

bass guitar," delighted to muddle his classification. Later, Dieter and Dave sit comparing lists of favourite players, people they have worked with, sketching geneologies, searching links. And we have misclassified: Dieter has worked with many European muso friends, is himself a composer of many parts, not tied to NDR. Thursday, and I'm 'falling in love' with Dieter-as-Conductor, and begin foolishly to read romance into his slightest remark. It's his way with the band and the music: understated, exact, humorous. The old formula, sex and power: it's amazing what effect creative authority has. To clear my head I recall when, as one of a gaggle of women 'mature' students all canny to the sex 'n' power effect, we much enjoyed ribald sessions together, swapping erotic dreams about our most revered teachers, savouring the crass predictability of our psychic and libidinal economies.

Hamburg TV has but three channels: no chaotic post-deregulation choice here yet. Late Night, one channel has nothing but videos of angsty modern operas, cut straight from one to the next, VJ like—is this modernist MTV? Unfortunate pan round the audience in big modern Staatsoper, half empty. Another prime time I hit upon a chat show, with 'ordinary people' talking hobbies interspersed by 'live' music spots. The mix: first up, a Bolivian folk music and dance troupe, uncomfortable, stiff. Second, a Leipzig chambergroup with movements from a Telemann concerto, clapped in between each movement (sure sign of low-brow appropriation). Third, a spectacular Euro-pop group—audience clap-along—called Middle Of The Road. They do only outtakes of songs—verse, chorus, rapid fade, transition to the next—like snack meals, sad, reminders of a (lost) 'real thing'. These weird mélanges (postmodern programming?), zapping without the zap, seem somehow to pre-empt the coming of cable/satellite TV.

Today, walking homeward, I find myself humming the set. Four days in the tunes and arrangements have lodged inside, a commitment that builds slowly, attachment to exquisite moments, the sublime co-ordination of all these musical lines and players. The thrill of sitting among 25 musicians, brass and saxes blasting out their simple consonant, then intrinsically diverging, rich and resonant lines, is unique, privileging. An orchestra does not feel like this, in which each player makes a unique contribution to the whole, but also individual technique and musicality combining in improvisations that construct the whole. Against the orchestra's bureaucratic rationality, the big band is a more complex division of labour, an expressive, organic totality. When it comes together, it's like *difference uniting*; the orchestra, by contrast, a hierarchical and repressive consensus. Mike designs his musical space with room for players to explore the range of their (different and multiple) musical personalities: for me, cellistic lines with voices and piano, rhythmic chord changes in with the section, and—especially—my own kind of improvisation. But difference isn't easy. The concerts arrive and, rather than pleasure, the multiple insecurity of my position threatens—as a woman, soloist, on a non-jazz instrument, playing my disruptive, 'avant garde' improvisations. Mike uses me to soar over, cut across, take apart, comment upon what's happening below, other musical shapes and moods. It's a tough role, psychic cards stacked up against. Early in the week the band stared and frowned; by the concerts we are listening and responding to each other keenly. They go well.

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The Innut and the Struggle Against Militarization in Nitassinan

John Crump

Last year, a peace organization in the Netherlands lost a court challenge to have a Dutch government agreement with Canada declared illegal. The agreement permits the Netherlands to train its air force pilots in low-level flying tactics over the vast Québec-Labrador peninsula. The peace group argued that the low-level flying,¹ which is carried out at tree-top heights at speeds of 800 kilometres per hour, is threatening the way of life of the Innut, or Montagnais-Naskapi Indians, of the region.

That a Dutch peace organization found itself opposed to its government's military policies is not surprising; what was unusual was that its opposition focused on the aboriginal rights of a group of indigenous people in Canada. Somehow the struggle of the region's 10,000 Innut for control of the homeland they call Nitassinan, or "Our Land", had found its way into the Dutch anti-military consciousness.

Historical Background

The Innu² territory of Nitassinan covers vast stretches of boreal forest from the coast of the Gulf of St.

Lawrence north to the tundra below the Bay of Ungava. The Innut are bordered in the west by the Québec Cree and in the east by the Inuit of Labrador. Today the Innut live in 12 communities scattered along the North Shore of the St. Lawrence and in Labrador.

Innu society is based upon a hunting subsistence economy in which the caribou plays a central economic and spiritual role. Life has traditionally involved seasonal migrations in highly mobile single- or multi-family groups from summer camps at the mouths of rivers on the coast to the interior for the rest of the year. Formerly, these treks were made by canoe or on foot. Supplies were either carried or hauled on sleds. Now the Innut use small aircraft to move in and out of the bush.

The Innut or their ancestors have inhabited Nitassinan for approximately 8,000 years. They are probably the Skraelings referred to in the Norse sagas which chronicle the Viking voyages to North America around 1000 A.D. The Innut were also one of the first indigenous peoples to come into contact with the Europeans who "rediscovered" the continent at the end of

the 15th century.

Historically, the southern Innut were called Montagnais. The people who lived farther north and hunted on the barren grounds were called Naskapi. Both were early participants in the French fur trade, and thus early objects of European intentions, which included the twin desires to "settle" and "civilize" these newly-discovered people. The Montagnais-Naskapi of Labrador, living in a land beyond the periphery of the early European colonies, managed to continue their lives with less interference. The furs they provided were coveted, but by and large their land itself was seen as worthless. Jacques Cartier is supposed to have described the Labrador coast as "the land God gave to Cain." Until this century, that perception worked to the advantage of the Innut.

As in most other areas of the Canadian North, the period since the end of World War II has seen rapid and uncontrolled change in Labrador. There have been two invasions in the North: one industrial, the other military.

In Labrador, industrial interests first focused on wood, then turned to minerals and the hydro-electric potential of the region's many rivers. In 1942 the airbase at Goose Bay was built as part of a staging route to ferry war materiel to Europe. A long-range radar installation was built near the base in 1951, and during the Cold War Goose Bay was run by the Americans as part of the NORAD air defence system. In 1971, the Canadian military assumed control of the base and the Americans left a couple of years later. Goose Bay's importance as a strategic base was reduced by the rapid development of ballistic missile technology. This change in technology and the perceived need by NATO to fly at low levels over enemy lines in the time of war has re-established the importance of Goose Bay in the eyes of the military.

Canada has signed bilateral agreements with the air forces of West Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands which permit the use of "empty" Labrador for low-level flight training based at the Goose Bay airbase. (The United States Air Force also uses Goose Bay but does not carry out low-level training exercises.) Training takes place in two vast flying zones totalling 100,000 square kilometres, one in the north of Labrador, and the other to the south near the Gulf coast of Québec.

The Canadian government is carrying out a sophisticated lobbying campaign to convince NATO to establish a Tactical Fighter and Weapons Training Centre in Labrador. The centre would train pilots from all NATO air forces in low-level flying, greatly increase the number of military flights out of Goose Bay, and—the federal and Newfoundland governments argue—provide needed economic development in the region. NATO is considering two sites: Goose Bay and Konya, Turkey. Canadian defence representatives have toured NATO capitals to see alliance decision-makers, using persuasive words and a slick audio-visual presentation to sell Labrador as the training centre site. The training centre would cost NATO about \$800 million. The federal and provincial governments argue the money would benefit the Canadian economy. A major NATO training centre in Labrador would also allow the Canadian government to argue that it takes its alliance commitments seriously.

The Innut maintain that the military activity is threatening their way of life. They say the jets are spoiling the environment and driving away the animals

they need to hunt. They have charged that the Canadian government is guilty of "cultural genocide" against them. One hunter from St. Augustin on the Gulf coast described what happens when the jets come over:

...When they reach a large lake, the planes fly extremely low, almost touching the water. They fly so low over the lakes in fact, that the exhaust ripples the water. These planes also fly very low over the camps of the Innut, and the exhaust ripples the canvas on our tents. There is some kind of pollution in the exhaust of these planes from the north. The sand on the beaches of the lakes is poisoned; the animals and fish are dying. Shortly after some of these planes fly over, we went out on a short trip in the canoe. I saw a lot of fish that were dead and also dead animals. It's the powerful smoke from those planes that must have killed the animals and the fish.

The Fight Against the Military

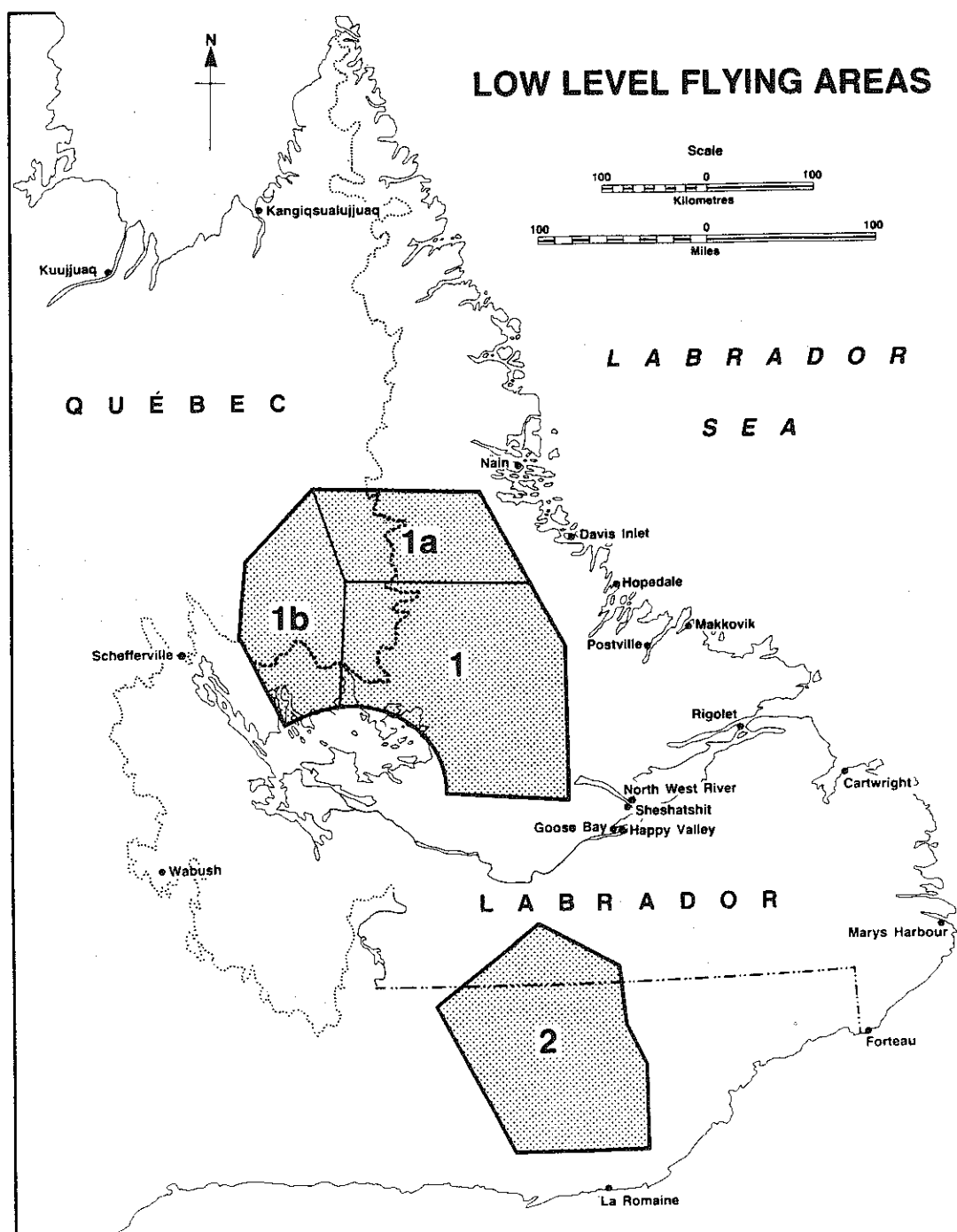
The military discounts Innut claims about the effects of low-level flying. So do local business leaders with an interest in expanded military activity. And so do officials from the local, provincial and federal governments. Innu hunters there is evidence of migration routes, changes—caribou altering their stillbirths, among other things. The pro-military side responds by saying there is no "scientific" data to back up what the Innut are saying. They say the Innut are concocting these stories because they oppose the military. Response to the Innu opposition ranges from such rejoinders to outright racism. Many people in Happy Valley/Goose Bay feel threatened by the Innu stance and they do not hesitate to make their views known through the local media.

The Innu argument is based on aboriginal rights. No treaties have been signed ceding any part of Nitassinan to Canada. There are no land claim settlements, although research was begun on one several years ago and later abandoned. Although the Innut have been colonized, they are not a conquered people. Thus the Innut argue that governments have no legitimate right to dispose of their lands—they cannot hand out mining or timber leases, control Innu hunting activity through game laws, or use the region for military purposes. It is an anti-colonial stance, and one that has received considerable attention in the media.

Innu leaders say they exhausted normal routes of communicating grievances soon after the first bilateral agreement was signed with West Germany in 1979. Numerous letters and petitions to the Canadian government went unanswered or came back with "thank-you-for-your-interest" replies.

In 1981, the Department of National Defence submitted a report to the Government of Newfoundland on the effects of low-level flying in Labrador. The report concluded that neither the Innut nor the environment would be harmed by such activity. As the flying increased, however, so did Innu protests. Innut from Sheshatshiu, however, so did Innu protests. Innut from Sheshatshiu launched a national campaign to stop the militarization of their territory. The campaign was expanded to include several European countries and the Innut stated unequivocally that their hunting and trapping way of life was being threatened by the flying.

A four-member delegation of Innut from Sheshatshiu and La Romaine conducted a 10-day tour to Ottawa, Toronto, Montreal and St. John's and held a



series of press conferences and a short-lived press conference.

The Innu campaign, Project North, a number of human rights protests. Their cause was supported by other international organizations.

In February 1981, in the Mealy Mountains, Sheshatshiu, a community of about 100 people on the Mealy Mountains, hunting areas for caribou began with a few protesters. It ended with the hunting or just the incident. The incident pushed reluctant hunters to pay charges. The court proceedings proceeded on grounds that the Innu judge, ironically, sentenced each man to a year in prison. The incident helped galvanize the camp and the media coverage.

While the Innu fight against low-level flying, the battle and the overpopulation of Sheshatshiu, arbitrary hunting regulations with the funding of the country: the Innu outsiders? Through have been trying to get the eyes of both Newfoundland and do this they have people that can be media, whether rural, with this agricultural group attempting newsgathering cease to cover the

The natural history and issues that white terms, such as tends to work against. For example, a 1986 report referred to the "hunting claims settlement" that the Innut are not also using the low-level flying land claims campaign some duplicity on the Innut themselves as the same "issue" is at stake is not argued the Innut happens on—and like many other are struggling for Television, with substance what it *Journal* documented confrontation, but the underlying re-

series of press conferences. There was extensive but short-lived press coverage.

The Innu campaign at this time was supported by Project North, a church group, and an increasing number of human rights and peace organizations. Their cause was also embraced by Greenpeace and other international organizations.

In February 1987, several hundred Innu camped in the Mealy Mountains a couple of hours from Sheshatshiu, a community about 30 kilometres from Goose Bay, and hunted a "restricted" herd of caribou. The Mealy Mountain area is one of several important hunting areas for the Sheshatshiu Innu. The hunt began with a few elders and the local priest trying to protest hunting regulations that restrict the Innu's way of life. It ended with nearly half the community camping, hunting or just being there to lend moral support. The incident outraged hunters in Happy Valley who pushed reluctant game wardens and the RCMP into laying charges. Several Innu and the community's priest were charged but refused to participate in the court proceedings, which they challenged on the grounds that the Innu are not bound by Canadian law. The judge, ironically an Innu from the Labrador coast, sentenced each member of the group to a month in jail. The incident inflamed racial tensions in the region and helped galvanize community opinion in Sheshatshiu. The camp and the subsequent trial received widespread media coverage.

While the Innu hunt was not strictly a protest against low-level flying, there is a link between that battle and the overwhelming desire expressed by the people of Sheshatshiu to be freed from what they see as arbitrary hunting restrictions. Both are issues that deal with the fundamental questions of who controls the country: the Innu or the people they consider to be outsiders? Through their use of the media, the Innu have been trying to change how they are perceived in the eyes of both Newfoundlanders and Canadians. To do this they have had to create images of an embattled people that can be transmitted by an event-oriented media, whether radio, television or print. The difficulty with this approach, and it is one faced by any group attempting to publicize its cause, is that the newsgathering agencies will tire of Innu "events" and cease to cover them.

The natural bias of the media towards confrontation and issues that are easily portrayed in black and white terms, such as native people versus the military, tends to work against more substantial analyses. For example, a 1986 CBC documentary on *The Journal* referred to the "hidden agenda" of the Innu—a land claims settlement in Nitassinan. The reporter revealed that the Innu are not just fighting the military. They are also using the low-level flying issue as part of a larger land claims campaign. The tone of the report indicated some duplicity on the part of the Innu when in fact the Innu themselves view low-level flying and land claims as the same "issue". Land claims is a misnomer. What is at stake is not just use of the land, which it can be argued the Innu now possess, but control over what happens on—and over—that land. In short, the Innu, like many other aboriginal groups across the country, are struggling for sovereign power in their homeland. Television, with its inherent biases, often loses in substance what it gains in images. In the case of *The Journal* documentary, there were numerous scenes of confrontation, but little if any coherent explanation of the underlying reasons for the conflict.

Genocide in Labrador?

The battle against the military is not just being fought in the media. Part of the Innu struggle is for fundamental human rights. In 1985, the Innu invited an International Federation of Human Rights commission to visit Labrador and Québec.

The commission concluded that "certain internationally recognized natural and legal human rights of the Innu...are being violated" by military activities. Low-level flights "generate conditions that are harmful to the physical, mental and cultural well-being of at least a segment of the Innu population." The report was praised by the Innu and condemned by the military and civilian leadership for being shallow, poorly researched and "biased".

While the report did not specifically address the question, the Innu have used its findings to support the charge that they are the victims of cultural genocide. Article Two of the United Nations *Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* defines genocide as "acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." It lists these acts as killing members of the group, causing serious bodily or mental harm, "deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part," preventing births or transferring children from the group.

There are a number of problems with this definition in the case of the Innu. One is the difficulty in proving "intent". The convention is too narrow and it would be very difficult to substantiate a case which argued that Canada is deliberately luring NATO jets to Labrador to exterminate the Innu.

However, when the concepts of ethnocide or ecocide are substituted for genocide, the picture changes. Ethnocide has been defined as "...the violation of the right of an ethnic group to develop its own culture."³ Ecocide refers to "adverse alterations, often irreparable, to the environment—for example, through nuclear explosions, chemical weapons, serious pollution and acid rain, or destruction of the rain forest—which threaten the existence of entire populations, whether deliberately or with criminal negligence".⁴

Using either of these definitions would strengthen the Innu's case considerably. However, neither is included in the existing Genocide Convention, and thus it would be for the Innu to make their case stand up in international courts. Nevertheless, the Innu have in the past sought to convince the court of world opinion that Canadian policy in Labrador is destructive to them as a people. Taking their case to the United Nations is one option being discussed by several Innu leaders. Using the unofficial definitions of ecocide and ethnocide, it is possible to argue that the potential for a genocidal situation now exists in Nitassinan.

Land Claims

Another potential forum for the defence of aboriginal rights is, of course, land claims. Many Sheshatshiu Innu have questioned the merits of talking with governments they do not recognize about a "claim" over land they own anyway. However, the Conseil Atikimek-Montagnais, which represents the Innu of the Gulf coast, has been negotiating a land claim with the federal and Québec governments for several years. Lately, more Sheshatshiu Innu have been talking seriously about completing land claims research. In fact,

the federal government has recently agreed to resume funding the Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association, the land claims organization of the Sheshatshiu and Davis Inlet Innu. Funds were cut off in the early 1980s because the NMIA was one of the driving forces in the fight against low-level flying.

The possibility of land claims talks raises a number of strategic questions for the Innu. One argument is that if they begin negotiations, they will have to temper their protests against the base. If they continue their protests, the argument goes, how can they expect the government to talk to them? There may be some truth in this; governments may indeed use land claims as a way to shut down the anti-military position. But it is not a morally defensible position. Nowhere else in Canada do people have to make a choice that sees them surrendering their democratic rights in order to gain concessions from government.

The Innu say it is the government's turn to compromise. The way they see it, they have been giving in to what governments and other alien authorities have wanted for hundreds of years.

One Innu woman summed up how most people feel. Aline is 88. Her gnarled hands and the deep red scars that cover most of her forearms speak of a difficult and dangerous life.

"The government thinks the Innu can't manage their own land but they always did before.... A child will agree to do anything if you give him a lollipop. This is how the government is treating the Innu."

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Notes

1 Low-level flying is part of a military strategy known as Follow on Forces Attack (FOFA). Canadian and German commanders have explained that FOFA is to be used in the event, likely in their opinion, that the Warsaw Pact invades Western Europe. NATO forces would withdraw in front of the invaders and force them to extend their supply lines. Then NATO jets, flying low to the ground, would streak in and bomb the enemy supply depots. This is the stage where opponents of the strategy fear NATO would "go nuclear". Since the allegiance has a "first strike" policy of using nuclear weapons fit the FOFA scenario. The commanders are fuzzy on this issue: they maintain that the FOFA strategy could be used in either conventional or nuclear attacks.

2 "Innu" is the name of the people. "Innu" is the plural form. The Innu, whom the Europeans called either Montagnais or Naskapi Indians, should not be confused with the Inuit who inhabit the northern coast of Labrador and whose territory borders that of the Innu in some areas.

3 Maureen Davies. "Aboriginal Rights in International Law: Human Rights," in Bradford Morse, ed., *Aboriginal Peoples and the Law: Indian, Metis and Inuit Rights in Canada*. Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1985.

4 Commission on Human Rights, Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. *Review of Further Developments in Fields which the Sub-commission has been concerned*, Revised and updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, prepared by B. Whittaker, 1985.