the

world shows that such values are not to be achieved without struggle, however.

The newly evolving "global community" increasingly challenges nation-states' sovereignty over domestic affairs. In promoting the new economic and moral order, as well as political stability, international organizations such as the U.N. and the E.C. have interceded in military and ethno-political conflicts within national borders (as in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia). They have also intervened to secure the supply of commodities (such as oil), and to maintain a particular regional balance of power, as in the Gulf War. Such immediate physical interventions, however, are manifestations of less tangible forces of globalization which affect populations within nation-states to an unprecedented degree.

International interdependency, particularly in economic and trading relationships, has meant that the interests of subnational groups are increasingly subject to external influences and pressures which may be beyond the immediate control of national governments. In the Canadian context, the collective interests of Aboriginal peoples in particular have been directly susceptible to market and political trends elsewhere, as exemplified by the anti-fur movement in Europe. This powerful lobby succeeding in decimating the seal hunt in the early 1980s and threatens to overwhelm the fur industry in the 1990s. The actions of international lobby groups, foreign governments and associations like the European Community have had devastating effects on Aboriginal communities which derive socio-cultural and economic benefits from hunting and trapping.

While such issues may appear to be primarily economic, they are profoundly political. In particular, unresolved questions about Aboriginal peoples' land and resource ownership have inflamed front-line conflicts between Aboriginal communities and foreign and domestic resource-extractive, export-oriented corporations. The latter become interlocutors in disputes in which Aboriginal peoples' are actually challenging Canadian governments' authority over the disposition of lands and resources in Aboriginal territories. The federal government faces a conflict of interest here: while it has a constitutional fiduciary responsibility for "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians" under the British North America Act, 1867, it is also responsible for economic and international trade policy. Hence, the interests of Aboriginal peoples are more often than not traded off against other domestic and international economic interests.

As the vast majority of Aboriginal land and self-government claims have not been settled through political negotiation, Aboriginal groups have attempted to supersede Canadian governments' monopoly over diplomatic and economic relations with external actors by lobbying the latter directly. Therefore, Aboriginal peoples' unresolved political disputes with Canadian governments increasingly spill over into the international arena. As external actors' economic and political choices affect the domestic environment and vice versa, their enrollment in Aboriginal peoples' political struggles has the potential to modify governments' policy options. Thus, the nation-state's uncontested sovereignty over domestic policy can therefore no longer be automatically assumed.

The globalization of economics and politics has undoubtedly created new problems for Aboriginal peoples. Yet it has also produced new strategic possibilities for them to reach beyond the confines of national boundaries to appeal to

international bodies and conventions. Such appeals are generally designed: to embarrass governments into action; to bring external pressure to bear on governments in domestic policy fields; to gain moral, political and/or financial support from foreign governments or non-government organizations; to encourage international actors to impose sanctions against Canada; and to forge links with similarly situated minorities for the purpose of sharing perspectives, strategies and resources.¹ Ultimately, appeals to international institutions, regimes, and norms are designed to augment the legitimacy of Aboriginal peoples' political claims.

Canada's Aboriginal peoples have internationalized native politics in recent years by appealing to a range of international institutions. Their hope is that those institutions will develop codified and enforceable standards regarding the treatment of indigenous peoples, or pass general motions of censure against the Canadian government for alleged violations of international declarations and covenants. In some cases, it is hoped that foreign governments and international organizations will intervene in local land and resource disputes, particularly those with international dimensions. At the same time, Canadian Aboriginal peoples have been instrumental in building political coalitions with other indigenous peoples, the better to pursue common goals vis-a-vis the international community.

This paper examines the supranational strategies pursued by Canadian Aboriginal organizations and tribal groups with regard to a number of international bodies, including the European Community, the Organization of American States, and (especially) the United Nations. The efficacy of actions on these fronts is compared to that of direct lobbying efforts regarding discrete land and resource conflicts, as exemplified by the Quebec Crees' appeals to American state governments to block development of the second phase of the James Bay hydroelectric project. My analysis suggests that international lobbying efforts will be more effective when international organizations or foreign governments perceive themselves as stakeholders in the outcome of a local land or resource conflict. Yet success will be elusive if it means convincing external actors that domestic moral, political, or environmental values supersede economic interests. Canadian natives' significant loss to the animal rights lobby on the sealing/fur-trapping issue in Europe shows that where the competing moral agendas of other actors come into play the localized interests of Aboriginal peoples (who are not voting constituencies in other countries) are unlikely to prevail.

The first part of this paper provides a brief sketch of the international dimensions of Aboriginal affairs, with a view to situating contemporary activities in a wider historical context. In addition, it will explain why political action in the international arena is both necessary and inevitable for Canada's Aboriginal peoples. The second part of the paper examines the development of transnational linkages among indigenous peoples, through organizations such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, as well as through conferences designed to cultivate political coalitions for coordinated action at the international level. The third section examines Aboriginal peoples' activities at the United Nations, particularly their participation in the United Nations Working Group on Indig-

enous Populations. This is followed by a survey of appeals to the U.N. regarding Canada's alleged violations of human rights standards. The fourth part of the paper analyses Aboriginal groups' use of other international bodies, such as the International Labour Organization, the Organization of American States, and the European Community. The fifth section looks briefly at a more specific instance of international action—the James Bay Crees' successful lobby of American state governments to forestall the Great Whale hydroelectric project. Finally, the paper examines the Canadian government's responses to the internationalization of politics.

INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

The idea of Aboriginal peoples engaging in international relations is certainly not new. In fact, in the Americas it has a five hundred year pedigree, since from the first contact with Europeans the indigenous inhabitants of the continent were forced to conduct international relations with successive European imperial powers. However, as Sanders has pointed out:

Once European sovereignty had been established over various parts of the world, each European colonial power regarded the affairs of the colonized area as "domestic" and "internal". This meant that indigenous rights were to be governed solely by the political and legal system of the particular colonial power. Colonialism was international for indigenous peoples in two ways. Not only did it involve contact with European nationals, but it grouped various indigenous nations within new political boundaries.²

The latter point is of particular significance: quite apart from pre-contact inter-tribal relations (which were effectively international relations), the arrival of Europeans claiming sovereign jurisdiction over specific territories, together with the development of the nation-state as the principal basis of territorial and political organization, gave a radically new meaning to international relations for indigenous populations. These developments, *inter alia*, had the effect, not just of confining Aboriginal groups within new national fences, but also of splitting a number of tribal groups across arbitrary borders so that they fell under different national jurisdictions. To complicate matters further, in the territories that were to become Canada, it was the policy of the British Crown (under the Royal Proclamation of 1763) to enter into treaties with Indian tribes on a nation-to-nation basis.³ This policy, however, was not uniformly followed by the local Canadian authorities after colonial rule from Britain had ceased. To the present day, many Indian nations consider that their business is not with the domestic Canadian government but with the British Crown, with which they initially signed treaties or entered into alliances.

Indeed, even after the formal establishment of Canada at Confederation in 1867, a number of Indian tribes continued their tradition of international relations with Britain. For example, in 1906, Chief Joe Capilano of British Columbia led a delegation to London to present a petition to King Edward VII, and in 1909, when the British Columbian government attempted to seize the lands of the Skeena

Indians, some twenty tribes presented a petition to the King.⁴ Further, the centrepiece of the first supra-tribal organization to be formed in Canada (the Indian Tribes of the Province of British Columbia—ITPBC) was the Nisga'a petition. Drawn up by a law firm in London, the petition was used as the basis for a hearing before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which at that time was the final court of appeal for the British empire.⁵ Although these initiatives failed, they are nevertheless illustrative of the Indians' belief that they were not subject to the ultimate authority of the Government of Canada, but rather that the pattern of international relations with the British Crown continued.

The tradition of appealing to the British Crown has continued into the latter half of the twentieth century. The most widely known instance in recent history concerned the repatriation of the Canadian Constitution. In 1978, the national organization representing status Indians, the National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.), dispatched a delegation to London to ask the Queen to veto changes to the Canadian constitution unless they included guarantees of Aboriginal rights. Over the ensuing four years, various Indian organizations lobbied the British Parliament, set up an "embassy" in London "to formalize political and diplomatic relations among our nations", and initiated a number of legal actions against the Canadian government in British courts. Although these efforts did not prevent the patriation of the constitution, they did create a space for Aboriginal organizations in the process of reform. Subsequent consultations with the Government of Canada led to the inclusion of two sections on Aboriginal rights in the *Constitution Act, 1982*.⁶

Thus, as far as Canadian Aboriginal peoples are concerned, they have engaged in international relations since at least the arrival of European colonizing powers. They have always challenged the notion that their relations with Canada are of a domestic nature. The internationalization of Aboriginal affairs in the last two decades simply continues a long-standing tradition. In the modern era, however, internationalization has evolved from direct relations with the Crown to the use of international institutions and bodies as intermediaries to influence domestic public policy.

TRANSNATIONAL LINKAGES AMONG INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples

As mentioned above, one of the chief rationales for the internationalization of Aboriginal politics is the opportunity to forge links with similarly situated indigenous minorities in order to share perspectives, models, strategies and resources. In spite of many differences among indigenous peoples on the five continents, they have found many parallels in terms of their statuses and situations. Thus, it was perhaps inevitable that an umbrella organization representing the general concerns of indigenous peoples would be formed. In this endeavour, Canadian Aboriginal organizations, and especially George Manuel, President of the National Indian Brotherhood (N.I.B.) in the 1960s and 1970s, took the leading role.

In 1971, George Manuel visited Australia and New Zealand with a small group of bureaucrats and parliamentarians, including Jean Chretien (then Minister of Indian Affairs). This trip led to a comparative analysis of the situations of the indigenous peoples of the three countries. Following the visit, Manuel wrote of his hope that "the common history and shared values that we discovered in each other are only the seeds from which some kind of lasting frame-work can grow for a common alliance of Native Peoples".⁷ The next step was a trip to a United Nations environmental conference in Sweden in 1972, where Manuel took the opportunity to travel around the Sami territories in the north. Thereafter, Manuel proceeded to Geneva to meet with the International Labour Organization and the World Council of Churches, and then to the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in Copenhagen. In the late summer of 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood announced its plan to organize an international conference of indigenous peoples, as well as its intention to apply for NGO status at the United Nations.⁸

After a couple of preparatory conferences in Guyana and Denmark in 1974 and 1975, the first international conference of indigenous peoples was held in Port Alberni, British Columbia, in October 1975. It was attended by delegates from Australia, Bolivia, Canada, Columbia, Ecuador, Finland, Greenland, Guatemala, Mexico, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Sweden, the United States, and Venezuela. A series of workshops discussed the issues of: representation at the United Nations; the formation and Charter of the World Council of Indigenous People (W.C.I.P.); social, economic, and political justice; and Aboriginal peoples' retention of their cultural identity, land and natural resources.⁹ The conference passed a number of important resolutions, including one to prepare a brief on discrimination against indigenous peoples to present to the U.N., and another to pass along the NGO status that the N.I.B. had won at the U.N. in 1974 to the newly-formed World Council. Finally, the conference adopted a "Solemn Declaration", which was intended to capture the commonality of past and current experiences, to empower, and to inspire resolute action :

We the Indigenous Peoples of the world, united in this corner of our Mother the Earth in a great assembly of men of wisdom, declare to all nations:

We glory in our proud past:
 when the earth was our nurturing mother,
 when the night sky formed our common roof,
 when Sun and Moon were our parents,
 when all were brothers and sisters,
 when our great civilizations grew under the sun,
 when our chiefs and elders were great leaders,
 when justice ruled the Law and its execution.

Then other peoples arrived:
 thirsting for blood, for gold, for land and all its wealth,
 carrying the cross and the sword, one in each hand,

without knowing or waiting to learn the ways of our worlds,
 they considered us to be lower than the animals,
 they stole our lands from us and took us from our lands,
 they made slaves of the Sons of the sun.

However, they have never been able to eliminate us,
 nor to erase our memories of what we were,
 because we are the culture of the earth and the sky,
 we are of ancient descent and we are millions,
 and although our whole universe may be ravaged,
 our people will live on
 for longer than even the kingdom of death.

Now, we come from the four corners of the earth,
 we protest before the concert of nations
 that, "we are the Indigenous Peoples, we who
 have a consciousness of culture and peoplehood
 on the edge of each country's borders and
 marginal to each country's citizenship".

And rising up after centuries of oppression,
 evoking the greatness of our ancestors,
 in the memory of our Indigenous martyrs,
 and in homage to the counsel of our wise elders:

We vow to control again our own destiny and
 recover our complete humanity and
 pride in being Indigenous People.¹⁰

Since 1975, the W.C.I.P.'s role has been largely facilitative for the various national indigenous organizations around the world. It is not representative as such. Rather, it acts as a vehicle for the sharing of information, the advocacy of Aboriginal rights, and the development of standards for the treatment of indigenous peoples on the part of international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (I.L.O.), the Organization of American States (O.A.S.) and the United Nations (U.N.). The W.C.I.P. does not try to coordinate uniform positions among its many member organizations, largely because of the impossibility of such a task in the face of the very diverse histories, circumstances, and needs of different indigenous peoples within their respective nation-states.¹¹ However, its role has been to develop general and inclusive language regarding indigenous rights and aspirations for international instruments.

The Indigenous 500 Conference

The largest international conference of indigenous peoples held to date was organized recently by Canadian Aboriginal groups. Entitled, "Strengthening the

Spirit: Beyond 500 Years", the conference was held in November, 1991 in Ottawa-Hull, Canada. Some seven hundred delegates and non-Aboriginal observers from North, South, and Central America attended the conference, which was intended to commemorate "Indigenous Peoples' resistance to colonization in the Americas since the arrival of Europeans in 1492".¹² Although the immediate and symbolically important impetus to the conference was to counter the five hundredth anniversary of Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas, the Indigenous 500 Committee identified its purpose as follows:

The "Strengthening the Spirit" conference was to provide a forum for Indigenous Peoples from across the Americas to collectively reflect on a common past, to share their cultures, values, and visions, to evaluate the present, and to offer guidance to Indigenous leaders for the establishment of a new dialogue between Indigenous Peoples and other societies in the future. Ideally, action-oriented mechanisms that would address the main concerns of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas would be identified, including establishing a basis from which new relationships of mutual respect could be developed with nation-states, governments and support groups.¹³

Much of the discussion during the conference focussed on the negative effects of colonization and contemporary problems relating to cultural survival. One of the recurring themes concerned the role of indigenous peoples as stewards of resources and as conservationists. Ovide Mercredi, national chief of the Assembly of First Nations and chair of the conference, argued that "the will to survive as distinct peoples, and our will to ensure the survival of Mother Earth, will help to reverse the current destruction of our common environment on this planet".¹⁴

Throughout the conference, delegates stressed the similarities rather than the differences among the indigenous peoples of the Americas, and called for the sharing of information and resources, as well as for coordinated and mutually supportive action. Another recurring theme concerned the strategy of using or participating in the creation of appropriate instruments at the international level. For example, a number of delegates referred to instruments such as the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, as well as I.L.O. Convention 169, and the O.A.S. initiative to create a juridical instrument on indigenous rights.¹⁵ However, not all the participants supported these initiatives wholeheartedly. Indeed, Jenaro Dominguez Maldonado of the Coordinadora Nacional de Pueblos Indios (Mexico) and the Coordinadora Regional de Pueblos Indios de Centroamerica "denounced UNESCO for representing the governments that are assassinating the Aboriginal Peoples and eliminating their rights". He claimed that Aboriginal peoples "don't want a human rights proclamation—we want to be respected, to work in our fields, to have our own land".¹⁶

Nevertheless, despite some dissension on the question of the use of international institutions, the conference agreed on a "Declaration of the First Nations of the Americas". Among other things, the declaration demanded that the United Nations approve the Working Group's Universal Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (reproduced in Appendix A). It also demanded that the member states of the I.L.O. ratify Convention 169 so that it can become "enforce-

able" in every country, and that the O.A.S. approve the legal instrument discussed below. Further, the declaration calls for the U.N. to dispatch peace-keeping forces to protect indigenous peoples caught in national wars in Guatemala, Peru, Colombia, and El Salvador.¹⁷ There is, of course, little chance of the U.N. acting upon this demand, as it has not been invited by the governments of those states to intervene. Nevertheless, the call is at least symbolically important in its expectation that the United Nations has a legitimate, even necessary role to play in protecting indigenous minorities.

Finally, one of the more interesting results of the "Strengthening the Spirit" conference was a proposal that indigenous peoples create a new international political organization akin to the United Nations to push demands for self-determination and to highlight and act upon human rights violations. Various delegates noted that both governments and the United Nations had failed indigenous peoples, and Eva Castaneda de Kapiz (representing a Mexican native women's group) argued that "we can no longer afford to struggle only at the local and national level... the colonizers who formed nation states on our land are destroying us".¹⁸ Ovide Mercredi envisioned an institution devoted to the economic and social development of indigenous people, which would both provide aid and promote human rights and education. The key to the institution would be financial and political independence, and there was virtual unanimity on the idea that it should be financed wholly by Aboriginal peoples, so as to avoid the strings which usually attach to monetary aid from governments and non-indigenous NGOs. In keeping with Canadian indigenous organizations' leading role in the internationalization of Aboriginal affairs, Mercredi said that Canada would be the ideal headquarters for the United Native Nations, since "here we have the luxury of democratic expression that many Aboriginal people do not have... Our leaders will not be shot, they will not disappear".¹⁹

Whether such an international organization is ultimately created or not, the proposal is in itself significant in that the new emphasis is on self-help, rather than reliance on governments and their international representatives, such as the United Nations.²⁰ While the parallel United Nations would not replace other actions at the international level and would not preclude the use of mainstream international institutions, it would certainly complement those activities. It could also potentially offer indigenous peoples a higher profile on the international scene, whereas at present their participation in institutions such as the U.N. is compromised by their reliance on the hierarchical structures of organizations designed to serve governments, not subnational minorities.

The United Nations

The transnational coalitions formed between indigenous groups have not just been manifested at salutary and inspirational international conferences, but have been instrumental in the development of coordinated positions and mutual support vis-a-vis participation in international organizations such as the United Nations. With regard to the U.N., indigenous organizations' activities have

concentrated on two fronts: the development of standards for the treatment of indigenous peoples through the Working Group on Indigenous Populations; and allegations of human rights abuses by governments in contravention of U.N. covenants.

Since the early 1970s, a number of Canadian Aboriginal tribal groups or umbrella organizations have reached beyond national boundaries to various United Nations bodies. In 1974, the National Indian Brotherhood was granted non-governmental organization (NGO) status at the United Nations Economic and Social Council (E.C.O.S.O.C.), though the seat was transferred in 1978 to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.²¹ At present, eleven indigenous peoples' organizations have consultative status with E.C.O.S.O.C., including the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (based in Ottawa), the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, and the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec).²²

For Canada's Aboriginal peoples, participation at the United Nations level is of great symbolic and some practical significance.²³ At the symbolic level, participation in the highest order international institution which boasts the membership of 168 countries (and includes NGOs ranging from the Vatican to the Palestine Liberation Organization) signifies a new kind of validation for indigenous peoples within the world community. In particular, it is a signal to the Canadian government that other states and important international actors accept Aboriginal peoples as legitimate players. At the practical level, participation is important, since the United Nations has the capacity to make binding international law, and the U.N. Security Council has the power to impose military, economic, and other sanctions against states which violate its resolutions.

Twenty years ago, the U.N. was perhaps not an appropriate forum for indigenous peoples as it had traditionally refused to discuss matters of a "domestic" or "internal" nature. As Sanders noted, however, that policy changed in the 1970s:

The United Nations sanctions against South Africa and Rhodesia treat certain "domestic" policies as a proper subject for international action...we have seen strong statements from both the United States and England that human rights questions are not the prerogative of individual nation states... Whatever precise developments occur on these questions, we are in a period of increased international concern with "internal" human rights questions. This is creating a more favourable international atmosphere for a body such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.²⁴

This shift in the U.N.'s attitude towards "internal" human rights questions in the 1970s has been reinforced in the 1990s with the collapse of the old regimes of Eastern Europe and the new policing role it has assumed for itself in contemporary ethnic conflicts there and elsewhere. In the new world order engineered by the western powers, the opportunity to influence the development of human rights standards (and to have indigenous rights included in them) cannot be missed. At the very least, indigenous peoples can hope that governments' concern with their international images will make them anxious to avoid accusations of human rights violations by their native populations.

The U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Populations

As Ponting notes, Canadian Aboriginal organizations' involvement in the U.N. in the late 1980s was encouraged by several factors, including: the U.N.'s earlier ratification of various covenants and conventions which are binding on signatories;²⁵ the U.N.'s sponsorship of two international conferences of NGOs on the topic of Indigenous People and the Land in 1977 and 1981; and the establishment of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations in 1982. The latter initiative had been prompted by the Martinez Cobo "Study on the Problem of Discrimination against Indigenous Populations".²⁶ The study had been authorized by the Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities in 1970, though the report was not released until 1986.²⁷ The report was to form the basis of the Working Group's mandate. The W.G.I.P. was authorized by E.C.O.S.O.C. to meet annually to review developments regarding the promotion and protection of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of indigenous peoples. The Group was to submit its conclusions to the Sub-Commission, and to "give special attention to the evolution of standards concerning the rights of indigenous peoples".²⁸

The W.G.I.P. consists formally of five "experts" from the five continents, none of whom are of Aboriginal descent. Over the past ten years, the Working Group has devoted itself to the production of a draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples. The Group's meeting in Geneva in the summer of 1991 was attended by observers from the governments of thirty U.N. member states (including Canada), ten NGOs in consultative status, ninety-one indigenous peoples' nations and organizations²⁹, and approximately sixty-three other organizations and groups.³⁰

Although the draft declaration has generally been warmly received by indigenous peoples' groups, it has nevertheless been vulnerable to several substantive criticisms. For example, during the ninth session debate, many observers suggested that the Working Group draw up stronger wording in the draft declaration on the question of indigenous peoples' entitlement to "the recovery, restoration, restitution and/or adequate compensation for their lands and resources which have been taken without their consent".³¹ On the question of the status of treaties, a Mohawk representative pointed out that the early treaties between indigenous peoples and the European colonizers were agreements between equals, and urged the Working Group to express this notion of equality in the declaration.³² However, perhaps the most serious substantive critique concerned the right to self-determination. According to the report of the general debate, many observers "expressed grave concern that the present text represented a retreat from the first revised text..submitted in 1989",³³ insofar as it did not endorse the unqualified right of indigenous peoples to self-determination.

Inclusion of an unqualified right to self-determination would undoubtedly have been rejected by governments. Indeed, during the debate, a number of governmental and some non-governmental observers argued for qualification at least of the application of the right so that it would be more acceptable to governments which would have to implement it. Other government observers

expressed outright opposition to the inclusion of any reference to self-determination.³⁴ It is not surprising that governments would object to the notion of self-determination, particularly if it is presented as an unqualified right. It is not at all clear what such a right would mean in international law: it might mean the right of indigenous peoples to secede from nation-states altogether; or it could mean creating new orders of government, whereby indigenous populations would, in effect, be politically autonomous and beyond the legislative reach of national or regional governments. These sorts of objections are particularly resonant in the Canadian context. The recent constitutional reform process has raised questions about the dissolution of the federation as a result of both Quebec's and Aboriginal peoples' demands for self-determination.³⁵ It seems unlikely that governments would ratify an international declaration that included provisions which might threaten their political and territorial integrity, unless the indigenous right to self-determination were at least confined to current spaces within national borders, or limited by other legal constraints.

Apart from a number of substantive problems, the draft declaration also suffers from procedural shortcomings, some of them similar to those attending other international rights instruments. In the first place, the Working Group is the creature of the Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. However, it has no official status in the United Nations system. There was some pressure to elevate the draft declaration from the Working Group level to the Sub-Commission level after the W.G.I.P.'s tenth session in the summer of 1992. The argument for getting it out of the Group was that it would be symbolically important given the five hundred year anniversary of Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas, and more particularly as the U.N. has declared 1993 the International Year for the World's Indigenous People.³⁶ However, the Government of Canada (among others) argued that the draft should be kept at the Working Group level for at least another two to three years, on the grounds that the quality of the draft may be compromised by rushing it through "merely for symbolic reasons", and that substantive input from indigenous peoples might no longer be possible once the draft left the Working Group.³⁷

In the end the draft declaration did not emerge from the Working Group at the 1992 session. Yet if and when it does, the road to ratification is likely to be a long and arduous one. This is the quagmire of international politics. Like other groups seeking international assistance, indigenous peoples quickly become enmeshed in the formidable U.N. hierarchy of agencies and subcommittees and the lengthy bureaucratic processes they spawn. In the case of the draft declaration, when it finally proceeds to the Sub-Commission, it will take at least a year for that body to submit a report and recommendations to the Commission on Human Rights (whose fiftieth session is scheduled for 1994). Given that the bureaucratic wheels of the United Nations grind very slowly indeed, it is impossible to predict when a final draft might be presented to the General Assembly. When it does reach the General Assembly, however, objections can be expected from many nations: India, for example, does not recognize the concept of indigenous peoples, but is only willing to allow for "tribal populations", which do not enjoy any special status or rights. Moreover, it must be remembered that the U.N. took over forty

years to adopt a declaration on the rights of the child (and who could object to that?) In the case of indigenous peoples' rights, which might include self-determination and which will certainly have implications for the political, territorial, legislative, and spending priorities of governments, passage of a final declaration could take decades.

Another important problem facing the advocates of a universal declaration on indigenous rights is the problem of credibility. In fact, several provisions of other U.N. declarations, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, have been denounced as idealistic and unrealistic. An example of this is the right to paid holidays: beyond the resounding call of the ideal in the best of all possible worlds, "rights" such as this simply have no real meaning for impoverished nations. Such 'rights' are contingent upon the economic wherewithal of the public and private sectors of each state. In the area of indigenous economic and territorial rights, the draft declaration's provisions are likely to fall prey to the same kinds of objections. Yet even if such objections are surmounted, in the end what the process will produce is an unenforceable declaration of salubrious principles. States may ratify it as a sign of their generous intentions vis-a-vis their indigenous citizens, but they will not be compelled to implement its provisions.

Finally, given the U.N.'s internal structure and the subsuming of the Working Group under a Sub-Commission of the Commission on Human Rights, the W.G.I.P. in a sense forces indigenous peoples into adopting the language of human rights. For many indigenous peoples, however, the discourse is actually about economic, political and territorial rights, rather than the fundamental freedoms (from discrimination, torture etc.) which are characteristic of the human rights discourse. Indeed, it may have been more appropriate, as Rodrigo Contreras of the W.C.I.P. has argued, for these issues to have been addressed by the C.H.R.'s Sub-Commission on the Decolonization of Peoples and Territories, rather than by the Working Group.³⁸

ALLEGATIONS OF RIGHTS VIOLATIONS

In the 1980s, several Canadian Aboriginal groups appealed to the United Nations, claiming that Canada was violating international laws, treaties, or covenants. As the 1990s proceed, it appears that such appeals are becoming increasingly frequent. Although the actions are too numerous to recount here, a few of the more salient cases are worthy of mention.

One of the first groups to appeal to the U.N. in the 1980s was the Haida Nation of British Columbia. At issue was the Haidas' title to their traditional territories, and especially to the waters surrounding the Queen Charlotte Islands. In March, 1984, the Council of the Haida Nation forwarded a communique to all of the member states of the United Nations, which claimed that Canada was inappropriately using the Law of the Sea Treaty of 1982 to undermine the Haidas' title to their territorial waters. The Council claimed that Canada was assuming title to Haida lands and waters without the proper legal authority, and that this was "an act in excess of jurisdiction [and] contrary to the spirit of this international treaty".³⁹ Although the U.N. took no action, the Haidas had achieved their

intention of embarrassing the Canadian Government; they had questioned the legitimacy of Canada's claim to sovereignty over Indians and their traditional territories.

The Government of Canada's credibility as the supposed trustee of native rights and interests was challenged again during the 1987 First Ministers' Conference on Aboriginal Matters, the last of the conferences mandated by the 1982 *Constitution Act*.⁴⁰ The Assembly of First Nations invited two officials from the U.N. Human Rights Centre to observe the proceedings. Chief Gary Potts hoped that the presence of the officials would act as a "positive influence" on the federal and provincial governments so that they could not "push something down our throats....we want the international community to know what is going on here".⁴¹ In the event, the conference produced no tangible results so it is difficult to assess what difference, if any, the officials' presence actually made. The purpose, however, was to imply that the governments of Canada had to be watched, and that the international community had an important role to play in the resolution of domestic policy issues.

After the 1987 conference, Aboriginal organizations made a strategic decision to intensify their efforts at the international level.⁴² An important instance of this intensification, as well as of Aboriginal groups' forging of political solidarity, was witnessed in the Lubicon Indians' appeal to the U.N. in October, 1988, following the arrest of twenty-seven Lubicons at the Little Buffalo blockade in northern Alberta. Using its NGO status at E.C.O.S.O.C., the Grand Council of the Crees (G.C.C.) sent a telegram to the Secretary General of the U.N. requesting an investigation of alleged human rights abuses against the Lubicons. Chief Matthew Coon-Come of the G.C.C. explained that the appeal to the U.N. was warranted because of "the arbitrary arrest and forcible removal and imprisonment of Cree Indians, including children, their legal and technical advisers, and others from their Aboriginal territory". Coon-Come claimed that "the plight of the Lubicon people shows a consistent pattern of gross violations of their human rights and fundamental freedoms...They have been deprived of their means of subsistence, and their very survival is in question".⁴³

The allegations were levelled at a particularly interesting time—the week before Canada hoped to win a seat on the U.N. Security Council. The G.C.C.'s representative, Ted Moses, claimed that the imminent Security Council vote had nothing to do with the timing of the request for a U.N. investigation. Nevertheless, information packages detailing the allegations against the federal government were delivered to each of the 159 national delegations just before the vote.⁴⁴ In the end, the allegations did not prevent Canada from getting its seat. However, at the very least, the affair was embarrassing for the government.

Other embarrassments were to be visited upon the Canadian government by the Lubicons. For example, in May 1990, the U.N. Human Rights Committee wrote its longest judgment ever, in which it charged Canada with violating the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Committee referred to the "historical inequities" in Canada's treatment of the Lubicons, and held that "more recent developments threaten the way of life and culture of the Lubicon Lake Band and constitute a violation of section 27 of the Covenant."⁴⁵

This was not the last time Canada was to be scolded by the U.N. In the wake of the Oka crisis of 1990, the U.N. Human Rights Committee unanimously criticized Canada's record on native rights. In fact, the eighteen members of the Committee questioned Canada for two days on its conformity with the provisions of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which proclaims, among other things, the right of 'peoples' to self-determination.⁴⁶ This was followed by similar condemnations by other international bodies. Amnesty International, for example, found that the Mohawks had been mistreated by the Quebec police during the Oka crisis. The Paris-based International Human Rights Federation also prepared a report on the Oka situation. Its 200-page report criticized Canada for stopping food and medication from entering the Kahnawake reserve, for arresting many people under improper conditions, and for interfering with freedom of the press (as the army had limited the flow of information).⁴⁷ Both of these reports were submitted to the U.N. Human Rights Committee. A year after the crisis, Kenneth Deer, a Warrior Society spokesman, travelled to Geneva to request that the U.N. Human Rights Sub-Commission help in negotiating a settlement between the Mohawks and Canada.⁴⁸ Again, although the Sub-Commission did not intervene in any tangible fashion, the request was part of Canadian Aboriginal organizations' overall strategy of tarnishing the Canadian government's reputation vis-a-vis human rights abuses.

Apart from the high-profile Lubicon and Mohawk cases, a number of other Canadian First Nations have carried their struggles with the Canadian government to the U.N., using various clauses of several covenants. In 1986, for example, the Micmac Grand Council (M.G.C.) asked the U.N. Human Rights Committee to hear its complaint regarding the federal government's refusal to grant the Micmacs separate representation at the First Ministers' Conferences on Aboriginal Matters. The M.G.C. claimed that Ottawa's position that the Micmacs should be represented by the Assembly of First Nations was racist—that is, the Micmacs were being lumped together with other Indian nations for the purposes of negotiations with Ottawa, despite the fact that they are a unique linguistic and political entity. Thus, they argued that they had been denied the right to represent themselves under Article 25 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The Human Rights Committee in fact agreed to hear arguments on the point in August, 1990. Although to date the Committee has not reached a decision, Danny Christmas, the Micmac envoy, believed the case was important since "the decision [to hear it] will open doors to us, and will give us a right to represent ourselves directly in public and civil affairs".⁴⁹

One of the most interesting appeals to the U.N. followed the loss of Canada's largest legally contested Aboriginal title claim in the B.C. Supreme Court in March, 1991. In dismissing the claim of 48 Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs for ownership and political rights over 57,000 square kilometers of north-eastern B.C., Chief justice McEachern held that Aboriginal rights had been extinguished by general acts of the imperial, colonial, and provincial governments.⁵⁰ The decision was immediately denounced as racist by Aboriginal leaders across the country. However, the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (U.B.C.I.C.) went further, and passed a resolution to bring a complaint of "racism, denial of

human rights and conflict of interest against Chief Justice Allan McEachern and the injustice of the Canadian justice system before the United Nations Human Rights Commission".⁵¹ Saul Terry, the president of the U.B.C.I.C., said that the McEachern ruling, together with the federal government's insistence that land claims settlements entail extinguishment of Aboriginal rights, had led the Union to concentrate its efforts at the international level. To date, the U.N. Human Rights Commission has not announced whether it will hear the case. However, if it did agree, the message from the international community would be intriguing, to say the least. In effect, it would be implying that even the decisions of Canada's independent judiciary are subject to international review. We can therefore expect the Canadian government to mount a concerted effort to defeat such a decision.

Finally, the 1991 session of the U.N. Working Group on Indigenous Peoples in Geneva featured a number of controversial presentations by Canadian First Nations, which opened up "a Pandora's box full of domestic issues and exposed them to the merciless glare of the international spotlight".⁵² Several groups presented specific grievances to the W.G.I.P., including the Mohawks, who lobbied governments and NGOs to support their claim for status as an independent nation.⁵³

The most explosive issue, however, concerned the possible consequences of Quebec's separation from the Canadian federation. Algonquin Indians from western Quebec told the Working Group that separation would further erode the Algonquins' land and human rights, and called upon the federal government to abide by its legal duty to protect their rights. Claiming that "Quebec cannot separate without our consent", Chief Jean-Maurice Matchewan warned that the Algonquins could decide to form a separate sovereign nation if Quebec severs its links with Canada.⁵⁴ He claimed that Aboriginal title to Algonquin territory had been recognized and affirmed by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, though the federal government has not yet resolved their land claim. Matchewan hoped that international pressure would force the government of Canada to "face up to its responsibilities back home".⁵⁵

The Grand Council of the Crees of Quebec also raised the question of the James Bay hydroelectric project. For example, Dalee Sambo of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference told the Working Group that "Canadian natives have been exploited for centuries and ... Quebec's drive for independence and its expropriation of Aboriginal lands for the James Bay hydroelectric development are the latest manifestations of this attitude".⁵⁶ This argument was supported by the release a week earlier of a report prepared by two U.N. bodies (the Centre for Transnational Corporations and the Centre for Human Rights), which noted that the first phase of the James Bay project had interfered with migratory fish and birds, had increased pressure on traditional native food sources, and had induced many social stresses which were harmful to the Crees.⁵⁷

The Crees' position was supported by all of the Canadian Aboriginal groups present, each of which raised the separation issue independently. Bob Epstein, adviser to the G.C.C., claimed that the Canadian government had tried to suppress public discussion of the issue of Quebec separation:

The argument here with the federal authorities came up because they have never told the Indians in Quebec what their intentions are if Quebec separates. There's a kind of taboo on this entire subject. Even the media haven't been willing to look at it and it's not an oversight, it's a taboo. It raises questions which compare indigenous rights to self-determination with Quebec's right to self-determination. That's why it's taboo....[Canadian officials] wish to treat it as a domestic issue: I say this is not simply a domestic issue. It's an international issue.⁵⁸

Indeed, Canada's ambassador to the U.N., Gerald Shannon, did attempt to characterize the Aboriginal concerns as a domestic issue. It was not perceived as such, however, in Geneva. In fact, an ad hoc group of indigenous organizations from New Zealand, Australia, Mexico, Argentina, and Asia unanimously adopted a resolution which was presented to the Working Group. The resolution called for the U.N. to intervene "in regard to Quebec's threat to secede from Canada in a manner that violates the rights...of the indigenous peoples of Quebec".⁵⁹

It is difficult to comprehend Canada's position that Quebec's potential separation is a domestic issue. If Quebec separates to form an independent sovereign state, a host of international implications will arise. There will be questions concerning Quebec's recognition by other states, its admission to international organizations such as the U.N., its inclusion under the terms of international treaties and agreements (such as the Free Trade Agreement, the North American Free Trade Agreement, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade), not to mention the terms of Quebec's relations with Canada. Furthermore, separation (assuming Quebec's current boundaries) may mean that Aboriginal populations are cut adrift from Canada. In that event, Aboriginal peoples who do not wish to fall under the authority of an independent Quebec will either try themselves to separate from Fortress-Quebec, or will call upon the Canadian government to commit troops to protect them. Failing federal intervention, if Quebec does separate, Aboriginal lobbying at the international level will be seriously intensified as indigenous Canadians call upon the international community to intervene. If the Canadian government can characterize these matters as domestic rather than as serious international questions, it clearly does not understand the meaning of international relations.

OTHER INTERNATIONAL INSTRUMENTS

I.L.O. Convention 169

One of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples' most significant coups in the crafting of international standards regarding Aboriginal peoples involved the recent changes to the International Labour Organization's "Indigenous and Tribal Peoples Convention, 1989". In 1957, the I.L.O. had passed Convention 107 (the Indigenous and Tribal Populations Convention). However, in 1977 the W.C.I.P. criticized the Convention's assimilationist approach which promoted the integration of indigenous peoples within nation-states. In 1980, the I.L.O. set

up an experts' meeting to revise 107, and invited the World Council to participate. This resulted eventually in Convention 169 (June, 1989), which removes the integration clause, and urges governments to promote the social, economic and cultural rights of indigenous and tribal peoples. In particular, governments should recognize indigenous peoples' rights to ownership of traditional lands and natural resources; representation in political institutions (including their own); and to adequate employment, training, education and social services.

Unfortunately, from indigenous peoples' point of view, Convention 169 suffers from a number of significant shortcomings. In particular, it does not address the right to self-determination. Indeed, Article 1 qualifies the use of the term "peoples", which "shall not be construed as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law". In fact, the idea of self-determination normally attaches to the term "peoples" in international law. Thus, by including this qualifying clause the I.L.O. has deliberately shied away from the controversial question of self-determination for indigenous peoples, all of whom live within the boundaries of wider nation-states.

The main problem with Convention 169, however, is the absence of enforcement mechanisms. Like other international conventions in the area of indigenous rights, it fails to provide for penalties against signatories which do not live up to its letter or spirit. Indeed, thus far, it has only been ratified by five countries,⁶⁰ and although that is enough to make it "binding" on signatories, it is not clear precisely to what those states are now bound. It is worth noting, nevertheless, that Canada has not ratified the convention. Thus far, the government's response has consisted of a claim that it will engage in consultations with Aboriginal organizations, though there is as yet no evidence of its having done so. Yet even if the Government of Canada did decide to ratify the convention, as is generally the case with I.L.O. conventions, it would only be obliged to present an annual report to the I.L.O. It would not be obliged by international law to follow any particular policy with regard to Aboriginal peoples' political, legal, economic, or land rights.

The Organization of American States

The World Council of Indigenous Peoples has recently been instrumental in pressuring the Organization of American States (which Canada joined in 1990) to develop a code of human rights regarding indigenous peoples through the Washington, D.C.-based Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (I.A.C.H.R.). In October, 1991, following consultations with indigenous organizations, government representatives, and experts, the I.A.C.H.R. approved a methodology for the preparation of a juridical instrument on indigenous rights. A questionnaire was sent to the governments of member states, as well as to organizations representing "Indian populations" such as the Inter-American Parliament and the W.C.I.P.⁶¹

The I.A.C.H.R.'s questionnaire asks governments and NGOs whether general human rights guarantees should include specific references to "Indian peo-

ples".⁶² The second section of the questionnaire is geared more specifically towards the rights of "indigenous peoples as collective subjects". The range of possible rights is very broad and includes indigenous peoples' rights to autonomous economic, political, religious, cultural, and educational development.⁶³

The W.C.I.P.'s response to the O.A.S. questionnaire has been to welcome the initiative, although it is concerned that the proposed instrument makes no mention of requiring that states which are party to it "take legislative or other measures to ensure the effective implementation of the rights contained in the instrument". In addition, the W.C.I.P. notes with dissatisfaction the absence of discussion dealing with the relationship between indigenous peoples and their territories. The instrument is also silent on indigenous peoples' right to develop their own political and judicial institutions, quite apart from their right to participate in national institutions.⁶⁴

These objections, however, may in the end be moot. The proposed instrument is at the earliest stages of discussion, with the I.A.C.H.R. expecting to prepare a preliminary draft juridical instrument to be discussed and then revised at the 84th session of the I.A.C.H.R. in September, 1993. However, the process of consultation and revision could take several years, after which the eventual draft will be referred to the Permanent Council and the General Assembly, and then to the Committee on Juridical and Political Affairs. The latter may in turn form a working group, which could take several more years to produce final recommendations which ultimately will have to be adopted by the Permanent Council and the General Assembly. In this lengthy process and the political wrangling which it will entail, it is unlikely that the indigenous organizations' objections will be met. Moreover, the O.A.S. is an organization of governments, few of which are likely to voluntarily tie their own policy hands with requirements for legislation or enforcement mechanisms to ensure their compliance with the instrument. Thus, the O.A.S. instrument (like I.L.O. Convention 169 and the U.N. Draft Declaration) is not likely to be a legally binding document supported by the threat of sanctions against offending states.

The European Community

The internationalization of Aboriginal affairs in recent years has also implicated the European Community (E.C.). Although a full survey of activities on this front is beyond the scope of this paper, suffice it to say here that Canadian Aboriginal organizations and First Nations have lobbied the European Community over a variety of issues. As mentioned above, this occurred in the battle against the anti-sealing and anti-fur measures taken by the E.C. in the 1980s. In addition, First Nations such as the Mohawks and several B.C. Indian bands have also attempted to involve the European Parliament in their struggles against the Canadian government.⁶⁵ More recently, the Assembly of First Nations (A.F.N.) has called upon the European Parliament to support "our efforts to bring Canada's conduct into conformity with its own constitution and with the international rule of law".⁶⁶ In its submission to the European Parliament, the A.F.N. accuses the Government of Canada of violating fundamental human rights as expressed in

the U.N. International Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, which state that:

All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development...In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The submission notes that "[the] government of Canada has consistently refused to admit that we are 'peoples' or that the terms of these Covenants apply to us".⁶⁷ It goes on to compare the situation of Canada's Aboriginal peoples with situations in Europe, and thus locates the former within a broader international context:

In Europe we know that you too are facing these serious questions. As the European Community approaches 1992, the question of peoples and their relationship to the wider collective interests of the community will have to be dealt with. Today, in Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union, the dramatic consequences of not recognizing peoples' right of self determination are now being felt. Although there are certain aspects of the Canadian situation that are unique, the reality is that our struggle for sovereignty and self determination cannot be isolated from wider events that are unfolding across the globe.⁶⁸

Although the submission does not specify the kinds of supportive actions the A.F.N. would like to see from the European Parliament, its significance lies in its characterization of Canada-First Nations relations as an appropriate matter for international attention and action. The submission is also illustrative of the A.F.N.'s reliance on the authority of international instruments which "show that the world community is recognizing our right of self determination".⁶⁹

INTERNATIONALIZATION OF RESOURCE DISPUTES

As mentioned above, a number of Canadian Aboriginal groups have been directly affected, either by foreign corporations extracting natural resources from their traditional territories, or by domestic corporations producing for foreign markets. The Lubicons of northern Alberta are an example of the former, and are currently engaged in a dispute with a Japanese pulp and paper company (Daishowa) which intends to pursue a logging option to feed its mills in the region. An example of the latter is the Crees and Inuit of the James Bay region in northern Quebec. In such cases, the internationalization option can be a strong one, particularly where Canadian governments (federal and/or provincial) refuse to intervene to protect traditional territories. In the James Bay case, the hydroelectric project is the cornerstone of the province's economic development strategy, and is being implemented by a provincial Crown corporation, Hydro-Quebec. In that case, the Crees shifted their struggle against the province to the international level as they began to lobby the American energy markets directly.

THE JAMES BAY INTERNATIONAL LOBBY

The James Bay Crees have been fighting Hydro-Quebec's plans to construct the second phase of the James Bay hydroelectric project for several years. The Crees argue that the flooding of the Great Whale area of northern Quebec will be detrimental to the environment, as well as to the lives of 12,000 Crees and 6,000 Inuit who live in the James Bay region. Over the years, the Crees have launched numerous court cases against Hydro-Quebec and the Quebec government to compel the province and the federal government to conduct a complete environmental assessment of the project.

It was not until the lobby focussed on the United States, however, that the struggle over Great Whale escalated to a hot war of words between Hydro-Quebec and the Bourassa government, pitted against Aboriginal groups and environmentalists. Through a sophisticated public relations strategy featuring the use of newspaper advertisements⁷⁰ and direct lobbying of American state legislatures and politicians, the Crees managed to win over many allies in the United States. Some Americans expressed concern, not just about the environmental impacts of the largest energy project in North America, but also about the potential destruction of the ways of life of the Crees and the Inuit of the region. Although spatial limitations prohibit an in-depth analysis of the campaign (and Hydro-Quebec's expensive counter-campaign), a couple of salient events contributed to the suspension of the project until 1994.

After an extensive campaign by the Crees and their American allies, the residents of Burlington, Vermont, voted against buying 15 megawatts of power from Quebec,⁷¹ and finally, in March 1992, Governor Mario Cuomo of New York State announced the cancellation of a \$17 billion contract to purchase Quebec power.⁷² While Cuomo himself explained the decision in economic terms (saying that New York no longer needed the power as conservation measures had reduced the demand for electricity, while American power companies had increased the supply), political considerations undoubtedly influenced the decision. In fact, two weeks before, a large majority of New York State legislators had voted to conduct an independent environmental assessment of the project. Needless to say, it is highly unusual for a U.S. government to conduct an environmental review of a resource project in a foreign country, particularly when the U.S. state would have benefitted from the exploitation of another country's resources. The vote was clearly inspired then, by the power of the Crees' publicity campaign within the United States.

Ultimately, whether cancellation of the contract was based on purely economic considerations or not, the Crees' focus on the market for Quebec hydroelectric power, rather than on the domestic political and legal process, marked the turning point in the campaign. More than anything, buyers need to be assured of security of supply, so that Aboriginal groups' threats of civil disruption would enter the political calculus of economic decisions. To this extent, the internationalization of Aboriginal affairs can be effective, since in the James Bay case, other international actors were successfully persuaded that they had an ecological and political stake in the outcome, which superseded the economic considerations.

CANADA'S RESPONSE TO THE INTERNATIONALIZATION OF ABORIGINAL AFFAIRS

This paper has described the wide range of activities and the array of international forums in which Canadian Aboriginal organizations and tribal groups have become involved in recent years. However, in view of the fact that few of these activities have produced tangible policy results, it may appear that the government of Canada has nothing to worry about: the internationalization of Aboriginal affairs may produce symbolic exhortations, but as they are not backed by punitive sanctions, they are unlikely to change the course of domestic public policy.

In fact, however, the government of Canada takes the internationalization of Aboriginal politics very seriously. Typically, the government responds to Aboriginal lobbying efforts in Europe and the United Nations by dispatching senior officials to conduct counter-campaigns. For example, as a result of the Lubicon lobby of Europe, Joe Clark (then Minister of External Affairs) sent briefs to Canadian embassies around the world which claimed that the Lubicons were not in fact impoverished, and that they were receiving the full range of services due to all Canadians.⁷³

Similarly, after the Oka crisis, two senior federal officials (Denis Marantz of External Affairs and Catherine Chalupa of Indian Affairs) were sent on a tour of twelve European cities, ostensibly to brief Canadian diplomats and their local staffs on Aboriginal affairs in general, and the Oka situation in particular. The Minister of Indian Affairs, Tom Siddon, claimed that the trip was designed to present a fairer and more accurate account of the crisis than that which had been presented to audiences in the United States and Europe. Siddon felt it was "important to Canada, with its proud international reputation as a world leader in respect to human rights, a nation which has worked diligently to reduce abuses with respect to human rights within repressive countries in other parts of the world, that our record should be clean and well understood".⁷⁴ These efforts are sometimes successful: after the Canadian government made representations to the European Parliament following its condemnatory resolution of September 1990 regarding Canada's treatment of the Mohawks, the European Parliament withdrew the resolution.

As for the United Nations, following Aboriginal organizations' decision to raise the international profile of Aboriginal rights after the failure of the 1987 First Ministers Conference, the Prime Minister's Office sent an Assistant Secretary to the Cabinet to Geneva to counter Indian proposals to include self-determination in the Working Group's draft declaration on the rights of indigenous populations.⁷⁵ Since then the government of Canada has sent observers to each summer session of the Working Group.

Senior officials claim that the government supports and encourages Aboriginal groups' use of international institutions and the cultivation of linkages with other indigenous peoples, because the government hopes that they will become aware that indigenous peoples elsewhere are in much worse situations. However, Aboriginal leaders contest the claim that the government supports their interna-

tional efforts: on the contrary, they believe that the government does everything it can to thwart them. On the one hand, it is true that Canada encourages many Aboriginal groups to participate in the Working Group sessions in Geneva, but this is seen as a divide-and-rule tactic: the more diverse the Aboriginal views the better, since the government of Canada has only one view.⁷⁶ On the other hand, the Canadian government has been determined to defeat Aboriginal aspirations in the drafting of covenants and declarations.

At an international human rights conference in Banff in the fall of 1990, Ovide Mercredi (then vice-chief of the A.F.N.) claimed that internationally, "people from External Affairs are doing whatever they can to subvert our collective human rights as distinct peoples".⁷⁷ In particular, A.F.N. leaders cite Canada's role in the development of I.L.O. Convention 169 and in the Working Group's draft declaration. In an address to the Human Rights Institute of Canada Annual Meeting in 1990, Konrad Sioui (then Quebec and Labrador Regional Chief, and now head of the A.F.N.'s new international office) situated the Canadian government's actions in the broad context of growing international concern with the idea of self-determination. His comments are worth quoting at length:

The events in Quebec and in Canada are being played out against a backdrop of an international movement to recognize the self-determination rights of Aboriginal peoples that is taking place at the United Nations. ... some governments are being dragged along kicking and screaming. One of the key governments which is vigorously resisting progress is, sad to say, that of Canada....

[In] Canada indigenous peoples are being denied the exercise of our right to self-determination. We are told by the federal government that we do not qualify as "peoples" in international law because we would then have a right to secede and break up Canada! And that is a "no-no"! ... It was for that reason that Canada fought tooth and nail at the ILO to ensure that we were described as indigenous "populations" and not as indigenous "peoples". ...

So—we are not allowed to talk the language of self-determination because it could import a right to total sovereignty and to separate from Canada. But we were at the FMC between 1983 and 1987 trying to negotiate our way into the Canadian Confederation not out of it! ... Never mind the Canadian Constitution describes us as "Aboriginal peoples". We must not be peoples for international purposes... Finally, the ILO agreed to describe us as peoples, but with the qualification that it will not be interpreted "as having any implications as regards the rights which may attach to the term under international law".

And so we have an odd situation. All peoples have the right to self-determination; but not the indigenous or tribal peoples in independent countries with which the ILO convention is concerned. In other words, the ILO, largely through the efforts of Canada, has, by way of Convention 169, denied us the right to self-determination which we have under general international law! ...

... Canada is party to well over 25 major international instruments in the area of human rights. Canada has a very, very, very good record of negotiating, signing and ratifying human rights conventions at the United Nations or at the ILO—and then ignoring or violating those commitments.

How is it possible for Canada to preach international morality? How is it possible for Canada to set up an International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development? Who are we fooling?⁷⁸

The latter point is perhaps the key to Canada's concern with the international lobbying efforts of Aboriginal organizations. The promotion of respect for human rights and the rule of law has been a central tenet of Canadian foreign policy since the Second World War. Canada can hardly continue to present itself as the guardian of international morality when it is continually accused of violating the human rights of its Aboriginal citizens and of disregarding international covenants which it has itself ratified. Thus, we can expect Aboriginal attempts to besmirch Canada's reputation to be met with counter-initiatives by the Canadian government.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper has shown that Canada's Aboriginal peoples have internationalized Aboriginal affairs in recent years on a number of fronts. They have fashioned alliances with other indigenous peoples to create networks of mutual support, and they have forged relationships with international organizations. Through those relationships they have been able to participate in the drafting of standards on indigenous peoples' rights. In some cases they have been able to persuade international agencies and NGOs to censure Canada for alleged violations of international human rights codes. In addition, some tribal groups have successfully enrolled foreign governments and citizens in their struggles against environmentally damaging resource developments.

The underlying message of all of these actions is that the resolution of Aboriginal peoples' claims can no longer be characterized as a purely domestic policy issue. Once sequestered within the narrow boundaries of the nation-state, Aboriginal issues are now perceived as being transcendent and global. The new internationalization of Aboriginal politics suggests that external actors have the capacity, the right, and even the duty (in some circumstances) to intervene in domestic politics. This goes far beyond a mere recognition of the interconnectedness of social, political, and economic issues in the modern world. It suggests that domestic public policy is no longer the exclusive preserve of national governments. Aboriginal peoples are challenging national sovereignty in two senses: first, political lobbying at the international level questions the general authority of national governments to shape public policy without reference to moral and political norms crafted by the international community; and second, it specifically challenges the Canadian government's *de jure* jurisdiction over Aboriginal matters.

Yet even if the internationalization of Aboriginal affairs represents a sort of psychic disarmament of national prerogative, what of the practical results of international politicking? The foregoing analysis has shown that (apart from the obvious problems of scarce resources) in the international arena Aboriginal peoples face a number of formidable constraints. First, the pre-established

networks of international organizations and the hierarchical structures within them determine both the choice of instruments available to indigenous peoples and the pace at which instruments can be adopted. Indigenous peoples must attempt to squeeze their collective claims to territorial, economic, cultural, and self-determination rights into discourses about general human rights and individualistic fundamental freedoms. Further, the bureaucratic structures of international organizations with their layers of commissions and sub-commissions, laborious processes, and delicate protocols can frustrate indigenous peoples' efforts to sculpt effective instruments in a timely fashion. The time-span from initial participation to the drafting of an instrument to its final ratification is normally measured not in years, but in decades.

Second, indigenous representatives do not control the agendas of international organizations such as the U.N., the E.C. and the O.A.S. The members of those organizations are governments, with NGOs playing important but subordinate roles. As the numbers of participants and formal stages in the process increase, there will be multiple opportunities for resistance on the part of those who would deny indigenous peoples' far-reaching claims. In particular, governments which have not settled the claims of their own indigenous populations are unlikely to support the adoption of enforceable standards which would oblige them to do so. After negotiating their way through the myriad procedural and political obstacles, Aboriginal peoples' efforts are rewarded with international covenants and declarations which are exhortatory rather than legally enforceable. Hence, the efficacy of these efforts must be measured largely in symbolic terms. Neither international organizations nor foreign governments can force the government of Canada to effect any given domestic policy. Moreover, even if Canada is found to be in violation of the terms of international covenants or other instruments, it is highly unlikely that bodies like the United Nations will impose economic, military, or other sanctions on Canada for its treatment of Aboriginal peoples.

Clearly, instruments such as the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and the I.L.O.'s Convention 169 cannot be measured in terms of their positive impacts on domestic policies. As they are not fortified by the threat of sanctions against offending states, they are merely hortatory solicitations to good behaviour on the part of signatories. This means that Canada can continue ad infinitum to have its knuckles rapped by Human Rights Commissions to cries of 'shame', without ever being compelled by international law (backed by coercive force) to settle the political and territorial claims of Aboriginal nations. The importance of such instruments therefore lies in their potential to create moral thorns in the Canadian government's side.

Yet despite the limitations, these international instruments cannot be dismissed as mere terms of endearment for the dispossessed. They are armaments in the struggle to legitimize Aboriginal claims, and as such may contribute to the creation of a propitious international climate in which Aboriginal rights can be advanced. Moreover, their provisions are invoked for domestic consumption, and they give muscle to arguments that Aboriginal claims are considered just and valid elsewhere in the world. At the very least, for indigenous peoples it is better to have them than not to have them. If international human rights codes are going

to be developed anyway, indigenous peoples must participate in the process to ensure that their particular rights and interests are not overlooked. Therefore, even if they do not yield immediate pay-offs in terms of policy changes at the state level, international instruments shift the discourse of indigenous rights to a higher plane, beyond the parochial interests of nation-states.

Furthermore, it is important to remember that the internationalization of Aboriginal affairs refers to only one dimension of Aboriginal politics. Obviously, native politics are waged on parallel fronts, and it is quite probable that the international efforts complement endeavors on the domestic front. For example, the federal and provincial governments' willingness to enshrine an "inherent" right to self-government for Aboriginal peoples in the (failed) Charlottetown Accord of October 1992 was undoubtedly fortified by the growing international recognition of the special needs and rights of indigenous peoples. International declarations can certainly be called up in support of Aboriginal peoples' domestic territorial and political claims.

Curiously, while all the authority of the concert of nations in international human rights codes fails to produce enforceable standards, single foreign governments or corporations do have the power to affect domestic public policy directly. In the James Bay case, for example, New York State's cancellation of the hydro contract suggested that the withdrawal of trade can be an effective inducement for or deterrent from certain public policies. The reason for this is that real consequences attach to these decisions, whereas the consequences which adhere to accusations of human rights violations are far less palpable. Moreover, the James Bay case represents a particularly important example of the power of direct lobbying when Aboriginal and ecological interests coincide rather than collide. The cases suggests that international politicking will be more effective when external actors can be enrolled as direct stakeholders in specific Aboriginal disputes with Canadian governments.

Finally, following the failure of the Charlottetown Accord in 1992, Canadian Aboriginal organizations such as the Assembly of First Nations and the Native Council of Canada announced that they would be stepping up their efforts at the international level. They hope to put pressure on the federal and provincial governments to proceed with the self-government package separately. The strategy is to draw international attention to Canada's failure to settle the legitimate demands of Aboriginal peoples and hence to defrock Canada and its image as knight-errant of human rights around the globe. As Russel Barsh has observed:

Other countries are going to question the trustworthiness of the Canadian government and its sincerity on matters which are fundamental to western interests now, such as the promotion of human rights and democratization in the world. You can't be part of a regional movement to advance democracy and fair play in the world if you are viewed by other western countries as part of the problem.

We can therefore expect increased activity in the international arena as the twenty-first century approaches and as Canadian Aboriginal peoples' political and territorial aspirations remain unresolved.⁷⁹

ENDNOTES

* I would like to thank Daiva Stasiulis and Lise Magee for their insightful critiques of an earlier draft of this paper. Thanks are due also to the anonymous reviewers for this journal.

The anti-fur lobby's European campaign and the Aboriginal counter-campaign are analyzed in R. Jhappan, "Animal Rights versus Aboriginal Rights: Canada's Aboriginal Peoples and the European Community", in G. MacMillan, Ed., *Canada and the European Community*, (University of Calgary Press, 1993), forthcoming.

¹ I am using the term "minority" here in the qualitative rather than the quantitative sense. In the case of aboriginal peoples, in some countries in Latin America, for example, they constitute a numerical majority, though in terms of political and other rights, they have the status of a subordinated minority.

² Douglas E. Sanders, *The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples*, (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs Document 29, Copenhagen, 1977), p. 5.

³ This idea of the nation-to-nation characteristic of the relationship between indigenous peoples and the colonizing Europeans enjoys a long history in U.S. jurisprudence, and has recently been recognized by the Supreme Court of Canada in the *Sioui* case: "The Indian nations were regarded in their relations with the European nations which occupied North America as independent nations. The papers of Sir William Johnson, who was in charge of Indian Affairs in British North America, demonstrate the recognition by Great Britain that nation-to-nation relations had to be conducted with the North American Indians" (*R. v. Sioui*, S.C.C., 24 May, 1990, at pp. 29-30).

⁴ Unfortunately, the British authorities took the position that confederation and section 91(24) of the British North America Act of 1867 had transferred responsibility for "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians" to the Canadian federal government, and thus referred the Indians back to Canada. For descriptions of these and other missions, see Forest LaViolette, *The Struggle for Survival: Indian Cultures and the Protestant Ethic in British Columbia*, (University of Toronto Press, 1973); and E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada*, (University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1986).

⁵ Sanders, *op. cit.*, p. 7. For a history of Nisga'a political strategies, see Daniel S. Raunet, *Without Surrender, Without Consent: A History of the Nishga Land Claims*, (Douglas and McIntyre, Vancouver, 1984).

⁶ The London lobby is discussed in R. Jhappan, "Indian Symbolic Politics: the Double-Edged Sword of Publicity", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XII, No. 3, 1990: 19-39. See also M. Woodward and Bruce George, "The Canadian Indian Lobby of Westminster: 1978-82", *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Fall 1983; and Douglas E. Sanders, "The Indian Lobby", in K. Banting and R. Simeon, *And No-one Cheered: Federalism, Democracy and the Constitution Act*, (Methuen, Toronto, 1983).

⁷ "Report of the National Indian Brotherhood's Tour of New Zealand and Australia", (National Indian Brotherhood, Ottawa, 1971), p. 26.

⁸ Sanders, "The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples", *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

- ¹¹ Rodrigo Contreras, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, interviewed in Ottawa, May 11th, 1992.
- ¹² "Strengthening the Spirit: Beyond 500 Years", (Report on the "Indigenous Nations of the Americas International Conference, November 10-14, 1991, Ottawa-Hull, Canada", Assembly of First Nations, 1992), p. 7. The conference was organized by seven Canadian national Aboriginal organizations: the Assembly of First Nations, the Native Council of Canada, the Metis National Council, the Native Women's Association of Canada, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, the National Association of Friendship Centres, and the Indian and Inuit Nurses of Canada.
- ¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 11.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11. These instruments are analyzed later in this paper.
- ¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- ¹⁸ Quoted in Andre Picard, "Union of Indigenous People Urged", *Globe and Mail*, November 14, 1991.
- ¹⁹ *Ibid.*
- ²⁰ "Strengthening the Spirit, *op. cit.*, p. 42.
- ²¹ J.R. Ponting, "Internationalization: Perspectives on an Emerging Direction in Aboriginal Affairs", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XXII, No.3, 1990, p. 87.
- ²² *Ibid.*, p. 87.
- ²³ This section is based on a theme arising from my doctoral dissertation. See C. Radha Jhappan, "The Language of Empowerment: Symbolic Politics and Indian Political Discourse in Canada", (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of British Columbia, July, 1990). UN activities are also discussed briefly in C. Radha Jhappan, "Indian Symbolic Politics: The Double-Edged Sword of Publicity", *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, Vol. XXII, No. 3, 1990: 19-39.
- ²⁴ Sanders, "The Formation of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples", (International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs, document 29, Copenhagen, August, 1977), p. 25.
- ²⁵ The covenants are: the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights.
- ²⁶ Ponting, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
- ²⁷ E.C.O.S.O.C. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1986/7 and Add. 1-5.
- ²⁸ "Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples: Report of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on its ninth session", (Commission on Human Rights, Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, forty-third session, E.C.O.S.O.C. document E/CN.4/Sub.2/1991/40/Rev.1, 3 October 1991), p. 1.
- ²⁹ Almost a dozen Canadian First Nations or organizations attended the session, including the Assembly of First Nations, the Mohawk Nation, the Micmac Grand Council, Treaty Six Chiefs, the Algonquins of Barriere Lake, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, and the Cree Regional Youth Council.
- ³⁰ These included groups such as Amnesty International, Anti-Slavery International, International Commission of Jurists, World University Service, World Council of Churches, Human Rights Internet, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, International Scholars for Indigenous Americans, Papuan Peoples Foundation,

the Holy See, the Greenland Home Rule Government, the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Commission, and many others.

³¹ "Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples: Report of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on its ninth session", *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁵ Indeed, in an interview with the author, a senior official at External Affairs (who preferred to remain anonymous) said: "I can't understand why the Indians think we'll give them self-determination in the declaration when we won't give it to them in the Canadian constitution".

³⁶ The U.N. General Assembly proclaimed the International Year in resolution 45/164 of 18/December/1990.

³⁷ "Discrimination Against Indigenous Peoples: Report of the Working Group on Indigenous Populations on its ninth session", *op.cit.*, p. 11. There is some confusion on this point: in an interview with the author, a senior federal official claimed that the Canadian Aboriginal organizations had agreed with the Government of Canada that the declaration should be kept in the Working Group, though spokespersons from those organizations say that their position is that it is time to complete the draft and get on with the process of ratification.

³⁸ Rodrigo Contreras, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, interviewed in Ottawa, May 11th, 1992.

³⁹ *Haada Laas: Journal of the Haida Nation*, Vol. II, No. 2, February, 1986, p. 5.

⁴⁰ The federal government, as noted above, has responsibility for "Indians and lands reserved for the Indians" under s.91(24) of the *British North America Act* (1867), and various legal decisions have held that the Government of Canada has a fiduciary or 'trust-like' responsibility towards the Indians so that it must act in their best interests. See, for example, *Guerin v. the Queen*, [1984] 6 W.W.R. 481.

⁴¹ Quoted in *The Globe and Mail*, March 21, 1987, p. A3.

⁴² See *The Winnipeg Free Press*, April 6, 1987, p. 11.

⁴³ Quoted in *The Vancouver Sun*, October 22, 1988, p. A2. The Lubicon received significant international support for their cause, and a coalition of North American Indian Support Groups resolved at a meeting in Munich, Germany, in the summer of 1991 to send representatives to Alberta to support the Lubicon's land claim and attempt to assert jurisdiction. See *The Edmonton Sun*, August 1, 1990.

⁴⁴ *The Montreal Gazette*, October 22, 1988, p. A.10.

⁴⁵ *Kainai News*, May 24, 1990.

⁴⁶ *The Montreal Gazette*, October 25, 1990, p. A1.

⁴⁷ *Canadian News Facts*, July 1-15, 1991, p. 4408.

⁴⁸ "Warrior wants UN mediation in talks", *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 8, 1991, p. A5.

⁴⁹ *Halifax Chronicle Herald*, August 28, 1990.

⁵⁰ The case is analyzed in R. Jhappan, "Using the System: Indians, the Courts, and the New Discourse of Aboriginal Rights in Canada", *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 1, 1991: 60-100.

⁵¹ Scott Simpson, "B.C. Indian chiefs decide to carry land fight to UN", *The Vancouver Sun*, April 15, 1991, p. A9.

- ⁵² "Quebec separatism threatens our land claims, natives tell UN forum", *The Montreal Gazette*, August 4, 1991, p. A7.
- ⁵³ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁴ *Canadian Press*, August 29, 1991.
- ⁵⁵ Chief Jean-Maurice Matchewan, interviewed by C.B.C. Radio News, July 31, 1991.
- ⁵⁶ *The Ottawa Letter*, Vol. XX, No. 31, August 6, 1991, p. 261.
- ⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p.262. Quebec's Minister of Native Affairs, Christos Sirros, decried the study as "one-sided" and "alarmist", noting that the Cree population has doubled, and that an income security program enables many Cree hunters and trappers to continue their traditional lifestyles.
- ⁵⁸ Bob Epstein, quoted in *The Montreal Gazette*, August 4, 1991, p. A7.
- ⁵⁹ "Protect natives' rights in Quebec, UN is urged", *The Montreal Gazette*, August 2, 1991, p. A4.
- ⁶⁰ They are Norway, Mexico, Columbia, Bolivia, and Argentina. The Convention has been in force since September, 1991.
- ⁶¹ "Proposal on the Method for Preparing the Juridical Instrument Relative to Human Rights of Indian People", (Organization of American States: Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, Washington, D.C., document 15, OEA/Ser.L/V/II.80, 23 September, 1991)
- ⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 2-4. The general guarantees include: integrity of the person; the proscription of slavery; personal liberty and security; legal guarantees; prohibition of cruel or degrading punishment or treatment; freedom of conscience and religion; freedom of thought and expression; the rights of assembly, to a name, to freedom of movement and residence, to private property, to nationality, to run for public office, equality under the law, and the equal protection of the law; and social, economic and cultural rights (such as the right to work, health, social security, food, education etc.).
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ⁶⁵ These activities, especially lobbying on the sealing and fur issue, are the subject of a separate paper. See C. Radha Jhappan, "Furs, Fish and Forests: Canadian Aboriginal Peoples and the European Community", paper presented to an international conference on Canada and the European Community, University of Calgary, October 10-12th, 1991. The European Parliament was notably responsive to these lobbying efforts, even going so far as to pass a resolution condemning Canada's treatment of Aboriginal peoples in September 1990, following the armed confrontation at Oka, Quebec.
- ⁶⁶ "Submission to Members of the European Parliament: Sovereignty and Self-Determination for Indigenous Peoples in Canada", (Assembly of First Nations, Ottawa, January 16th, 1991), p. 5.
- ⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 1.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
- ⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- ⁷⁰ A good example of the press campaign was an advertisement which appeared in the *New York Times* in October, 1991. The ad was entitled "Catastrophe at James Bay", and claimed that the project would destroy a wilderness the size of France, shatter the culture of the Crees and Inuit, and "produce an ecological catastrophe on a scale with the devastation of the Amazon". The Quebec government reacted strongly to the advertise-

ment, claiming it was an insult to Quebec. See *The Globe and Mail*, October 23, 1991, p. A5.

⁷¹ *Canadian Press*, October 9, 1991.

⁷² See Barry Came, "New York blackout: Cuomo cancels a contract with Hydro Quebec", *Maclean's*, April 6, 1992, p. 17.

⁷³ *The Vancouver Sun*, January 22, 1988, p. A6.

⁷⁴ *The Toronto Star*, February 20, 1991, p. A6.

⁷⁵ *The Calgary Herald*, August 1, 1987, p. A7.

⁷⁶ Rodrigo Contreras, World Council of Indigenous Peoples, interviewed in Ottawa, May 11th, 1992.

⁷⁷ Quoted in *The Toronto Star*, November 11, 1990, p. A22.

⁷⁸ Konrad Sioui, "Canadian Governments and Aboriginal Peoples", *The Humanist in Canada*, No. 96, Spring 1991, pp. 31-34.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Rob Mills, "Aboriginal policies said hurting Canada internationally", *The Halifax Chronicle Herald*, October 2, 1990, pp. A1-A2. Russel Barsh teaches Indian studies at the University of Washington in Seattle, and is international legal adviser to the Micmac Grand Council.

BIOGRAPHY

Radha Jhappan is an Assistant Professor of Political Science at Carleton University in Ottawa, where she teaches Canadian politics and constitutional law. She has published articles on Aboriginal politics in journals and edited volumes, and is currently producing a book on womens' equality rights and the Charter.

APPENDIX A

Draft universal declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples

A. PREAMBULAR AND OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS TO THE DRAFT DECLARATION AS SUBMITTED BY THE MEMBERS OF THE WORKING GROUP AT FIRST READING

1st Preambular Paragraph

Affirming that all indigenous peoples are free and equal in dignity and rights in accordance with international standards, while recognizing the right of all individuals and peoples to be different, to consider themselves different, and to be respected as such,

2nd Preambular Paragraph

Considering that all peoples contribute to the diversity and richness of civilizations and cultures, which constitute the common heritage of humankind,

3rd Preambular Paragraph

Convinced that all doctrines, policies and practices of racial, religious, ethnic or cultural superiority are scientifically false, legally invalid, morally condemnable and socially unjust,

4th Preambular Paragraph

Concerned that indigenous peoples have often been deprived of their human rights and fundamental freedoms, resulting in the dispossession of lands, territories and resources, as well as in poverty and marginalization,

5th Preambular Paragraph

Welcoming the fact that indigenous peoples are organizing themselves in order to bring an end to all forms of discrimination and oppression wherever they occur,

6th Preambular Paragraph

Recognizing the urgent need to promote and respect the rights and characteristics of indigenous peoples which stem from their history, philosophy, cultures, spiritual and other traditions, as well as from their political, economic and social structures, especially their rights to lands, territories and resources,

7th Preambular Paragraph

Reaffirming that indigenous peoples, in the exercise of their rights, should be free from adverse discrimination of any kind,

8th Preambular Paragraph

Endorsing efforts to consolidate and strengthen the societies, cultures and traditions of indigenous peoples, through their control over development affecting them on their lands, territories and resources,

9th Preambular Paragraph

Emphasizing the need for demilitarization of the lands and territories of indigenous peoples, which will contribute to peace, understanding and friendly relations among all peoples of the world,

10th Preambular Paragraph

Emphasizing the importance of giving special attention to the rights and needs of indigenous women, youth and children,

11th Preambular Paragraph

Recognizing in particular that it is in the best interest of indigenous children for their family and community to retain shared responsibility for the upbringing of the children,

12th Preambular Paragraph

Believing that indigenous peoples have the right freely to determine their relationships with the States in which they live, in a spirit of coexistence with other citizens,

13th Preambular Paragraph

Noting that the International Covenants on Human Rights affirm the funda-

mental importance of the right to self-determination, as well as the right of all human beings to pursue their material, cultural and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity,

14th Preambular Paragraph

Bearing in mind that nothing in this Declaration may be used as an excuse for denying to any people its right to self-determination,

15th Preambular Paragraph

Calling upon States to comply with and effectively implement all international instruments as they apply to indigenous peoples,

16th Preambular Paragraph

Solemnly proclaims the following Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples:

PART I

Operative paragraph 1

Indigenous peoples have the right to self-determination, in accordance with international law. By virtue of this right, they freely determine their relationship with the States in which they live, in a spirit of coexistence with other citizens, and freely pursue their economic, social, cultural and spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity.

Operative paragraph 2

Indigenous peoples have the right to the full and effective enjoyment of all of the human rights and fundamental freedoms which are recognized in the Charter of the United Nations and other international human rights instruments.

Operative paragraph 3

Indigenous peoples have the right to be free and equal to all other human beings and peoples in dignity and rights, and to be free from adverse distinction or discrimination of any kind based on their indigenous identity.

PART II

Operative paragraph 4

Indigenous peoples have the collective right to exist in peace and security as distinct peoples and to be protected against genocide, as well as the individual rights to life, physical and mental integrity, liberty and security of the person.

Operative paragraph 5

Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right to maintain and develop their distinct ethnic and cultural characteristics and identities, including the right to self-identification.

Operative paragraph 6

Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right to be protected from cultural genocide, including the prevention of and redress for:

- (a) any act which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as distinct societies, or of their cultural or ethnic characteristics or identities;
- (b) any form of forced assimilation or integration;
- (c) dispossession of their lands, territories or resources;
- (d) imposition of other cultures or ways of life; and
- (e) any propaganda directed against them.

Operative paragraph 7

Indigenous peoples have the right to revive and practise their cultural identity and traditions, including the right to maintain, develop and protect the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites and structures, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technology and works of art, as well as the right to the restitution of cultural, religious and spiritual property taken from them without their free and informed consent or in violation of their own laws.

Operative paragraph 8

Indigenous peoples have the right to manifest, practise and teach their own spiritual and religious traditions, customs and ceremonies; the right to maintain, protect, and have access in privacy to religious and cultural sites; the right to the use and control of ceremonial objects; and the right to the repatriation of human remains.

Operative paragraph 9

Indigenous peoples have the right to revive, use, develop, promote and transmit to future generations their own languages, writing systems and literature, and to designate and maintain the original names of communities, places and persons. States shall take measures to ensure that indigenous peoples can understand and be understood in political, legal and administrative proceedings, where necessary, through the provision of interpretation or by other effective means.

Operative paragraph 10

Indigenous peoples have the right to all forms of education, including access to education in their own languages, and the right to establish and control their own educational systems and institutions. Resources shall be provided by the State for these purposes.

Operative paragraph 11

Indigenous peoples have the right to have the dignity and diversity of their cultures, histories, traditions and aspirations reflected in all forms of education and public information. States shall take effective measures to eliminate prejudices and to foster tolerance, understanding and good relations.

Operative paragraph 12

Indigenous peoples have the right to the use of and access to all forms of mass media in their own languages. States shall take effective measures to this end.

Operative paragraph 13

Indigenous peoples have the right to adequate financial and technical assistance, from States and through international cooperation, to pursue freely their own economic, social and cultural development, and for the enjoyment of the rights contained in this Declaration.

Operative paragraph (to be numbered)

Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or individual any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act contrary to the Charter of the United Nations or to the Declaration of Principles of International Law on Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

PART III

Operative paragraph 14

Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain their distinctive and profound relationship with their lands, territories and resources, which include the total environment of the land, waters, air and sea, which they have traditionally occupied or otherwise used.

Operative paragraph 15

Indigenous peoples have the collective and individual right to own, control and use the lands and territories they have traditionally occupied or otherwise used. This includes the right to the full recognition of their own laws and customs, land-tenure systems and institutions for the management of resources, and the right to effective State measures to prevent any interference with or encroachment upon these rights.

Operative paragraph 16

Indigenous peoples have the right to the restitution or, to the extent this is not possible, to just and fair compensation for lands and territories which have been confiscated, occupied, used or damaged without their free and informed consent. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, compensation shall preferably take the form of lands and territories of quality, quantity and legal status at least equal to those which were lost.

Operative paragraph 17

Indigenous peoples have the right to the protection of their environment and productivity of their lands and territories, and the right to adequate assistance including international cooperation to this end. Unless otherwise freely agreed upon by the peoples concerned, military activities and the storage or disposal of hazardous materials shall not take place in their lands and territories.

Operative paragraph 18

Indigenous peoples have the right to special measures for protection, as intellectual property, of their traditional cultural manifestations, such as literature, designs, visual and performing arts, cultigens, medicines and knowledge of the useful properties of fauna and flora.

Operative paragraph (to be numbered)

In no case may any of the indigenous peoples be deprived of their means of subsistence.

B. OPERATIVE PARAGRAPHS AS REVISED BY THE CHAIRPERSON/
RAPPORTEUR PURSUANT TO SUB-COMMISSION RESOLUTION 1990/26

Draft operative paragraph 18

PART IV

"The right to maintain and develop within their areas of lands and other territories their traditional economic structures, institutions and ways of life, to be secure in the traditional economic structures and ways of life, to be secure in the enjoyment of their own traditional means of subsistence, and to engage freely in their traditional and other economic activities, including hunting, fresh- and salt-water fishing, herding, gathering, lumbering and cultivation, without adverse discrimination. In no case may an indigenous people be deprived of its means of subsistence. The right to just and fair compensation if they have been so deprived;"

Draft operative paragraph 19

"The right to special State measures for the immediate, effective and continuing improvement of their social and economic conditions, with their consent, that reflect their own priorities;"

Draft operative paragraph 20

"The right to determine, plan and implement all health, housing and other social and economic programmes affecting them, and as far as possible to develop, plan and implement such programmes through their own institutions;"

Draft operative paragraph 21

PART V

"The right to participate on an equal footing with all the other citizens and without adverse discrimination in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the State and to have their specific character duly reflected in the legal system and in political and socio-economic and cultural institutions, including in particular proper regard to and recognition of indigenous laws and customs."

Draft operative paragraph 22

"The right to participate fully at the State level, through representatives chosen by themselves, in decision-making about and implementation of all national and international matters which may affect their rights, life and destiny;"

"(b) The right of indigenous peoples to be involved, through appropriate procedures, determined in conjunction with them, in devising any laws or administrative measures that may affect them directly, and to obtain their free and informed consent through implementing such measures. States have the duty to guarantee the full exercise of these rights;"

Draft operative paragraph 23

"The collective right to autonomy in matters relating to their own internal and local affairs, including education, information, mass media, culture, religion, health, housing, social welfare, traditional and other economic management activities, land and resources administration and the environment, as well as internal taxation and financing for these autonomous functions;"

Draft operative paragraph 24

"The right to decide upon the structures of their autonomous institutions, to select the membership of such institutions according to their own procedures, and to determine the membership of the indigenous people concerned for these purposes; States have the duty, where the peoples concerned so desire, to recognize such institutions and their memberships through the legal systems and political institutions of the State;"

Draft operative paragraph 25

"The right to determine the responsibilities of individuals to their own community, consistent with universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms;"

Draft operative paragraph 26

"The right to maintain and develop traditional contacts, relations and cooperation, including cultural and social exchanges and trade, with their own kith and kin across State boundaries and the obligation of the State to adopt measures to facilitate such contacts;"

Draft operative paragraph 27

"The right to claim that States honour treaties and other agreements concluded with indigenous peoples, and to submit any disputes that may arise in this matter to competent national or international bodies;"

Draft operative paragraph 28

PART VI

"The individual and collective right to access to and prompt decision by

mutually acceptable and fair procedures for resolving conflicts or disputes and any infringement, public or private, between States and indigenous peoples, groups or individuals. These procedures should include, as appropriate, negotiations, mediation, arbitration, national courts and international and regional human rights review and complaints mechanisms;"

Draft operative paragraph 29

PART VII

"These rights constitute the minimum standards for the survival and the well-being of the indigenous peoples of the world;"

Draft operative paragraph 30

"Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or individual any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein."

OLIVE PATRICIA DICKASON, *CANADA'S FIRST NATIONS: A HISTORY OF FOUNDING PEOPLE'S FROM EARLIEST TIMES*. (TORONTO, MCCLELLAND AND STEWART, 1992).

HELEN BUCKLEY, *FROM WOODEN PLOUGHS TO WELFARE: WHY INDIAN POLICY FAILED IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES*. (MONTREAL AND KINGSTON, MCGILL-QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1992).

Two new books by Olive Dickason and Helen Buckley are valuable additions to the growing literature on Native people in Canada. Although written by specialists and conforming to academic standards, both studies are accessible to the general reader and address issues of broad social importance, especially in light of the current prominence of aboriginal concerns within Canadian politics.

Dickason's work is by far the more ambitious undertaking, since it attempts to trace the entire history of Native people in Canada from their first appearance on the continent to the Oka crisis of 1990 and the current constitutional negotiations. This is a big story and Dickason has produced a book of intimidating size which comes admirably close to achieving her objective. The immense variety within Native cultures, the crucial role played by native people in the evolution of Canadian society, the efforts of successive governments to bend Native people to their will, and the determined resistance of Natives against these assimilationist policies are themes developed lucidly and in considerable detail in this book.

One of the main strengths of the author is her ability to combine the large body of secondary literature which has recently appeared on various aspects of this topic with her own primary research. Those familiar with the area will recognize the contributions of scholars such as B. Trigger, C. Jaenen, A.J. Ray, R. Fisher and B. Titley to name but a few; and their insights are augmented by material culled from the author's own archival research. The result is an impressive work of synthesis, with over one hundred pages of references and bibliography. It will undoubtedly remain a valuable sourcebook for many years to come.

In discussing the pre-contact period, Dickason argues that the social structures and geographic locations of various groups had a significant impact on their post-contact experience. Thus the Iroquois and the Cree, experiences traders who occupied strategic locations, carved out lucrative roles for themselves in the fur

trade. The Beothuks of Newfoundland, by contrast, had little to offer the newcomers and were doomed to extinction. In dealing with the first centuries after contact Dickason seeks to correct the traditional view of Indians as simple pawns or passive victims overwhelmed by the European presence. Natives were active agents of their own destiny who pursued commercial and military alliances based on pragmatic self-interest. That the balance of power was not one-sided is demonstrated by the fact that it was the French and English who frequently had to conform to Indian practices and agenda in trade and warfare.

The great turning point in Indian-White relations in Canada, according to Dickason, was the War of 1812. This obviated the need for Indians as military allies and coincided with other developments such as the decline of the fur trade in eastern Canada, the switch to agriculture and growing immigration from the British Isles. All of these factors made Native people "obsolete" and prompted a major shift in attitude within the now dominant Euro-Canadian population. In the early nineteenth century colonial governments in eastern Canada, often in a piecemeal fashion, developed policies of assimilation based on the notions of racial, religious, and cultural superiority. This new approach was most coherently articulated in legislation passed in the province of Canada in the 1850s and was extended to the entire Dominion when the federal government assumed responsibility for Indian Affairs at Confederation.

Indian-White relations in the twentieth century, she argues, have been primarily shaped by the efforts of successive Canadian governments to see these policies through to their logical conclusion and the sustained resistance of Native people to the government's agenda. The effect of the first has been disastrous, she claims, since it consistently ignored the expressed desires of Native people and contributed directly to their demoralization and impoverishment. The growth of Indian organizations, the use of the courts, the emergence of first Nations as a political force and the increasing incidence of violent confrontations such as the Oka crisis are all evidence, in the author's mind, of Native peoples' struggle to preserve their culture and the right to control their own destiny. In her final chapter "On the Road to Self-Government," it is clear that she views this initiative as the appropriate solution to the plight of Native people in Canada.

Dickason's book is not without flaws and two immediately spring to mind. Having obviously invested considerable time in background research, she seems determined to include virtually everything. Thus the reader is often bogged down in unnecessary and sometimes confusing detail and the main thread of the story is lost. Her writing style is too often flat and turgid, rarely matching the passion and drama of the story she is telling. These caveats aside, however, *Canada's First Nations* is indispensable reading for anybody interested in the history of Native people in Canada.

Helen Buckley's book is narrower in scope but comes to strikingly similar conclusions. Focusing on the three Prairie provinces, she traces the evolution of the federal government's economic policy for reserves and analyses its impact on Indian people. Her unequivocal conclusion is that these policies have been expensive and tragic failures and have contributed directly to the crippling poverty and chronic welfare dependency which characterize most Native com-

munities today. The great irony is that this situation was clearly not the result desired by either party when the policies were first developed.

The stated objective of government policies devised in the 1870s was to transform nomadic Indians into sedentary farmers as a prelude to assimilating them into mainstream society. Native leaders, for their part, signed the treaties with the objective of achieving economic self-sufficiency and maintaining autonomy through agriculture: hence their concern with provisions relating to agricultural assistance during treaty negotiations. But while many bands demonstrated an immediate commitment to the new lifestyle and often surpassed their early white neighbours in proficiency, their efforts were gradually undermined by policies devised in Ottawa. The "peasant farming" policy stipulated by Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed limited reserve farmers to plots of forty acres at a time when white settlers were having difficulty surviving on quarter sections. Actively discouraged from using mechanical tools, Indians were also prohibited from mortgaging their land to finance expansion and were subjected to crippling interference in virtually every aspect of their lives by Indian agents and other officials. To sell their produce off reserve, for example, to purchase seed or even to leave the reserve for a day in order to effect a transaction, Indians were obliged to secure a permit from their local agent. At the same time, government officials began to rent reserve land to local White farmers and in the early twentieth century large parcels of Prairie reserves were alienated. Early successes were thereby stymied and the result, in Buckley's words was "the loss of agriculture as an economic base, the frustration for enterprising people, the discouragement and continuing poverty."

If the result of initial government policies was to foster dependence, even less foresight was demonstrated in the post-agricultural phase. Despite frequent commitments to promoting economic development on reserves, government initiatives have done little to break the cycle of welfare dependence. Instead of focusing on education and long-term development projects, millions of dollars have been wasted on ill-conceived manpower courses and short-term make-work schemes. When completed, most Indians returned to the welfare rolls. Even when viable projects were undertaken, continuing paternalism ensured that bands were still fettered by bureaucratic restrictions and frustrated by protracted negotiations. Perhaps the most revealing statistic offered in this study is the extent to which current federal spending supports welfare rather than economic development. In 1991-92 26.9% of Indian Affairs expenditure went to social assistance, while a meagre 3.9% was allocated for economic development.

Buckley's conclusion is that the current state of chronic welfare dependence will continue until the traditional paternalistic approach is abandoned. Pointing to early experiments in self-government, she argues that Indian control and responsibility is the only way to ensure viable, long-term economic development appropriate to the needs of reserve populations. By promoting a greater measure of economic self-sufficiency, she further argues that Native self-government would benefit the community at large by reducing the burden on ordinary taxpayers.

If there is a weakness in this fine study, it is its excessive one-sidedness.

Although government paternalism has clearly been the major factor contributing to Indian poverty, the culture of dependency at the personal level and mismanagement and corruption at the band level, have also been obstacles in the way of economic development. Once government paternalism is dispensed with, coping with those other pervasive problems to ensure an adequate standard of living for reserve dwellers will be the real challenge of self-government.

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The Journal of Indigenous Studies is a refereed semi-annual journal published by the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research. As a natural extension of the Institute's mandate to serve the goal of self-determination for Indigenous peoples, the journal provides the academic world with a voice on Indigenous issues which comes from the Indigenous community itself.

This journal is a forum through which Indigenous peoples can engage in academic discussions about issues which they feel are important and for academics to engage in a dialogue with Indigenous peoples over academic issues. We invite manuscripts from authors within and outside of Canada. Articles in English, French or an Indigenous language will be published with abstracts in either English or French and Cree Syllabics so that the members of the Gabriel Dumont Institute community can read the academic arguments in their own language.

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