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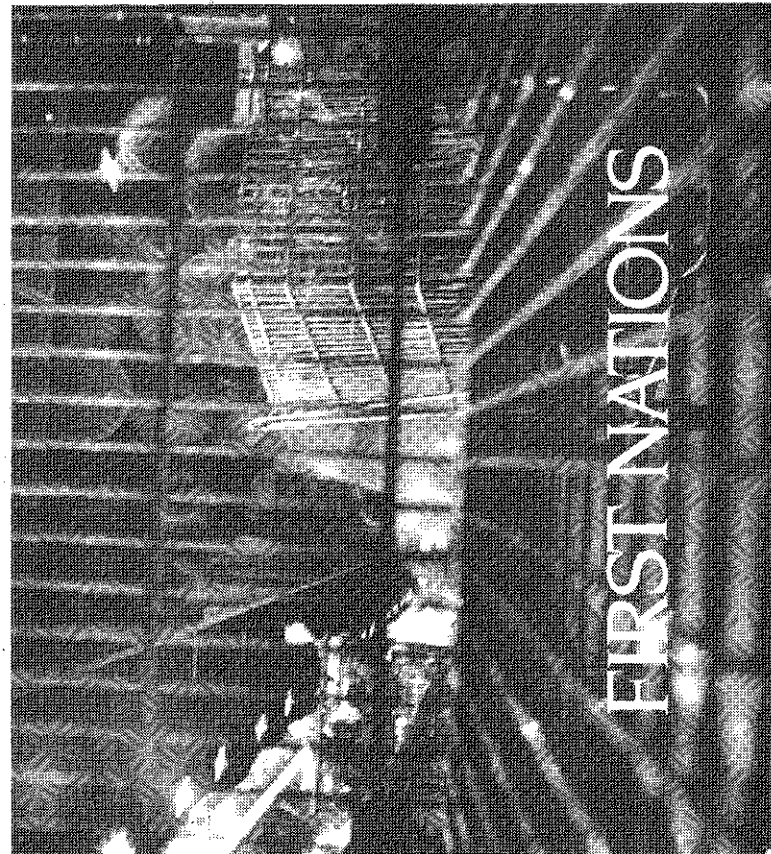
cultures contexts canadas

winter 1991/1992 #23 \$5.00



NATIVE TO THE AMERICAS

TOBACCO BABASSU (PALM) PEANUT CARAPA AVOCADO
 CASHEW CURUÁ KAPOK MURUMURU UCUHUBA
 OURICURI MBOCAYA PATAUÁ PRACAXI SAWARRI TUCUM
 CORN COTTON SUNFLOWER GIRASOL SHADBUSH
 BEARBERRY MARLBERRY PAPAWE SNOWBERRY COCO
 PLUM GOPHER APPLE SATINLEAF SEAGRAPE DOGWOOD
 HAW SILVERBERRY CROWBERRY WILD FIG HUCKLEBERRY
 HONEY SUCKLE WOLFBERRY PARTRIDGEBERRY RED
 MULBERRY OGEECHEE LIME VIRGINIA CREEPER MAYPOP
 CHRISTMASBERRY GROUND CHERRY DARLING PLUM
 WILD ROSE ELDERBERRY BUFFALO BERRY BLACK HAW
 MAMEY SAPOTE BLACK SAPOTE PASSION FRUIT
 (GRANADILLA) PHYSALIS GRAPEFRUIT HOLLY BIRIBA
 ACHOCHA BOTTLE GOURD CASABANANA MARTYNIA
 GUARANÁ GUAYUSA MATÉ TREE TOMATO PEIBAYE
 NARANJILLA MANZANILLA RED MOMBIN YELLOW MOM
 BIN MANGABA MAMONCILLO MAMMEE IMBÚ INGA
 JABOTICABA GENIPEPO PITANGA CUPU-ASSU ILAMA
 COSAHUICO CHUPANDILLA ATA CERIMAN CAPULIN
 CANISTEL HEDGE-APPLE BOROJOA ACEROLA BACURI
 BACUPARI CAIMITO ASSAI OSAGE ORANGE KAPOK
 COCHINEAL TURPENTINE COPAL BLOODROOT GINGER
 GARLIC ANNATTO AGAVE INDIAN HEMP ARROW ROOT
 COTTON MAPLE WALNUT BRAZIL NUT PECAN BALSAM
 OF PERU SAPODILLA CHICLÉ RUBBER VANILLA MEXICAN



FIRST NATIONS

OREGANO ALL SPICE COUMARIN SARSAPARILLA
 SASSAFRAS WINTER GREEN WITCH HAZEL CEDAR WOOD
 OIL WILD PLANTAIN WORMSEED BAYRUM QUININE/
 CINCHONA COCAINE CURARE ALOE ARARоба BALM OF
 GILEAD GINSENG PENNY ROYAL CACAPO/
 CHOCOLATE DIOSCOREA GOLDEN SEAL IPECAC
 IPOMOEA JABORANDI JALAPA JEQUERITY JIMSON WEED
 KRAMERIA LOBELIA MAY APPLE OLOLIUQUI PEYOTE
 PSILOCYBE QUASSIA SCAMMONY TAGETES ROTENONE/
 BARBASCO HAPLOPHYTON CIMICDUM HELIOPSIS
 LONGPIPES QUASSIA AMARA RYANIA SPECIOSA
 SCHOENOCALON OFFICINALE PINE NUT/PINON NUTS
 WILD RICE TOMATO TOMATILLO GRAPE OITICICA RUB
 BERSEED CARNAUBA CANDELILLA BAYBERRY CARANDÁ
 CAUSSU JO JOBA LIMNANTHES SISAL HENEQUEN
 OURICURI MAPLE SUGAR MANIOCYUCA POTATO AR
 ROWROOT LIMA BEAN SWEET POTATO QUINOA CHILI PEP
 PERS SQUASHES ZUCHINI PUMPKIN CHAYOTE PAPAYA
 PINEAPPLE CUSTARD APPLE CHERIMOYA GUAVA SAPOTE
 OSAGE ORANGE COCONUT VANILLA COWLILY TUNAS
 CRANBERRY AMARATHS TEPARY BEAN SCARLET RUN
 NER LOTUS BEECHNUT CHESTNUT HICKORY NUT BUT
 TERNUT SERVICEBERRY BLUEBERRY RASPBERRY CUR
 RANTS GOOSEBERRY BLACKBERRY STRAWBERRY TUNAS
 WILD PLUM WILD CHERRY APPLE REDBUD MILKWEED

Ron Benner
 Native to the Americas
 photo installation
 8 feet x 18 feet

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THIS ISSUE of *Border/Lines* is guest edited by Randy Kapashesit and Winona LaDuke of Moose Factory, Ontario. Randy Kapashesit is Chief of the Mocreebec First Nation and Chair of the Moose River-James Bay Coalition. Winona LaDuke is an environmental activist and founder of the North American Native Women's Network. Her writings have been published widely in journals such as *Akwesasne Notes*, *Insurgent Sociologist*, *Co-Evolution Quarterly*, *New Studies on the Left*, *Z Magazine*, *Socialist Review* and *Radical America*. Both are involved in the struggle to block hydro-electric development in northern Ontario and in forging coalitions toward justice and settlement for the next five-hundred years.

The guest editors may be contacted at Box 358, Moose Factory, Ontario P0L 1W0.

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Declaration of Quito

JULY 1990

(unofficial translation)

INDIGENOUS
ALLIANCE OF
THE AMERICAS
ON 500 YEARS
OF RESISTANCE

The Continental Gathering "500 Years of Indian Resistance," with representatives from 120 Indian Nations, International Organizations and Fraternal Organizations, meeting in Quito, Ecuador, July 17-20, 1990, declare before the world the following:

WE INDIANS OF AMERICA

have never abandoned our constant struggle against the conditions of oppression, discrimination and exploitation which were imposed upon us as a result of the European invasion of our ancestral territories.

Our struggle is not a mere conjunctural reflection of the memory of 500 years of oppression which the invaders, in complicity with the "democratic" governments of our countries, want to turn into events of jubilation and celebration. Our Indian People, Nations and nationalities are basing our struggle on our identity, which shall lead us to true liberation. We are responding aggressively, and commit ourselves to reject this "celebration."

The struggle of our People has acquired a new quality in recent times. This struggle is less isolated and more organized. We are now completely conscious that our total liberation can only be expressed through complete exercise of our self-determination. Our unity is based in this fundamental right. Our self-determination is not just a simple declaration.

We must guarantee the necessary conditions that permit the complete exercise of our self-determination; and this in turn must be expressed as complete autonomy for our Peoples. Without Indian self-government and without control of our territories there can be no autonomy.

To achieve this objective is a principal task of the Indian Peoples. However, through our struggles we have learned that our problems are not different, in many respects, from those of other popular sectors. We are convinced that we must march alongside the peasants, the workers, the marginalized sectors, together with the intellectuals committed to our cause, in order to destroy the dominant system of oppression and construct a new society, pluralistic, democratic and humane, in which peace is guaranteed.

The existing nation states of the Americas, their constitutions and fundamental laws are judicial/political expressions that negate our socio-economic, cultural and political rights.

From this point in our general strategy of struggle, we consider it to be a priority that we demand complete structural change; change which recognizes the inherent right to self-determination through the Indian People's own governments and through the control of our territories.

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Our problems will not be resolved through the self-serving politics of governmental entities which seek integration and ethno-development.

It is necessary to have an integral transformation at the level of the State and national society; that is to say, the creation of a new nation.

In this Gathering it has been clear that territorial rights are a fundamental demand of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas.

BASED ON THESE aforementioned reflections, the organizations united in the First Continental Gathering of Indigenous Peoples reaffirm:

1. Our emphatic rejection of the Quincentennial celebration, and the firm promise that we will turn that date into an occasion to strengthen our process of continental unity and struggle towards our liberation.
2. Ratify our resolute political project of self-determination and conquest of our autonomy, in the framework of nation states, under a new popular order, respecting the appellation which each People determines for their struggle and project.
3. Affirm our decision to defend our culture, education, and religion as fundamental to our identity as Peoples, reclaiming and maintaining our own forms of spiritual life and community coexistence, in an intimate relationship with our Mother Nature.
4. We reject the manipulation of organizations which are linked to the dominant sectors of society and have no indigenous representation, who usurp our name for (their own) imperialist interests. At the same time we affirm our choice to strengthen our own organizations, without excluding or isolating ourselves from other popular struggles.
5. We recognize the important role that the indigenous woman plays in the struggles of our Peoples. We understand the necessity to expand women's participation in our organizations and we reaffirm that it is one struggle, men and women together, in our liberation process, a key question in our political practices.

6. The Indian Peoples consider it vital to defend and conserve our natural resources, which right now are being attacked by the transnational corporations. We are convinced that this defense will be realized if it is the Indian Peoples who administer and control the territories where we live, according to our own principles of organization and communal life.

7. We oppose national judicial structures which are the result of the process of colonization and neo-colonization. We seek a New Social Order that embraces our traditional exercise of Common Law, an expression of our culture and forms of organization. We demand that we be recognized as Peoples under International Law, and that this recognition be incorporated into the respective Nation States.

8. We denounce the victimization of our Indian Peoples through violence and persecution, which constitutes a flagrant violation of human rights. We demand respect for our right to life, to land, to free organization and expression of our culture. At the same time we demand the release of our leaders who are held as political prisoners, an end to repression, and restitution for the harms caused us.

THE INDIAN NATIONS and

Indigenous Organizations which have participated in the First Continental Gathering of Indian Peoples want to show our acknowledgement and thanks to our sister organizations of Ecuador for their efforts towards the success of this event. We want to express our solidarity with the struggle of the Ecuadorian Indigenous People for liberty and democracy.

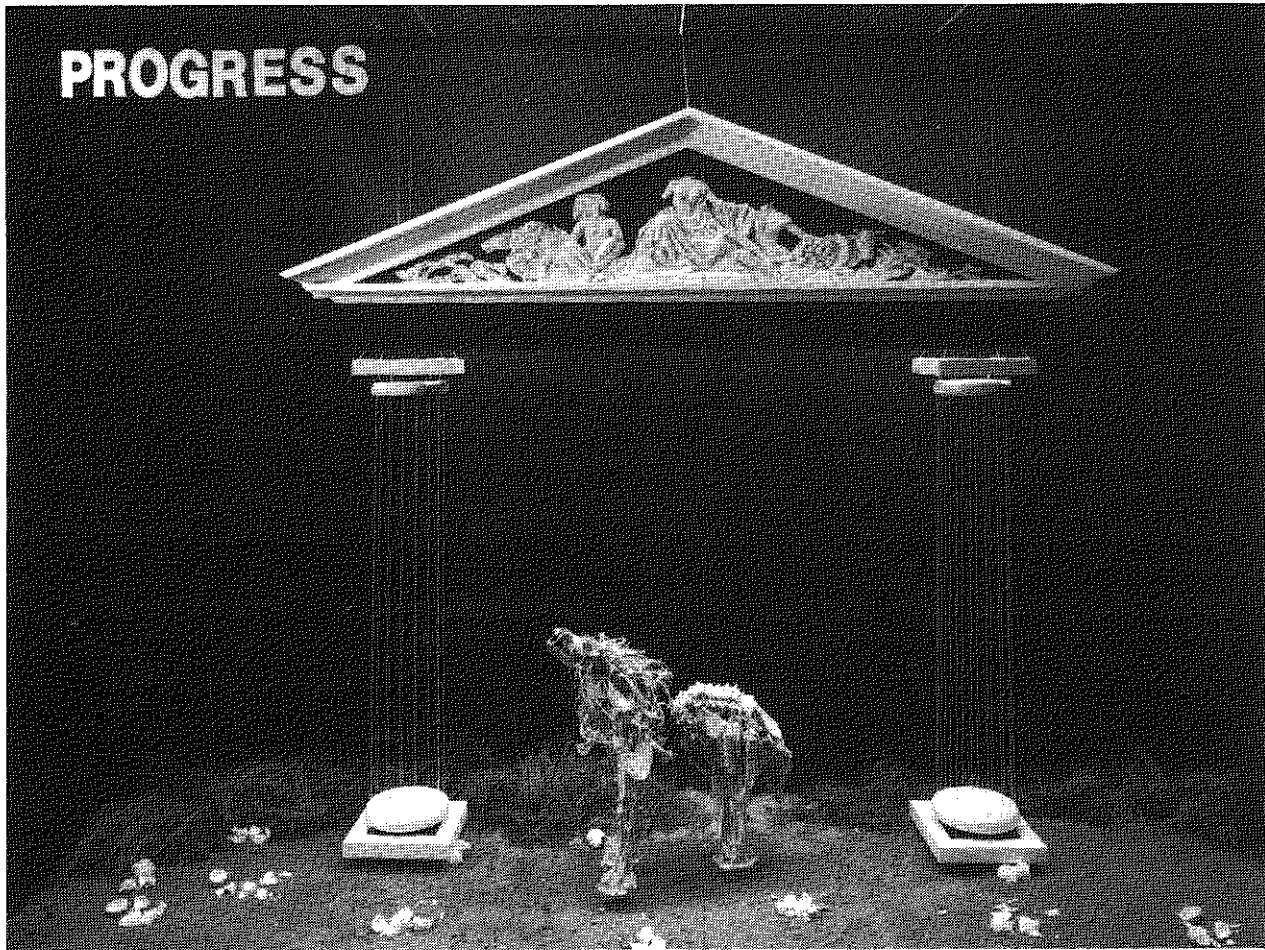
Our actions should be geared towards strengthening our grassroots organizations and towards achieving greater levels of coordination and communication with all popular sectors.

The continental campaign for 500 years of Indigenous and popular Resistance should be empowered by the participation of all Indian Nations and organizations, so that we become a true alternative force. The response to 1992 should be Mobilization and Unity.

The articulation of our Campaign should be governed by the principle of solidarity with all People's struggles for liberation, and by realizing multilateral relations at the international level. ♦

Quito, 21 Julio-de 1990





Ed Poitras
Progress
installation at Dunlop Art Gallery, Regina
Fall 1991

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We Are Still Here

The 500 Years Celebration

*In school I was taught the names
Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro and
A dozen other filthy murderers.
A bloodline all the way to General Miles,
Daniel Boone and General Eisenhower.*

*No one mentioned the names
Of even a few of the victims.
But don't you remember Chaske, whose spine
Was crushed so quickly by Mr. Pizarro's boot?
What words did he cry into the dust?*

*What was the familiar name
Of that young girl who danced so gracefully
That everyone in the village sang with her –
Before Cortez's sword backed off her arms
As she protested the burning of her sweetheart?*

*That young man's name was Many Deeds,
And he had been a leader of a band of fighters
Called the Redstick Hummingbirds, who slowed
The march of Cortez' army with only a few
Spears and stones which now lay still
In the mountains and remember.*

*Greenrock Woman was the name
Of that old lady who walked right up
And spat at Columbus' face. We
Must remember that, and remember
Laughing Otter the Taino who tried to stop
Columbus and who was taken away as a slave.
We never saw him again.*

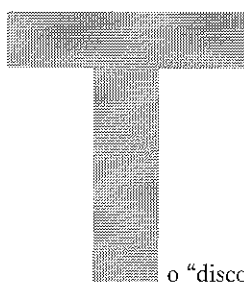
*In school I learned of heroic discoveries
Made by liars and crooks. The courage
Of millions of sweet and true people
Was not commemorated.*

*Let us then declare a holiday
For ourselves, and make a parade that begins
With Columbus' victims and continues
Even to our grandchildren who will be named
In their honor.*

*Because isn't it true that even the summer
Grass here in this land whispers those names,
And every creek has accepted the responsibility
Of singing those names? And nothing can stop
The wind from howling those names around
The corners of the school.*

*Why else would the birds sing
So much sweeter here than in other lands?*

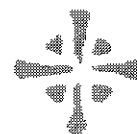
*Columbus Day
Jimmie Durham
(West End Press, 1983)*



o "discover" implies that something is lost. Something was lost, it was Columbus. But unfortunately, he did not discover himself in the process of his loss. He went on to destroy peoples, land and ecosystems in his search for material wealth and riches. Columbus was a perpetrator of genocide – responsible for setting in motion the most horrendous holocaust to have occurred in the history of the world. Columbus was a slave trader, a thief, a pirate, and most certainly not a hero. To celebrate Columbus is to congratulate the process and history of the invasion.

The Taino, Arawak and other indigenous peoples of the Caribbean, the first "hosts of Columbus" were systematically destroyed. Thirteen at a time they were hanged, in honor of the Twelve Apostles and the Redeemer. Every man over 14 years of age was obliged to bring a quota of gold to the conquistadors every three months. Those who could not pay the tribute had their hands cut off, "as a lesson." Most bled to death. The Taino argued with the conquistadors. They pleaded that "when their thousands of people grow enough corn to feed many of the people of Europe – was that not enough of a tribute, of a payment?" The conquistadors would not accept their tribute from the land. So the "idle" ships of the second voyage of Columbus were used to transport back 500 Indians to be slaves of the markets of Seville. The repression was so brutal that many of the Taino, Caribs and Arawaks, faced with brutality and slavery at the hands of conquistadors, chose instead to commit mass suicide.

Sixty years later, in 1552, the Catholic priest Bartolemé de las Casas declared that within the entire western hemisphere, a total of 50 million Indians had already perished, in just over a half century of



Spanish invasion. Las Casas had been an eyewitness to some of the slaughter and depopulation caused by diseases accidentally introduced by the Spanish. In his protest of his own countrymen's "abominable cruelties and detestable tyrannies," Las Casas cried out that five million had died on the Caribbean islands and that 45 million had died on the mainland.

Minimum Estimates of Population

(as a reference, during the same period, the population of European nations multiplied five- to tenfold)

Western Hemisphere

1492: 112,554,000 American Indians
1980: 28,264,000 American Indians

Central Mexico

1519: 30,000,000 American Indians
1620: 1,600,000 American Indians

North of Mexico

1492: 18,000,000 American Indians
1980: 2,000,000 American Indians

Yana Nation (California)

1492: 3000 people
1910: 39 people
1929: 12 people
1973: 20 people

(From: "The Cost of Columbus: Was There a Holocaust?" Robert Venables, in *Northeast Indian Quarterly*, Fall 1990)

Although Columbus himself later returned to Europe in disgrace, his methods were subsequently used in Mexico, Peru, the Black Hills, and at Sand Creek and Wounded Knee. They are still being used in Guatemala and El Salvador, and in Indian territory from Amazonia to Pine Ridge. The invasion set into motion a process, thus far, unabated. This has been a struggle for values, religions, resources, but most importantly land.

The age of "discovery," was to mark the age of colonialism, a time when our land suddenly came to be viewed as "your land." While military repression is not in the North American vogue, (at least with the exception of the Oka-Mohawk uprising in the summer of 1990) today legal doctrines uphold that "our land" is "your land," based ostensibly on the so-called "doctrine of discovery." This justifies, in a so called legal system, the same dispossession of people from their land that is caused by outright military conquest, but today, in a "kinder, gentler world," it all appears more legal.

The reality is that the battering has been relentless. Each generation more land has been taken from the indigenous peoples – either by force or by paper,

but in no case with our consent. Today, Indian people in North America retain about four percent of the original land base – land called reservations in the US or reserves in Canada. Those lands are facing a new assault. Underlying Indian reservations is approximately two-thirds of uranium resources within the continental US, and one-third of all western low sulphur coal. Other lands include vast oil tracts (including that in the so-called Arctic National Wildlife Refuge – the last unexploited portion of the north shore of Alaska), and final stretches of pristine water and stands of unexploited old growth timber. Similar statistics exist for Canada.

What we have is still what they want: whether it is EXXON, ARCO, oil companies, Rio Tinto Zinc (the British mining giant), COGEMA (the French uranium company, which is active in Dene and Cree lands in northern Saskatchewan) or lumber companies from Japan and North America. The North American onslaught is matched only by that in South and Central America, where remaining rain forests and resource rich lands are greedily consumed by foreign multinationals and governments.

The rate of exploitation is astounding. In 1975, 100 percent of all federally produced uranium (in the US) came from Indian reservations. Indians were the fifth largest producers of Uranium in the world. That same year, four of the ten largest coal strip mines in the US were on Indian reservations. By 1985, Dene and Cree lands in Saskatchewan were producing over \$1 billion worth of uranium annually for foreign multinationals. An area the size of France in northern Quebec has been devastated by hydroelectric development, the huge James Bay project which is the largest manipulation of a subarctic ecosystem in history. The lands flooded are those of Cree and Inuit – two peoples who have lived there for 10,000 years or more, in a carefully balanced way of life. Today, thousands more face relocation, as new dams are proposed for European aluminum interests (who will locate in Quebec to secure cheap electricity) and American consumers. The devastation of the ecosystems and the people is relentless. In short, the problem or challenge posed by 1992 is the invasion, and the reality that continues.

We understand that "to get the rain-forest, you must first kill the people," and that is why since 1900, one-third of all indigenous nations in the Amazon have been decimated, while during the same time one-quarter of the forest has disappeared. There is a direct relationship between how industrial society consumes land and resources, to how it consumes peoples. In the past 150 years, we have seen the extinction of more species than

since the ice age. And, since 1492, we have witnessed the extinction of more than 2,000 indigenous peoples from the western hemisphere. Where are the Wappo, the Takelma, the Natchez and the Massachuset?

Most disgraceful of all is the self congratulatory hoopla underway in most colonial and neo-colonial states. In 1992, the governments of Spain, Italy, the US and 30 other countries are hosting the largest public celebration of this century, to mark the 500th year anniversary of the arrival of "western civilization" in the hemisphere. As planned it will outstrip the bicentennials of the Declaration of Independence, the US Constitution and the French Revolution in scale and cost, and in the same callous rewriting of history. The multi-billion dollar official extravaganza will feature:

- ◆ A space ship race to Mars between three solar powered space ships named after Columbus's ships the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria.
- ◆ A Tall Ships regatta, featuring replicas of Columbus's original vessels which will leave Spain in the spring of 1992 for a tour of the Americas.
- ◆ Expo '92 in Seville, involving over 100 countries, and emphasizing Spain's contributions to world culture.

(Fidel Castro has been the only leader of a western hemispheric country to condemn the celebrations of Columbus. In an address to a trade union conference in Cuba (1985), Castro frightened his audience by saying, "I feel Indian. I feel aboriginal. I feel equal to you all." He labelled "ill-fated," this October 12 date, after which "our peoples have been raped and reduced to slavery by the conquerors." According to Castro, this so called discovery "opened" one of the most shameful pages of world history.)

It is in the face of this "celebration of genocide," that thousands of indigenous peoples are organizing to commemorate their resistance, and to bring to a close the 500-year-long chapter of the invasion. Indigenous organizations like CONAIE (Confederation of Indigenous Nationalities of Ecuador), SAIIC (South and Central American Indian Information Center), the Indigenous Women's Network, Seventh Generation Fund, the Indian Treaty Council, UNI (from the Brazilian Amazon), and other groups have worked to bring forth the indigenous outlook on 500 years.

For several years, indigenous people appealed to the United Nations to designate 1992 as the "year of the indigenous peoples." They faced stiff opposition from Spain, the US and other "pro-Columbus" nations. 1993, instead, has been designated as such. However, a number of indigenous nations are actively working on the United Nations Environment Program Conference in 1992 in Brazil, demanding

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 Where are
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 and the
 Massachuset?

among other things, full participation of indigenous peoples in the "nation state" agenda.

CONAIE and other groups hosted an intercontinental meeting of indigenous peoples in Quito, Ecuador, in July of 1990. The meeting brought together hundreds of people from throughout the Americas, to share in common histories, strategies to mark 1992, and to plan for the next 500 years. The meeting was hailed by the Native people in attendance as a fulfilment to a traditional prophecy of the Runa people of Mexico. The prophecy reports that many years ago, the indigenous peoples of the Americas were divided into two groups, the people of the Eagle (those from the north) and the people of the Condor (those from the south). According to the prophecy, when the tears of the Eagle and the Condor are joined, a new era of life and spirit will begin for Native people. As the delegates joined together in work, prayer and ceremony, they felt a joining of the vision, and the people. According to CONAIE, "the basic objectives of the mobilization are to recover the dignity of the peoples and reject all forms of submission, colonial practices and neo-colonialism."

A number of other meetings and convenings have been held, including a huge First Peoples Gathering held this past June in Winnipeg, Manitoba, and attended by over 500 representatives from the Americas. Other work continues between indigenous nations, internal in the communities and in coalition with other groups. A series of tribunals on colonialism are proposed in several locations in North America, as are educational and cultural events. A number of Native writers, including Gerald Vizenor, M. Scott Momaday, Louise Edrich, Joy Harjo and others are completing books and anthologies on the 500 years. And a great number of indigenous peoples are calling on other groups - nationally and internationally - to mobilize on 1992 as a year to Protect the Earth and People of the Earth.

Indeed, the ecological agenda is what many indigenous people believe can, and must, unite all peoples around 1992. That agenda calls for everyone to take aggressive action to stop the destruction of the Earth, essentially to end the biological, technological and ecological invasion/conquest which began with that ill-fated voyage 500 years past.

In a meeting in Iquitos, Peru, held in May of 1990, Indians of the Amazon called on ecologists from around the world to join a campaign against the 1992 celebrations by moving boycotts and protests against countries and companies furthering destruction of the rain forest and other indigenous homelands. The Native delegates asked groups like Greenpeace, the World Wildlife Fund, and others to pressure South American governments and companies to respect Indian rights and back Native demands for autonomy over their landbase. "We are a part of nature," said the Indians, insisting that the best way to stop devastation of

the environment is to support the rights of indigenous people who live there to continued self determination, and a way of life. These groups also point to thousands of years of "sustainable development" based on an indigenous model, as one crucial piece for the future. Thus far there has been some interest in this coalition with indigenous groups, but the response has been limited, at best. (A recent example of the conflict surfaced this past June in Ecuador, when several North American environmental groups essentially cut a deal with CONOCO over opposition of indigenous peoples.) There is, needless to say, a great deal of work to do.

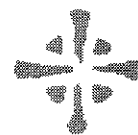
Through it all, indigenous people will continue to struggle. It is this legacy to resistance that, perhaps more than any other single activity, denotes the essence of 1992. After all the hoopla and celebration by the colonial governments is done, the Native voice prevails. It is like a constant rumble of distant thunder, and it says through the wind: "We are alive. We are still here." ♦

*That dream
 shall have a name
 after all,
 and it will not be vengeful
 but wealthy with love
 and compassion
 and knowledge
 And it will rise
 in this heart
 which is our America.*

Simon J. Ortiz,
 in *From Sand Creek*, 1981

Winona LaDuke is a writer and activist who lives in Moose Factory, Ontario. She is a guest editor of this issue of Border/Lines.

Fimmie Durham (Cherokee) is a former AIM member and national organizational liaison to the Native American Support Committees. He was founding Director of the International Indian Treaty Council. He now resides in Cuernavaca, Mexico.



Ours Is a Circle That Never Ends

YOU DO IT BECAUSE YOU UNDERSTAND THAT
WHATEVER YOU HAVE, YOU HAVE TO
GIVE TO THE PEOPLE

Agnes Williams: Good Morning, Fleeta.

Fleeta Hill: Good Morning (laughter).

One of the things I was interested in talking about today is your work and also what you see as your role in the community. You already mentioned that you are a "runner." What does that mean?

I attend all the meetings
The chief's meetings and the
Clan meetings
For the Clan Mother.
I can't make any decisions,
but I have toooo
Take back all of the information to her
And then,
I bring back her decisions to the meetings.
And I'm also her ears,
I'm really learning, lots of things
Because I have to look at
A lot of people's places
their welfare
their happiness
Everything that a person is supposed
to have
As a person - that she's (Clan Mother)
in charge
You know, she's kind of like the Mother of.

So I have to go and report to her
Everything that happens.
If anybody is having problems,
Then, I go and report to her everything.
And then, she makes the decisions,
Whatever she can do from there.

A lot of people, when they talk about women's roles in this society, a lot of people say that the oldest profession around is that of prostitution but as Native People, I feel that the oldest profession around is motherhood and it's an honorable profession and that it's a profession that should be promoted and talked about more. People do not think of it as a profession and it is a really big job. And being a Clan Mother is, I think, a part of that, a big part. Maybe, you could describe some of the things, when we say Clan Mother, what does a Clan Mother do? What is a Clan Mother about?

First of all when we are talking
about women,
I have to drop you a good bomb shell
You guys in the women's movement
Are way behind us, us Senecas.
Because we've had all kinds of
women power,
From time, from time beginning.
You have a lot to learn from
Indian women.

The position of Motherhood in the Indian world is

Is continuity of the race
And continuity of the race means
The continuity of our way of life,
and our beliefs
Handed down to the seven generations
unborn.

According to the way,
That the Creator gave us.

So, it' really is not aaaaa
It's soooo, it's soooo, ah ingrained to us,
It doesn't become any kind of a thing,
Outside of your life, it's,
It is you.

So the public and the private life are one?
There's no separation between the public
and the private life?

Your prime responsibility is your...
Invested with the land.
The women are with the land
And the future generations.
And the responsibility -
That the land keeps on going forever.
And so, you make sure,
You have someone in there
To care forever for your people
For the children.

A lot of people talk about, there's a lot of romanticism about Native people. A lot of people will say, we should "Honor our Mother Earth." It's a real catch phrase these days, I'm wondering what this means to you, "honor Mother Earth?"

Well... I don't know... if you have a word for Honor

I can't think of one right now.
Most of it is, is the realization that,
This IS our job. And you do it.
You do it because you understand that

What ever you have, you have to
GIVE TO THE PEOPLE

That's our only link, to ahhh to what
What I think people call this,
To... IMMORTALITY

And I really
That might be the wrong word.
But, OURS IS A CIRCLE THAT
NEVER ENDS

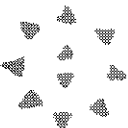
And we have to keep the spokes going
Keep the things going around and around.
And that's the way we look at it:

But, it's such a part of what you
are anyway,

That you don't look at it,
As being a separate issue.

I think, that maybe the hardest part
to explain

Is Clan Mothership.
Because of that, it's so, it's so
It is part of you, IT IS YOUR JOB,
It isn't separate, it doesn't become
separate.



EXCURSIONS

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Fleeta E
time of t
Mother.
a Pbd. c
Buffalo,

It's very difficult for me to tell you
What my job is, what a Clan Mother's
job is.
In the society because it is so normal,
Like washing dishes.

So really anybody could be, could do the
duties of a Clan Mother?

ONLY IF YOU FOLLOW EVERYTHING
IF you speak the language
IF you, if you LIVE and UNDERSTAND
WHAT YOU BELIEVE IN.
And you understand your responsibilities
Toward the CREATOR and that
WHOLE UNIVERSE
And that WHOLE Idea of Life.
Yes, anybody can, as a matter of fact,
WE ARE ALL SUPPOSED TO BE.

Your, YOU come, WE come,
With strict rules and regulations
From the CREATOR and that's down
To the Sea of People.
And out of the Sea of People
Come those people.
So, therefore, your responsibility
In your society, is as, is as important
You have to be that, in order to...

You have to understand that and
YOU'RE IN THAT SEA
And that's where all those people
come from.

**That's where your maintenance
comes from.**

The Creator left that really nice
For us people.
To be that link,
To understand all of that in nature.

And the rest of nature, it's there.

But for us, for his way of life,
Mind you,
It's got to be People who carry
that around.

Because we are the ones,
That have the minds
We're the ones that speak it
We're the ones that are expected to
understand.

Allllll that responsibility.

Is left to us **TO DO.**

I don't know if I'm answering
your question,

But, that is the way I see it. ♦

*Fleeta Hill is a Seneca Clan Mother who, at the
time of this interview, was the assistant to the Clan
Mother. Agnes Williams is a Seneca woman who is
a Phd. candidate at the University of New York,
Buffalo, NY.*



gotta sing, gotta dance

M.A. Barkhouse

Mary Anne Barkhouse
Gotta Sing, Gotta Dance
5¾ inches x 8¼ inches
1991

Older Than America

RESISTING THE PREDATOR

Look at us, look at us we are of earth and water
 Look at them, it is the same
 Look at us, we are suffering all these years
 Look at them, they are connected
 Look at us, we are in pain
 Look at them, surprised at our anger
 Look at us, we are struggling to survive
 Look at them, expecting sorrow being denied

Look at us, we are the ones called pagan
 Look at them, on their arrival
 Look at us, we are called subversive
 Look at them, descending from name callers
 Look at us, we wept sadly in the long darkness
 Look at them, hiding in technologic light
 Look at us, we buried the generations
 Look at them, they invented the body count

Look at us, we are older than America
 Look at them, chasing a Fountain of Youth
 Look at us, we are embracing earth
 Look at them, clutching today
 Look at us, we are living in the generations
 Look at them, existing in jobs and death

Look at us, we have escaped many times
 Look at them, they cannot remember
 Look at us, we are healing
 Look at them, their medicine is patented
 Look at us, we are trying
 Look at them, what are they doing
 Look at us, we are children of earth
 Look at them, who are they?

from *Tribal Voice*

A Santee Dakota from Nebraska and a Vietnam veteran, John Trudell was chair of the "Indians of All Tribes" occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1969 and, from 1973-1979, held the post of national chair of the American Indian Movement. He began to write poetry in 1979, after a politically motivated arson killed his wife, their three children and his mother-in-law in their Nevada home. Poetry and music now constitute his primary means of expression.

Trudell has produced and released four cassette tapes. The first, Tribal Voice, combines his poetry with traditional Indian music. The second and third, AKA Graffiti Man and Heart Jump Bouquet, were made in collaboration with legendary guitarist Jesse Ed Davis (who passed away in 1988). The Trudell/Davis "talking rock" combination gathered the praise of many high profile fans, including Bob Dylan, who declared AKA Graffiti Man "the best album of 1985" in a Rolling Stone magazine interview. Trudell's fourth release, But This Isn't El Salvador, is somewhat a mix of Tribal Voice and Graffiti Man in that it combines the Indian drum with rock 'n roll. The live performances of the Graffiti Man band now focus on that style.

John Trudell was interviewed in Minneapolis by Faye Brown and Dale Kakkak.



◀The Graffiti Man Band, with John Trudell (third from left). PHOTO: JONNIE FALLEY

Faye Brown/Dale Kakkak: You began writing in 1979, writing words down on paper. How did this evolve into producing music?

John Trudell: I started writing poetry in '79 but prior to that, I used to write a lot of statements for press releases and political things. When I started writing poetry, I was spending a lot of time around musicians and it wasn't a conscientious effort on my part. I just started writing poetry. It turned out that I was in this world of musicians and I was spending a lot of time with Jackson (Browne) and so maybe after a couple of years I just got the notion to put poetry to music. I thought it would work and that's what turned into my first release, *Tribal Voice*.

Can you talk about what you were trying to do with *Tribal Voice*?

What I wanted to do is to take poetry and put it with the oldest musical form being the drums and the chants. If that worked, then I wanted to take the poetry and put it with the newest musical forms: synthesizers and drum machines. But first it started with *Tribal Voice*. I did *Tribal Voice* with the drum, the oldest musical form. Part of what was in my mind was to take and mix what I consider to be natural elements and see what could be created by mixing natural elements with the technological aspects of society. The words, the lyrics, the poems, that's very natural, as is the natural element of the drum, and the harmonies, the chants, and then the energy that it takes, the coordination that it takes to put that together. I was looking at it as four natural elements and to see if it would sustain a value when it's mixed with the recording industry, with technical things, and so that was what *Tribal Voice* was all about. It was drawing on the

human energy, not the technological energy. We used the technological energy as a means to reproduce and distribute, but drew the core of it from the human energy. That was the same idea with *AKA Graffiti Man*. Once again, we built on the human energy and used the technological aspects for other purposes. But we had more instrumentation because we were using the newest forms of music. With *Graffiti Man*, we came to make art, Jesse and I. Our agreement was that we would make art, that was our goal.

AKA Graffiti Man was your first collaboration with Jesse Ed Davis... Can you talk a little about your relationship with him and how that came about?

My mind drifts a lot about my time with Jesse, but I know that what I wanted to do when I met Jesse was to put the spoken word with the newest musical forms, make the electric music. The various people I talked to and asked to help me, they didn't understand. They didn't connect and I spent two years looking, almost two and half years. I met Jesse in Long Beach, on May 1, 1985 and one of the very first things he said to me was "I can make music for your words." So we clicked. I just thought well, alright, and so that was on May Day. By the end of June, we were in studio recording *Graffiti Man*. But, originally, there's a song on there called "Lavenders Blues," which is the original name of that album. Jesse wanted it to be *Graffiti Man* because he thought it was a stronger reflection of the whole. So I called it "Lavenders Blues" and then Jesse would go "also known as *Graffiti Man*." In the end when we released the album, that's where *AKA Graffiti Man* actually came from.

I spent a lot of years doing a lot of different things, and I would say that out of my political experiences and all of the effects that that's had – from the relationships I've had with people and the people I've known – that brief period of time I had with Jesse was probably more compact. In three years, we wrote 22 or 23 songs together. It's some of Jesse's best stuff. Jesse extended me a lot of help, I mean he helped me in a lot of ways that can't be articulated. Jesse and I believed in each other. We had some different ways but we believed in each other. That's what made it work for us. In our own way, we both went to the last doorway and we opened that sucker, we saw what was back there and we handled it in our own ways but it affected both of us. I mean it affected us in a way that we can never be unaffected. It gave us a bond. He had his experiences, whatever they were and however they came about in the predator world, he had them, and I had mine. When I think back at some things, and I look at the consciousness and the things we were trying to do for the indigenous people and the affects that we were trying to have on the world, in some ways Jesse showed me a way that was maybe a lot more real than a lot of other things.

What way was that?

He showed me that it's through art, that's what he showed me. I mean he showed me by participating with me.

That art is a way to develop consciousness and create change.

Well, that's one way, yes, that's one of the results of it. But to me, we can be who we really are through art. We can be honest about who we are, we can be truthful

through art and culture. I don't mean that you have to be confessional all the time. I mean you can be a truthful person. You don't have to hide your life, or your beliefs, or a lot of things that people have to hide. Jesse showed me that in a lot of ways, and it wasn't just from the music. Jesse showed me that by him saying this, by him being who he was. His art gave him that freedom, whether people agreed or disagreed with whatever his life was all about, it gave him that freedom. I can imagine what the experience would have been for Jesse, his brilliance: it was magic what he could do with the guitar. I mean it was something that was in his DNA. Jesse was in the music industry when it was all peace and love, through the late 60s and through the 70s, and received recognition from other musical peers. But I imagine it had to be really hard to be an Indian trying to make it through that world. There were those who romanticized the Indians so that it's hard to be real there and there are those who want to exploit it so it's hard to be real there. I could imagine what that could be like. My feeling is, in his own way, by being an artist, he had a very real political experience. So, when we ended up meeting, we both had our political experiences. I mean he had his and I had mine, and this was our way of expressing the result of the experience. To me, that's what made the connection really happen.

So then you did a second recording with him?

We recorded one called *Heart Jump Bouquet*. We never really released it. I mean if people order it through the mail, they can get it one at a time, but we never distributed it wholesale because it doesn't have a real cover on it. What I mean by the real cover is it doesn't have the credits listed as to who the artists are.

But you're planning to release it?

Yes, the plan is to release it this year some time.

Can you talk about the music on that tape in relation to *Graffiti Man*?

Well, *Heart Jump Bouquet* is more musically developed because *Graffiti Man* is basically drum machines, electric guitar, synthesizer base. *Graffiti Man* is conceptually an acknowledgement to the Baby Boom Generation, whereas *Heart Jump Bouquet* conceptually is an acknowledgement to women. On *Heart Jump* we have saxophones and harmonicas and pianos and background vocals. It's more musically developed because that was the next progression and we're really pleased with it. We have a song in there "Poetic Motion," where Darryl Hannah does some of the lyrics for us and it's really cool.

And then you did another one with Quilt Man?

Last rush in Babylon
Voices catching up, Voices catching up
Watch out child, Watch out child
Babylon falling down, falling down

Society a broken promise
Edonomies wars citizen whores
Political pimps leaving us flat on our backs
Trading today, waiting for the promised land

Roles playing roles
Covering everyday's fear
Going off to work
Having the job work on us

In the eyes of God building the bomb
Loving thyself, hating thyself
and the illusion

Last rush in Babylon
Voices catching up, Voices catching up
Watch out child, Watch out child
Babylon falling down, falling down

Caligula laughs loudly through time
Twisting love to get at the sexes
Classes material consume
Designer worlds create electric impulses
Turning down life
The real goodbye
See it in our face
See it every place

Last rush in Babylon
Voices catching up, Voices catching up
Watch out child, Watch out child
Babylon falling down, falling down

from *Tribal Voice*

I did another one with Quilt Man, *But This Isn't El Salvador*, conceptually it was just something I had to say. There are three songs on there where we made the first blending of *Tribal Voice* and *Graffiti Man* because Jesse does guitar tracks on three of the songs. It was the first blending, it was the first mix. With what I do now with live performance and the new things that I'm working on and recording now, the drum is more a part of the band. What's actually happening is *Tribal Voice* and *Graffiti Man* are merging into one which was the intention all along.

And have you some albums in the works?

I'm writing now with Mark Shark. Mark has his own band out in California but when we had the band with Jesse, Mark was the rhythm guitar player. Mark and I are writing now and it's as good as the material that Jesse and I worked on. We're recording one album, *Fables and Other Realities*, and we have another album called *Blue Indians* that, at some point, we want to record because we've got all the songs for it.

You've been producing tapes and distributing them through the Peace Company, which is basically your company?

Right.

And what is that, what is the Peace Company and why is it called the Peace Company? What does it do?

It's the idea of peace. I think peace as a word is an incantation and when you go back in to healing processes, natural healing processes, the healer makes an incantation to go with the ceremony. What an incantation is are the words that must be said before there can be a healing, they must be said; there'll be no healing if these words aren't said. So I figured that before there can be a healing, generally speaking, I think that peace might be the incantation, that it might be one of the words that is the incantation. What I don't know is how many times it has to be said. By going with the Peace Company, the word gets used in relation to everything we're doing, because we know that word peace is used. What we use the Peace Company for at this point is to distribute me and Jesse's work, me and Quilt's and shortly, me and Mark's, but to distribute our work and always attempt to maintain some clear consciousness about the environment and our relationship to the earth.

So some of the shows you're doing now are peace and earth shows?

Yeah, that's one of the things we're working on, peace with earth...

Can you talk about that concept?

It goes back again to peace being the incantation so we're placing it now with earth because we also need to start consciously and conscientiously re-identifying our relationship to the earth even if it's done in subconscious ways. We need to start re-identifying, I mean as individuals, not just as a society. The society can't re-identify if the individuals don't. We're using that kind of an idea, peace with earth. What we would ideally like to be doing is events. Maybe they're concerts or maybe they're something else, but where you draw the community together around that ideal of peace with earth.

You've been a political activist most of your life. Do you now define yourself as a poet?

No, I don't define myself as a poet. I'm a result of all my experiences. I may be following some kind of direction I wasn't following before, but I have a certain consciousness and no matter what my path is, my consciousness doesn't get erased, my sense of right and wrong or justice and injustice, none of that gets erased. No, I'm not an activist, but I'm active; I'm not a poet but I write poems, I'm not an entertainer but I perform. Why I can do some of these things or how it comes about is way beyond me, I have no idea. I'm just another human being trying to make it through the predator world and I can't take credit for anything more than that.

Sometimes I look around and I look back and I see when we were all politically active and all this stuff was going on and I look around now and I see the survivors, but we're not as many as I thought we would be. I know that whatever I do, there are some things that I do that will maybe get me more recognition than the other survivors. But, in reality, I'm no more than one of the survivors too.

Despite all the changes we've been through within our own lifetime, the swim up the river never changed for me. What changed is only what people can see. And the whole swim up river has got to do with this: no surrender. In the course of swimming up this river, sometimes we got to retreat, sometimes we have to find silence, sometimes we have to just become invisible. But the whole thing is no surrender. I feel if that were a part of our consciousness, we wouldn't beat ourselves up for a lot of mistakes we made. We would just continue, just remember that: no surrender. I think it's crucial.

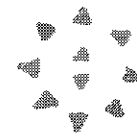
Everything goes in a flow. We talk about resistance and we talk about protest and we talk about a lot of things which are actually physical realities that we must do in some shape or form at this time. But what is important is the flow. You put a rock in the middle of the river and the rock will resist and the river will wear the rock down. You give it time enough and the water will wear it down. I'm thinking in terms of resistance - resist the predator, which is the right thing to do. But, yet, I got to think about what this really means because if I'm the rock in the river, even-

tually the river will wear me down. If I'm resisting the predator the way the rock resists the water, then the predator is going to get me down. We must not allow ourselves to be absorbed and destroyed by the predator; there's something we must do to prevent that from happening. But we have tried the protest and the confrontation and the resistance in the form that has been defined for us by the predator's definition and the predator wears us down and we become tricked into thinking something else and 100 years passes and we are much less than we were before.

My feeling is that if we could identify more peacefully with earth as individuals, develop a better conscious understanding with earth, then we will be going with the flow of life that emanates from earth and then maybe we become the water and the predator becomes the rock. But it's got to do with the mind. We are of the creative mind. We are of the creative mind and we can create a solution to the problem. But we can't fight our way to a solution and there are certain things we just can't do, for the time being, historically the way

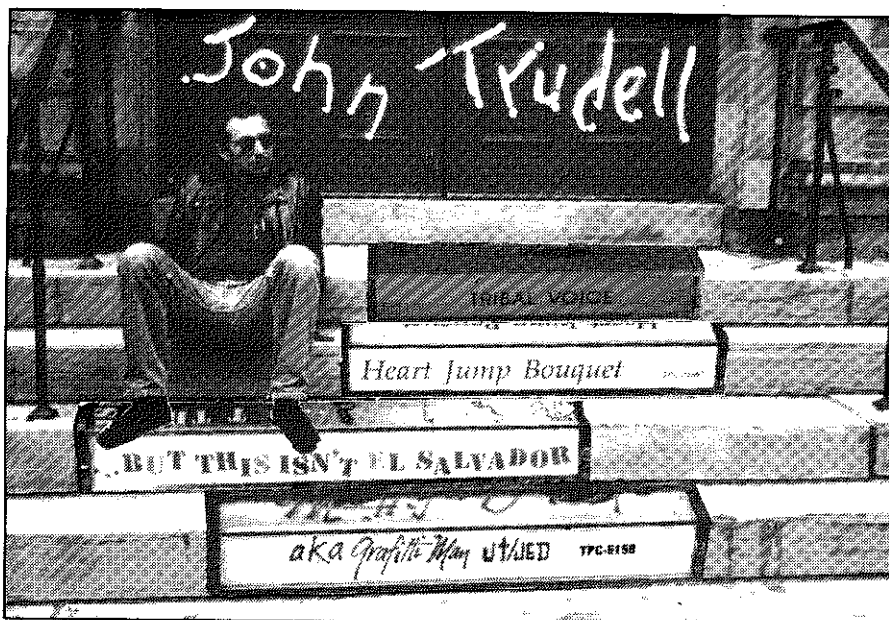
everything is. Yes, the fight might go on, but there's got to be some kind of evolving to a different form where we rely on the thought and the creative mind, which is the door to me. Our spirit communicates with our physical body through our creative mind and when we reach an understanding about that, then it makes our power stronger. We have to deal with the mundaneness of the predator world on an everyday basis, whether that mundaneness is sheer boredom from opulence, or whether that mundaneness is from having to hustle and scheme and everything you have to do to survive on the street, or whether that mundaneness is going off to that corporate office. We all have to deal with those things but that doesn't mean that the other part of us - our creative mind - can't be active. ♦

To order any of Trudell's works, contact the Peace Company, 1929 S. 15th St., Minneapolis, MN 55454. All tapes are \$10 each. For bulk order or booking information, call the Peace Company, at (612)333-6482.



"He's probably the most charismatic speaker I've ever heard."

—Bonnie Raitt



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— Bob Dylan (1986)

— F.B.I. memo

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Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Portrait of a Great Chief – Crowfoot
conté and oil on rag paper
19 inches x 26 inches
1975

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The history of Indian people could best be described as interpretations of related events by white historians. History, as most would agree, is a written summation of past events through the interpretation of various documents in various forms, which depict certain historical events. Indian people have been scrutinized and then depicted in these written documents. Essays have included depiction of Indian people as a defeated enemy, as a mistreated minority group, as a privileged citizen and as a mystic figure with mysterious powers. Perhaps there are other categories. The continued notion that writing about Indian people will somehow solve the "Indian problem" by allowing white people a truer understanding of Indian problems, beliefs and future vision, will not be the focus of this paper. Basic problems exist in the non-Indian world in numerous areas. This paper will discuss some problems that exist among groups who publicly exhibit some interest in associating with Indian "causes." The expression of these problems will be illustrated through the use of example.

Previous to this day we have heard of people who claim that they are going to save the earth. We have also heard discussion by those same people about evildoers who will destroy the earth. This is a flaw of white people's thinking. The inability to exclude the ego results in the notion that a certain people can not only destroy the earth but they can also save the earth. Never has a true Indian made such a claim. They should forget that they could destroy or save the earth and concentrate on humility. If the realization that they are insignificant in the natural scheme does not appear to them, then their insignificance will be demonstrated when the creation flicks them, like a dog flicks a flea. The day will come quickly. Two hundred years and they will be gone. Perhaps the slogan should be changed from "save the earth" to "save our butts."

A further distraction that has been placed upon Indian people is the notion of "rights." One day a well-meaning lawyer (if there is such a thing) or someone similar decided that, like all white people, Indians had rights. Indian people do not think in terms of rights but in terms of responsibility. Whatever flows from the fulfilment of those responsibilities are the gifts in life. The demanding of status from one's mere existence is ludicrous. The so-called fishing rights won by Indian people are not a gift bestowed by white people because of recognition by the white people of those rights. Those so-called "rights" are the result of traditional people fulfilling responsibilities to

fisheries through traditional ceremony and lifestyle. When it comes to fishing, Indians are not receiving a gift from the white people but a gift from the creation. The gift is the result of a fulfilment of responsibility through Indian belief.

The terms progressive or liberal seem to denote a socially conscious person. A socially conscious person would then be a person concerned with issues which bring about negative changes in Indian peoples' lifestyle, for the most part traditional lifestyles. If Indian people are being moved off the land on which they lived because of some corporate mining scheme, then a response would come from these socially conscious people. Unfortunately their social conscience is focussed against the corporate madhouse and with little interest in preserving traditional lifestyles. Publicly they use protection of the traditional lifestyle as a reason for their concern. That public outcry is a tool used against the corporate opposition and not necessarily a true concern. In the process of being socially conscious, white people always want to "understand" something before they can sanction validity with regards to that something. Indian people have been on this land a long time and have learned of the purpose of life. The white people do not need to understand that purpose but the white people have to start understanding their own purpose in life. Columbus called the people he first saw in this land *Indios*. The translation is - in god. The only *true* compliment a white people has ever given an Indian.

The final part of this paper is difficult. The difficulty lies in the admittance that not all Indians are Indians. They look Indian, talk Indian, and do a lot of things Indian people do except one. Indians who are paid for being Indian are not Indian. However, a larger problem exists, white folk who are paid for being Indian. The term white people has been used to this point as a descriptive word to denote a person who is of European ancestry. At this point the term white folk will be used instead. The terms have been changed to define the disgust the author holds for this category of people. White folk have decided that they can do everything Indians can do. As previously discussed, Indian people are being paid for being Indian. However, their numbers and their existence is small and short termed. These white folk on the other hand take out advertisements, send out mailers, and have seminars and workshops. They can, according to their pronouncements, turn anyone into a shaman, over the weekend, in six easy lessons, and various other ways. They almost sound like Madison Avenue

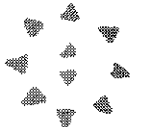
advertising experts. They're Madison Avenue for sure and experts at swindling the gullible. Unfortunately the gullible usually become "shamans" and then teachers, and the cycle continues. These white folk do know the twisted form of some ceremonies. This means an Indian somewhere in time allowed a white folk to view a ceremony and the rest is a bad experience. White folk as a matter of record always borrowed religions or belief from other people. The religion of the majority of people in this country is Christianity - a middle-eastern religion. White folk were never given a religion or belief by the creation, otherwise they would be involved in the practice of that religion or belief.

Throughout the course of existence Indian people have been subject to many predicaments. Adherence to traditional belief has always brought Indian people through these terrible times. However, Indian people will never face what the white people must face, they must face themselves. That includes the white people in the Americas and all other peoples of the Caucasian race. The two biggest bullies on earth continue to be white people who either live in the United States or the Soviet Union, with European white people closing fast. And the bullied continues to be native people of all lands.

In conclusion, reaction is the key word to remember. Record your reactions as you read this and act on that reaction in a beneficial way. Perhaps this paper is in error, perhaps this paper is exact. Just be grateful that I don't do this for a living and that my obscurity will continue. ♦

Obscurity As a Lifestyle

INDIAN PEOPLE
DO NOT THINK
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IN TERMS OF
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he title comes from the name of a funny movie Albert Brooks made a few years ago. It was about a yuppie couple in Southern California who, sick of their spiritually bankrupt lifestyle, cash in their expensive home, life savings, cars, and the rest of their possessions to create a "nest egg." This will give them the freedom to explore their full human potential, to be free, travel and "touch Indians."

They never make it to Indian Country, losing the nest egg in a Las Vegas casino. Mrs. Yuppie is reduced to working in a fast food restaurant in Arizona. (In the end Brooks goes back to his old profession with a renewed appreciation of material success; the movie wimps out and becomes sort of a cautionary tale about middle-class risk taking.)

The Lost couple might have chosen East LA or Compton, but they never consider touching Chicanos or African Americans. What we have here is a paradox: Indians are the poorest of the poor, yet Americans often plan vacations to their communities.

It's easy to laugh at such an absurd example of objectifying Indians. Yet in my experience, as a Comanche activist in the American Indian Movement in the 1970s, and one still committed to the Indian struggle, I find dialogue between Indian and non-Indian progressives consistently frustrated by the distinctive type of racism that confronts Indians. Often the left, feminists, and other movements who should be our allies have sought to "touch Indians" in ways both racist and destructive.

I Four key points about Indians

First, North America is Indian country. A very short history of North America: For thousands of years, as long as people have lived in Europe, hundreds of distinct peoples numbering in the tens of millions lived in North America.¹ Europeans invaded and after centuries of war and disease the Native population dropped to as few as three hundred thousand. The US and Canada are nations created on the destruction of Indian people and the theft of Indian land.

Because these are the unvarnished facts, any true history of this country, and any successful effort to change it must come from this understanding. Rapid City or Kenora are not Johannesburg. The US or Canada are not South Africa. But certain elemental truths are the same. Even

the most tortured lies and rationalizations fail to hide this basic truth. *The essence of the country is bound up in Indian land and African slave labour.*

Second, Indians live under a colonial system. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the US and the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada have almost total control over the lives of Indians living on reservations and reserves. Indian language and culture was forbidden until just 50 years ago. Under a system established in the US in 1934 each federally recognized tribe has an elected tribal council that makes decisions for the tribe, as long as the BIA Area Superintendent agrees. Jobs, health care, housing, all social services are provided by this agency, which was originally under the War Department. All leases for mineral, oil and gas and grazing rights are managed by the BIA. This system has produced astonishing results: we are by far the poorest people in the United States. We have our own health system called the Indian Health Service: with a budget of \$1 billion a year a third of us die by the age of 45,² we suffer from diseases unheard of anywhere else in North America, and a staggering percentage of Native women have been sterilized.

Third, Indians face a particular, highly developed and highly ideological kind of racism. Chief, tribe, warrior, medicine

man; these are all terms invented by Europeans to objectify Indians (as is the term Indian itself). For chief, president or prime minister would be equally accurate. Why tribe instead of nation? Warrior instead of fighter or soldier? Medicine man instead of religious leader or minister? Because it makes Indians strange and primitive. These terms make us the "other." They make it impossible to imagine us as contemporary human beings, or players in our own destiny.

Indian names were usually translated into English. Sitting Bull, not the Lakota language name is what is used. But Beethoven is not translated into English; if so it would be Beet Patch's Fifth Symphony and sound as ridiculous as Sitting Bull. But only Indian names are translated. Another example very specific to Indians relates to genealogy. I am sometimes asked "How much Indian are you?" or "Are you a fullblood?" from people who have never asked black people, lightskinned or otherwise "How much black are you?" or "Are you a fullblood black?" It rarely occurs to many non-Indians how weird it is to use these terms reserved exclusively for Indians. (In fact, the only real answer is that there are two kinds of people: Indians and others. Citizenship in Indian nations never

Lost in America

The US or Canada are not South Africa.
But certain elemental truths are the same.

PAUL
SMITH

had anything to do with blood count or status until after colonization and the Indian Act.)

Recently someone gave me a fundraising letter that discussed the terrible conditions on reservations in South Dakota. This letter, written by a white person, advocated a project called "Adopt an Elder." Now, there are old people in West Virginia that could talk about wars between coal miners and the companies, or who embody Appalachian culture and oral tradition. But would anyone seriously argue that the way to solve the problems of the region would be for people in New York to adopt a hillbilly? Is the most effective way to fight a strip-mining really to send \$20 a month to an Appalachian elder? Why would this be suggested for Indians when it seems absurd for others?

Fourth, Indians are just plain folks. I would argue that our struggle is subject to the same laws of history and economics as the struggle of coal miners or southern blacks. We are not an impenetrable mystery, and for non-Indians to support us does not require an advanced appreciation of our religions, or culture. You don't even have to read *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* or *Black Elk Speaks*, any more than you have to understand the history of quiltmaking to support striking coal miners.

Since we are just plain folks, we also have differences just like other people. Among Afro-Americans today you find a Marxist left, Louis Farrakhan, the Republic of New Africa, Jesse Jackson and Republicans. Why should it surprise anyone that we, who in many ways come from more diverse histories than any other minority group, also have a wide range of political views?

II

Romanticism from the standpoint of its victims

Some people have a chance to see firsthand the depth of racism to Indians in South Dakota. No objective observer in the 1970s of how South Dakota and South Dakotans handled the Indian movement had much trouble comparing it to Mississippi in the 1960s; and things have not changed that much.

That's one side of the coin. Another side must be of equal concern to progressives: romanticism. Although a precise definition doesn't exist, and opinions vary on what constitutes romanticism and what is legitimate interest in Indian culture, among Indians there is a strong feeling that we are ridiculed and portrayed in ways that no other minority group in this country has to endure. Sometimes this is obvious and ugly, like the professional sports teams called Redskins, Braves and Redmen. This country remains deeply racist, but it manages to avoid calling teams Darkies, Chinamen or Wetbacks.

Other times it seems benign or even positive. Some examples closer to home: in "feminist" circles preposterous books rip off Indian spiritualism and find a wide circulation. In many cities today a few hundred dollars will buy you an Indian spiritual experience: a sweat lodge, perhaps. A brief tour of any New Age bookstore will indicate the size of this growing industry.

I would argue that this often mindless appropriation of our culture, by our supposed allies, is also harmful to the Indian struggle.

Sometimes we cooperate out of a genuine belief that sharing our values and culture can be a useful way to advance our struggle. In the 1970s many in AIM, including some medicine men, felt that non-Indians (in actual practice almost always whites, and usually Indian fans) should not only participate in sweats but should even attend the Sun Dance. And for many, the idea of white people attending this sacred Lakota ceremony was anathema.

Sometimes it is just a meal ticket. I remember a Lakota from Pine Ridge (or maybe Rosebud) who toured Europe a few times and successfully raised money for his buffalo farm. Only when German backpackers showed up to visit the project they had generously supported was the buffalo farm revealed to be nonexistent.

Personally, I feel great empathy for the Indians who speak at New Age conferences on our spiritualism. I know that they know that I know that for them it's a job; better than some and worse than others, and anyway back home nobody's hiring.

Progressive non-Indians, however, must take this question seriously, since opinion among Indians may be divided on specific cases.

Many of us want to know exactly how is it different or more excusable for white folks to be fascinated with Indian culture than for Germans in World War II to become enthralled with Jewish folklore, Yiddish songs and dances and the mysticism of the religion. For all the vast differences in the situations, for us isn't such a crazy and overwrought example. After all, genocide isn't rhetoric for us, it's a fact. Any progressive German during that time had a very simple mission: fight Hitler. That was the only way to support Jews. Recording their ceremonies or adopting rabbis would not have been helpful.

During the Vietnam War North Americans on National Liberation Front tours of the country would often exclaim at the hardship of the people fighting the Americans; their need for clothing, food, medicine. The Vietnamese always told them the same thing: If you want to help us don't send food and medicine, *change the policies of your government.*

Progressive non-Indians must see their role with precisely the same clarity.

Progressive non-Indians must be leaders in the fight against racism toward Indians, and be willing to call romanticism the thuggish racism it really is. They must be

willing to explain to others why adopting elders is not useful, and why books by Castenada and Lynn Andrews rip off Indians instead of helping us. They should look for the issues on which Indians, blacks, latinos, asians and working-class whites can struggle on principled terms against common enemies. And they should look for ways to educate progressives on the true history of this country.

The new decade has already brought greater interest in the environment and New Age concerns than even the 1970s. Possibly, another energy crisis might occur, which would threaten increased exploitation of reservation resources. The demands on Indian lands, water, and other resources are often created by people very concerned about the environment, sometimes even with New Age consciousness. A more humane, environmentally concerned North America should be good news for Indians, yet this is not necessarily the case.

And, of course, 1992 will mark half a millennium since the European invasion. The federal government and many state governments are already planning commemorations. Believe it or not, there will be two sets of the Nina, Pinta and Santa Maria (one from Japan, the other from Spain) which will be in New York July 4, 1992, and in San Francisco October 12. Some work by Indian organizations is underway, but there is clearly more to be done.

With media attention to rival the Bicentennial, 1992 might be the last, best chance for many years to raise important political and ideological issues. This work should be taken on by all progressive North Americans in one form or another, since it asks a fundamental question: "How did you get here?"

The question is too important for guilt, romanticism or cheap sentimentality. ♦

NOTES

1. According to recent estimates by credentialed anthropologists, between twelve and thirty-five million people lived in North America in 1500.
2. According to Indian Health Service testimony to the US Congress in May, 1989.

Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds

Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds was born in Wichita, Kansas in 1954. He returned to the Cheyenne and Arapaho reservation area in 1980 after completing his non-ceremonial education at the Royal College of Art, London, England, Tyler School of Art, Philadelphia, Pa. and the University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas. Hachivi is now a headsman of the Tsistsistas (Cheyenne) Elk Warrior society, a follower of both the Sacred Ceremonial Keeper and the Tsistsistas Earth Renewal Priests. Hachivi maintains his role as one of the many young care takers of the tribal ceremonial ways.

Within the artistic community Hachivi is an associate professor of painting at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, Oklahoma. His drawings, paintings, video and public messages have been exhibited at Orchard Gallery, Derry, Northern Ireland, Documenta 8 Kassel, Germany, Museum of Modern Art, New York City, Exit Art, New York City and The Walker Art Centre of Minneapolis, Minnesota.



Olympic Exhibit "The Spirit Sings" are among those responsible for decimating its culture.

This billboard piece concerned itself also with another raging issue effecting the Native Canadian populations. Natives were protesting a Canadian government policy not to recognize as Indians any Indian women who marry white men and also their children. Making this policy

I ♦ IMPERIAL CANADA

"Imperial Canada" was presented at the Banff Centre, Alberta. The work was commissioned as part of an alternative exhibition organized to support the Lubicon Cree tribe. The exhibition, titled *Revisions*, supported the boycott against the Glenbow Museum which had assembled a \$2.6 million exhibit of Native artifacts for viewing by visitors of the 1988 Winter Olympics. The Lubicon Cree tribe stated that sponsors of the

even more bizarre was the provision that Indian men marrying white women would retain their Indian status.

A headsman of the Cheyenne Elk Warrior Society, Heap of Birds made this artist's statement in conjunction with his billboard text.

It is a racist-imperial nation that takes upon itself the outrageous privilege to determine who shall be considered Native in a land where the national lawmakers are immigrants. Native women in Canada are Native and so are their children; they always have been; they forever shall be.

A white Canadian law cannot make Indians nor can a white law un-make Indians. Through the war tactics of law, the white man seeks to extinguish the numbers of tribal people on paper; thus "legally" gaining the upper hand over the native populations of Canada in order to cheat the tribal Nations out of land claims that are truthfully theirs.

We are the indigenous hosts of this continent. Our way is to honour all beings who have chosen to share this earth.

2 ♦ BUILDING MINNESOTA

The oppression and slaughter of human beings by this white American society does not come from only hatred, it is the greed and potential growth of an economic hatred, it is the greed and potential growth of an economic apparatus that feeds the frenzy to kill and destroy people of colour, and other spirits that grow from the soil or move over the surface which is our earth. It is therefore proper that we inform the Minnesota public to Honour those 38 Dakota tribal citizens who were executed by hanging in Mankato, Minnesota in 1862 by the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln, and the citizens of Minnesota.

In respect, 38 Dakota/English red lettered metal signs shall be placed in the earth along the business zone of what was once called the Grain Belt. This is a proud "historical" district of the city of Minneapolis and the state of Minnesota which houses the grain mills and flour production with its canals and methods of shipping out the fruits of "American Progress."

It was the potential disruption of American commerce that cost the Dakota people their lives. The Native tribes of

the northern mid-west were not allowed the sovereignty and dignity to carry out their own economic livelihood through hunting and gathering. The Native land base of this region, as in all of America, did not have the right to exist intact in a prominent way and was automatically superceded by the invading immigrants and their hunger to cultivate and consume more of this earth.

As the 38 signs shall be offered along the water called the Mississippi, which remains the highway for American business, we seek to not only extract profit from our surroundings. We wish to honour the life-giving force of the waters that have truly preserved all of us from the beginning and to offer respect to the tortured spirits from 1862 that may have sought refuge and renewal through the original purity which is water.

Hachivi Edgar Heap of Birds, 1990



3 ♦ APARTHEID OKLAHOMA

1989 marked the centennial of white domination over the Native nations which survive in the land now called Oklahoma. The non-Indian citizens of Oklahoma commemorate the land-run by celebrating the beginning of the seizure of over thirty Indian reservations in 1889, from what was once mandated by the US Congress as Indian Territory.

From this celebration, now promoted as the birth of the white state, we can truly understand the festivities as a blatantly offensive act on the part of the so called "Sooners" and their insensitive pioneer spirit.

The "Sooners" sought, 100 years ago, to seize Native lands for themselves, thus destroying societies and Nations which were forced to Indian Territory as refu-

gees. To recall those grave days in the form of a statewide joyous observance, i.e. picnics, parades, carnivals and playground programmes for school age students, is a disgrace.

These exercises in racism and cover-ups of true "American" history must be answered. On April 14, 1989 as the "Sooners" celebrated and paraded, over 250 Native supporters countered the invasion celebration by marching in protest through the high-rise buildings of downtown Oklahoma City carrying their grievances to the steps of the state capitol. In support of the march to the capitol five billboards titled "Apartheid Oklahoma" were deployed in Norman and Oklahoma City, Oklahoma-Indian Territory.

4 ♦ HARD WEED

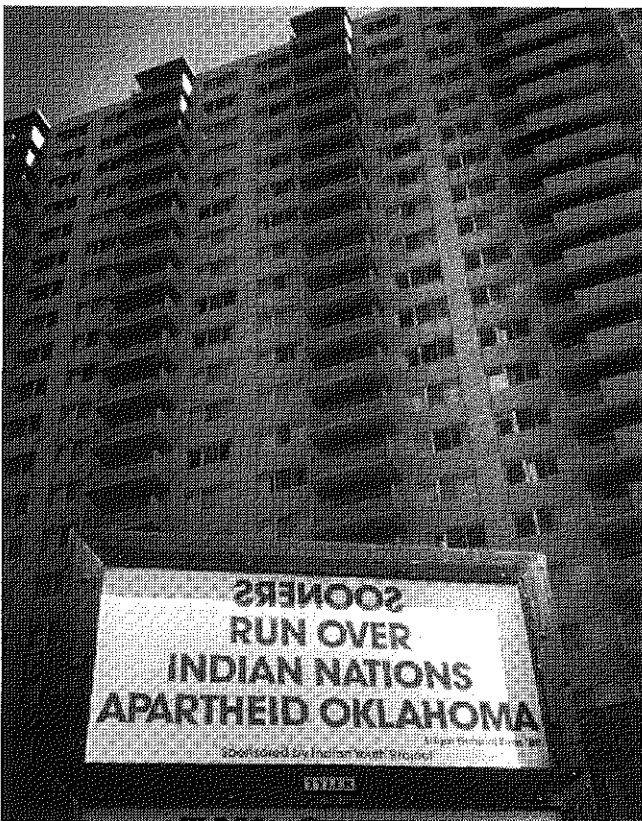
The four-wheel drive bounced its way back through the overgrown upper canyon lands. It was coming late summer and many grasses were dying out while a few hardy plants, that held important duties, pushed their way up to stand green in the hot August sun.

Lightening Woman surveyed the surrounding countryside from the truck. She remarked upon the evidence of the many growing things that she had not visited for many years; after the privilege of hiking was stolen from her ageing limbs. The bumpy truck had restored the adventure of her youth and she shined brightly as a modern herbal resource that spoke of uses found long ago for spirits in plant life ever present.

As we drove a memory of tribal bison hunting came to her. A quest for meat of which the preservation of food was linked to a plant source. Can this source be seen today? Was it visible to our young memories? Was it even evident as an important entity as its leaves blew with the wind and surrounding greenery which insulates this earth?

She pointed out the window to a stand of tall green plants with violet flowers. This was an important find. When the green leaves were stripped off the grow-ing shank a sharp straight flexible rod appeared. This tool of the earth became the much needed pinning device used in securing the bison meat as it hung over the drying racks to be preserved by the heat of the sun.

Now in my memory I always look to August as the time of the growth of violet and green. I welcome symbolic thoughts of the gathering of resources, for ahead awaits the challenge of the winter season. This same chilling force has always tested the knowledge, reverence and creativity of both tribe and individual. In order to survive and prosper through life's obstacles one must grow accustomed to provocation and never loose sight of the hard weed.



Lovely

Hula Lands



Corporate Tourism and the Prostitution of Hawaiian Culture

Burdened with commodification of our culture and exploitation of our people, Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness – and, for many, to participate in – our own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World.

HAUNANI-KAY TRASK

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A LOHA MAI.

Aloha kākou. I greet you as a genealogical descendant of the Hawaiian islands of Māui and Kaua'i, as an American-subjugated Native, as part of a non-self governing people – Hawaiians – and as a Polynesian member of the pan-Pacific movement for self-determination that has been growing in our part of the world for the last 40 years. I am speaking today as a Native Hawaiian woman in struggle.

I am certain that all of you have heard of Hawai'i. But I doubt that the history of how Hawai'i came to be territorially incorporated, and economically, politically, and culturally subordinated to the United States is known to many of you. Nor is it common knowledge that Hawaiians have been struggling for over 20 years to achieve a land base and some form of political sovereignty on the same level as American Indians. Finally, I would imagine that most Americans could not place Hawai'i or any other Pacific island on a map of the Pacific. But despite all this ignorance, five million Americans will vacation in my homeland this year and the next, and so on into the foreseeable capitalist future. Such are the intended privileges of the so-called American standard of living: ignorance of, and yet, power over, one's relation to Native peoples.

Thanks to post-war American imperialism, the ideology that the United States

has no overseas colonies and is, in fact, the champion of self-determination the world over, holds no greater sway than in the United States itself. To most white Americans, then, Hawai'i is *theirs*: to use, to take, and above all, to fantasize about long after the experience.

Just five hours away from California, Hawai'i is a thousand light years away in fantasy. Mostly a state of mind, Hawai'i is the image of escape from the rawness and violence of daily American life. Hawai'i – the word, the vision, the sound in the mind – is the fragrance and feel of soft kindness. Above all, Hawai'i is "she," the Western image of the Native "female" in her magical allure. And if luck prevails, some of "her" will rub off on you, the visitor.

This fictional Hawai'i comes out of the depths of Western sexual sickness which demands a dark, sin-free Native for instant gratification between imperialist wars. The attraction of Hawai'i is stimulated by slick Hollywood movies, saccharine Andy Williams music, and the constant psychological deprivations of maniacal American life. Tourists flock to my Native land for escape, but they are escaping into a state of mind while participating in the destruction of a host people in a Native place.

To Hawaiians, daily life is neither soft nor kind. In fact, the political, economic, and cultural reality for most Hawaiians is hard, ugly and cruel.

Today, glass and steel shopping malls with layered parking lots stretch over what was once the most ingeniously irrigated taro lands, feeding millions of Hawaiians over thousands of years. Large bays, delicately ringed long ago with well-stocked fishponds, are now heavily silted and cluttered with jet skis, windsurfers, and sailboats. Multi-storey hotels disgorge over six million tourists a year onto stunningly beautiful (and easily polluted) beaches, closing off access to locals. On our major islands of Hawai'i, Māui, O'ahu, and Kaua'i, meanwhile, military airfields, training camps, weapons storage facilities, and exclusive housing and beach areas remind the Native Hawaiian who owns Hawai'i: the foreign, colonial country called the United States of America.

But colonization has brought more than physical transformation to our lush and ancient islands. Visible in garish "Polynesian" revues, commercial ads using Hawaiian dance and language to sell vacations and condominiums, the trampling of our sacred *beiau* (temples) and burial grounds as tourist recreation sites, a grotesque commercialization of everything Hawaiian has damaged our people psychologically, reducing their ability to control their lands and waters, their daily

lives and the expression and integrity of their culture. The cheapening of Hawaiian culture (e.g. the traditional value of *aloha* as reciprocal love and generosity now used to sell everything from cars and plumbing to securities and air conditioning) is so complete that non-Hawaiians, at the urging of the tourist industry and the politicians, are transformed into "Hawaiians at heart," a phrase that speaks worlds about how grotesque the theft of things Hawaiian has become. Economically, the statistic of 30 tourists for every Native means that land and water, public policy, law and the general political attitude are shaped by the ebb and flow of tourist industry demands. For Hawaiians, the inundation of foreigners decrees marginalization in our own land.¹

In the vanguard of collaboration, the State of Hawai'i pours millions into the tourism industry, even to the extent of funding a booster club – the Hawai'i Visitors' Bureau – whose media propaganda tells locals, "the more you give" to tourism, the "more you get."²

And what Hawaiians "get" is population densities in some areas like Hong Kong, a housing shortage because of staggering numbers of migrants from the continental United States and from Asia, a soaring crime rate as impoverished locals prey on flauntingly rich tourists, and environmental crises, like water depletion, which threaten the entire archipelago. Rather than stem the flood, the state is projecting a tidal wave of twelve million tourists by the year 2010, and encouraging space facilities and battleship homeporting as added economic "security."³

For Hawaiians, this latest degradation is but another stage in the agony that began with the first footfall of European explorers in 1778, shattering two millennia of Hawaiian civilization characterized by an indigenous way of caring for the land (called *malama ʻāina* in Hawaiian). Introduced diseases from syphilis and tuberculosis to small pox, measles and leprosy killed Hawaiians by the hundreds of thousands, reducing our Native population (from an estimated one million at contact) by 95 percent in just over a hundred years.⁴ Gunboat diplomacy by Western powers and missionary duplicity against the Hawaiian chiefs forced the transformation of Hawaiian land tenure from communal use to private property by the middle of the 19th century. Called the Great Mahele, this dispossession of the Hawaiians' birthright – our *one hanāu*, or birthlands – allowed foreigners to own land. As the Hawaiian people continued to die off in multiple epidemics throughout the 19th



century, the *haole* (white) foreigner bought up more land until, by 1888, three-quarters of all arable land was controlled by *haole*.⁵ In this way, as one scholar has remarked, "Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration."⁶

In the meantime, Protestant missionizing constantly attacked Native customs from the *bula* to Hawaiian sexual practices while individual missionaries acquired vast acreages of Hawaiian land. Finally, the American military overthrew the constitutional Hawaiian government headed by Queen Lili'uokalani in 1893, with the familiar justification of "protecting American lives and property." Resistance by Hawaiians was crushed and an all-white puppet government called the Republic of Hawai'i was put in place in 1894, with forced annexation to (and citizenship in) the United States following in 1898. The ruling planter's party, composed primarily of missionary descendants, governed Hawai'i as an oligarchy throughout the Territorial era. Despite our Native people's opposition, Hawai'i became a state in 1959.⁷

As a result of these actions, Hawaiians became a conquered people, their lands and culture subordinated to another nation. Made to feel and survive as inferiors when their sovereignty as a nation was

forcibly ended by American military power, we Hawaiians were rendered politically and economically powerless by the turn of the century. Today, our people continue to suffer the effects of American colonization even after the alleged democratization of statehood. Preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal status from which to control our land base (over a million acres of so-called "trust" lands set aside by Congress for Native beneficiaries but leased by their alleged "trustee," the State of Hawai'i, to non-Natives), Hawaiians have been reduced to 20 percent of the resident population in our own land. Despite the presence of a small middle class, Hawaiians as a people register the same profile as other indigenous people controlled by the United States: high unemployment, catastrophic health problems, low educational attainment, large numbers institutionalized in the military and prisons, occupational ghettoization in poorly paid jobs, and increasing out-migration that amounts to diaspora.⁸ The latest affliction of colonialism – corporate tourism – has meant a particularly insidious form of cultural prostitution. The *bula*, for example, has been made ornamental, a form of exotica for the gaping tourist. Far from encourag-

ing a cultural revival, as tourist industry apologists contend, tourism has appropriated and prostituted the accomplishments of a resurgent interest in things Hawaiian (e.g. the current use of replicas of Hawaiian artifacts like fishing and food implements, capes, helmets and other symbols of ancient power to decorate hotels). Hawaiian women, meanwhile, are marketed on posters from Paris to Tokyo promising an unfettered, "primitive" sexuality. Burdened with commodification of our culture and exploitation of our people, Hawaiians exist in an occupied country whose hostage people are forced to witness (and, for many, to participate in) our own collective humiliation as tourist artifacts for the First World.

In Hawai'i, the destruction of our land and the prostitution of our culture is planned and executed by multi-national corporations (both foreign-based and Hawai'i-based) by huge landowners (like the missionary-descended Castle and Cook and others) and by collaborationist state and county governments. The ideological gloss that claims tourism to be our economic saviour and the "natural" result of Hawaiian culture is manufactured by ad agencies (like the state-supported Hawai'i Visitors' Bureau) and tour companies (many of which are owned by the airlines), and spewed out to the public through complicitous cultural engines like film, television and radio, and the daily newspapers. As for the local labour unions, both rank and file and management clamour for more tourists while the construction industry lobbies incessantly for larger resorts.

The major public educational institution, the University of Hawai'i, funnels millions of taxpayer dollars into a School of Travel Industry Management and a Business School replete with a Real Estate Center and a Chair of Free Enterprise. As the propaganda arm of the tourist industry in Hawai'i, both schools churn out studies that purport to show why Hawai'i needs more golf courses, hotels, and tourist infrastructure, and how Hawaiian culture is "naturally" one of giving and entertaining.

Of course, state-encouraged commodification and prostitution of Native cultures through tourism is not unique to Hawai'i. It is suffered by peoples in places as disparate as Goa, Australia, Tahiti and the south western United States. Indeed, the problem is so commonplace that international organizations – e.g. the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism out of Bangkok, the Center for Responsible Tourism in California, and the Third World European Network – have banded together to help give voice to Native peoples in daily resistance against corporate tourism. My focus on Hawai'i, although specific to my own culture, would likely transfer well when applied to other Native peoples.⁹

First, before I move into an analysis of our Native culture and its prostitution, let me just round out the statistical picture of corporate tourism in Hawai'i.

- ◆ Fact: Thirty years ago, at statehood, Hawai'i residents outnumbered tourists by more than 2 to 1. Today, tourists outnumber residents by 6 to 1; they outnumber Native Hawaiians by 30 to 1.¹⁰
- ◆ Fact: According to independent economists and criminologists, "tourism has been the single most powerful factor in O'ahu's crime rate," including crimes against people and property.¹¹
- ◆ Fact: Independent demographers have been pointing out for years that "tourism is the major source of population growth in Hawai'i" and that "rapid growth of the tourist industry ensures the trend toward a rapidly expanded population that receives lower per capita income."¹²
- ◆ Fact: The Bank of Hawai'i has reported that the average real incomes of Hawai'i residents have grown only one per cent during the period from the early seventies through the early eighties. The Census Bureau reports that personal income growth in Hawai'i during the same time was the lowest by far of any of the 50 American states.¹³
- ◆ Fact: Ground water supplies on O'ahu will be insufficient to meet the needs of residents and tourists by the year 2000.¹⁴
- ◆ Fact: According to the *Honolulu Advertiser*, "Japanese investors have spent more than \$7.1 billion on their acquisitions" since 1986 in Hawai'i. This kind of volume translates into huge alienations of land and properties. For example, nearly 2,000 acres of land on the Big Island of Hawai'i was purchased for \$18.5 million while over 7,000 acres on Moloka'i went for \$33 million. In 1989, over \$1 billion was spent by the Japanese on land alone.¹⁵
- ◆ Fact: More plants and animals from Hawai'i are now extinct or on the endangered species list than in all the rest of the United States.¹⁶
- ◆ Fact: More than 19,500 families are on the Hawaiian trust lands list, waiting for housing or pastoral lots.¹⁷
- ◆ Fact: The median cost of a home (including condominiums) on the most populated island of O'ahu is \$290,400, almost \$30,000 more than in the San Francisco Bay area.¹⁸
- ◆ Fact: Hawai'i has by far the worst ratio of average family income to average housing costs in the country. This explains why families spend nearly 52 percent of their gross income for housing costs.¹⁹
- ◆ Fact: Nearly one-fifth of Hawai'i's resident population is classified as *near-homeless*, that is, those for whom any mishap results in immediate on-the-street homelessness.²⁰

These kinds of random statistics render a very bleak picture, not at all what the posters and jingoistic tourist promoters would have you believe about Hawai'i.

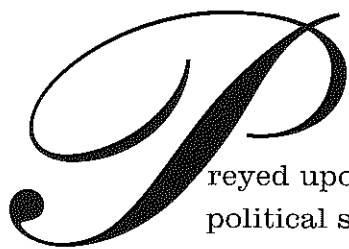
Now, some definitions of terms in my analysis.

My use of the word "tourism" in the Hawai'i context refers to a mass-based, corporately controlled industry that is both vertically and horizontally integrated such that one multi-national corporation owns an airline, the tour buses that transport tourists to the corporation-owned hotel where they eat in a corporation-owned restaurant, play golf and "experience" Hawai'i on corporation-owned recreation areas, and eventually consider buying a second-home built on corporation land. Profits, in this case, are mostly repatriated back to the home country. In Hawai'i, these "home" countries are Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Canada, Australia and the United States. In this sense, Hawai'i is very much like a Third World colony where the local elite – the Democratic Party in our state – collaborates in the rape of Native land and people.²¹

The mass nature of this kind of tourism results in mega-resort complexes on thousands of acres with demands for water and services that far surpass the needs of Hawai'i residents. These complexes may

bases and airports of their own. As you might imagine, the density of certain parts of Honolulu (e.g. Waikiki) is among the highest in the world. At the present visitor count, more than five million tourists pour through O'ahu, which is 90 miles in circumference and 40 miles across at its largest point. According to a statistician I met at an international tourism conference in Germany in 1986, Hawai'i suffers the greatest number of tourists per square mile than any other place on earth.

With this as a background on tourism, I want to move now into the area of cultural prostitution. "Prostitution" in this context refers to the entire institution which defines a woman (and by extension the "female") as an object of degraded and victimized sexual value for use and exchange through the medium of money. The "prostitute" is then a woman who sells her sexual capacities and is seen, thereby, to possess and reproduce them at will, that is, by her very "nature." The prostitute and the institution which creates and maintains her are, of course, of



Preyed upon by corporate tourism, caught in a political system where we have no separate legal status from which to control our land base, Hawaiians have been reduced to 20 percent of the resident population in our own land.

boast several hotels, golf courses, restaurants, and other "necessaries" to complete the total tourist experience. Infrastructure is usually built by the developer in exchange for county approval of more hotel units. In Hawai'i counties bid against each other to attract larger and larger complexes. "Rich" counties, then, are those with more resorts since they will pay more of the tax base of the county. The richest of these is the County of Honolulu which encompasses the entire island of O'ahu. This island is the site of four major tourist destinations, a major international airport, and 80 percent of the resident population of Hawai'i. The military also controls 25 percent of the island with

patriarchal origin. The pimp is the conduit of exchange, managing the commodity that is the prostitute while acting as the guard at the entry and exit gates, making sure the prostitute behaves as a prostitute by fulfilling her sexual-economic functions. The victims participate in their victimization with enormous ranges of feeling, including resistance and complicity, but the force and continuity of the institution are shaped by men.

There is much more to prostitution than my sketch reveals, but this must suffice for I am interested in using the

largest sense of this term as a metaphor in understanding what has happened to Hawaiian culture. My purpose is not to exact detail or fashion a model, but to convey the utter degradation of our culture and our people under corporate tourism by employing "prostitution" as an analytic category.

Finally, I have chosen four areas of Hawaiian culture to examine: our homeland, or *one hanaui* that is Hawai'i, our lands and fisheries, the outlying seas and the heavens; our language and dance; our familial relationships, and our women.

Na Mea Hawai'i – Things Hawaiian

The *mo'olelo*, or history of Hawaiians, is to be found in our genealogies. From our great cosmogenic genealogy, the *Kumulipo*,

Hawai'i itself is the female object of degraded and victimized sexual value.

derives the Hawaiian identity. The "essential lesson" of this genealogy is "the inter-relatedness of the Hawaiian world, and the inseparability of its constituent parts." Thus, "the genealogy of the land, the gods, chief and people intertwine one with the other, and with all aspects of the universe."²²

In the *mo'olelo* of Papa and Wakea, earth-mother and sky-father, our islands are born: Hawai'i, Māui, O'ahu, Kaua'i, and Ni'ihau. From their human offspring came the taro plant and from the taro came the Hawaiian people. The lessons of our genealogy are that human beings have a familial relationship to land and to the taro, our elder siblings, or *kua'ana*.

In Hawai'i, as in all of Polynesia, younger siblings must serve and honour elder siblings who, in turn, must feed and care for their younger siblings. Therefore, Hawaiians must cultivate and husband the land which will feed and provide for the Hawaiian people. This relationship of

people to land is called *mālama'aina* or *aloha'aina*, care and love of the land.

When people and land work together harmoniously, the balance that results is called *pono*. In Hawaiian society, the *ali'i*, or chiefs, were required to maintain order, abundance of food, and good government. The *maka'ainana* or common people worked the land and fed the chiefs; the *ail'i* organized production and appeased the gods.

Today, *mālama'aina* is called stewardship by some, although that word does not convey spiritual and genealogical connections. Nevertheless, to love and make the land flourish is a Hawaiian value. *Āina*, one of the words for land, means *that which feeds*. *Kama'aina*, a term for native-born people, means *child of the land*. Thus is the Hawaiian relationship to land both familial and reciprocal.

Our deities are also of the land: Pele is our volcano, Kane and Lono our fertile valleys and plains, Kanaloa our ocean and all that lives within it, and so on with the 40,000 and 400,000 gods of Hawai'i. Our whole universe, physical and metaphysical, is divine.

Within this world, the older people, or *kūpuna* are to cherish those who are younger, the *mo'opuna*. Unstinting generosity is a value and of high status. Social connections between our people are through *aloha*, simply translated as love, but carrying with it a profoundly Hawaiian sense that is, again, familial and genealogical. Hawaiians feel *aloha* for Hawai'i whence they come from, and for their Hawaiian kin upon whom they depend. It is nearly impossible to not practise *aloha* for something that is not familial. This is why we extend familial relations to those few non-Natives whom we feel understand and can reciprocate our *aloha*. But *aloha* is freely given and freely returned, it is not, and cannot be, demanded, or commanded. Above all, *aloha* is a cultural feeling and practice that works among the people and between the people and their land.

The significance and meaning of *aloha* underscores the centrality of the Hawaiian language or *ōlelo* to the culture. *ōlelo* means both language and tongue; *mo'ōlelo*, or history, is that which comes from the tongue, i.e. a story. *Haole* or white people say we have oral history, but what we have

are stories passed on through the generations. These are different from the *haole* sense of history. To Hawaiians in traditional society, language had tremendous power, thus the phrase, *i ka 'ōlelo ke ola; i ka 'ōlelo ka make* – in language is life, in language is death. Moreover, the language is given added power through the seriousness and preciousness of the form in which it is offered, such as chant, mele or formal speech.

After nearly 2,000 years of speaking Hawaiian, our people suffered the near extinction of our language through its banning by the American-imposed government in 1900, the year Hawai'i became a territory of the United States. All schools, government operations and official transactions were thereafter conducted in English, despite the fact that most people, including non-natives, still spoke Hawaiian at the turn of the century.

Since 1970, *ōlelo Hawai'i*, or the Hawaiian language, has undergone a tremendous revival, including the rise of language immersion schools. The State of Hawai'i now has two official languages, Hawaiian and English, and the call for Hawaiian language speakers and teachers is increasing every day.²³

Along with the flowering of Hawaiian language has come a flowering of Hawaiian dance, especially in its ancient form, called *bula kabiko*. Dance academies, known as *bālanu*, have proliferated throughout Hawai'i as have *kumu bula*, or dance masters, and formal competitions where all-night presentations continue for three or four days to throngs of appreciative listeners. Indeed, among Pacific Islanders, Hawaiian dance is considered one of the finest Polynesian art forms today.

Of course, the cultural revitalization that Hawaiians are now experiencing and transmitting to their children is as much a *repudiation* of colonization by so-called Western civilization in its American form as it is a *reclamation* of our own past and our own ways of life. This is why cultural revitalization is often resisted and disparaged by anthropologists and others: they see very clearly that its political effect is decolonization of the mind. Thus our rejection of the nuclear family as the basic unit of society and of individualism as the best form of human expression infuriates social workers, the churches, the legal system and educators to this day. Hawaiians continue to have allegedly "illegitimate" children, to *banai* or adopt both Western and adults outside of sanctioned Western legal concepts, to hold and use land and water in a collective form rather than a private property form, and to proscribe the notion and the value that one person should strive to surpass and therefore outshine all others.



All these Hawaiian values can be grouped under the idea of *'obana*, loosely translated as family, but more accurately imagined as a group of both closely and distantly-related people who share nearly everything, from land and food to children and status. Sharing is central to this value since it prevents individual decline. Of course, poverty is not thereby avoided, it is only shared with everyone in the unit. The *'obana* works effectively when the *Kua'ana* relationship (elder sibling/younger sibling reciprocity) is practised.

Finally, within the *'obana*, our women are considered the lifegivers of the nation and are accorded the respect and honour this status conveys. Our young women, like our young people in general, are the *pua*, or flower of our *lahui*, or our nation. The renowned beauty of our women, especially their sexual beauty, is not considered a commodity to be hoarded by fathers and brothers but an attribute of our people. Sexually-speaking, Hawaiians are very open and free about sexual relationships, although Christianity and organized religion have done much to damage these traditional sexual values.

With this understanding of what it means to be Hawaiian, I want to move now to the prostitution of our culture by tourism.

Hawai'i itself is the female object of degraded and victimized sexual value. Our *'aina*, or lands, are not any longer the source of food and shelter, but the source of money. Land is now called real estate; rather than our mother, Papa. The American relationship of people to the land is that of exploiter to exploited. Beautiful areas, once sacred to my people, are now expensive resorts; shorelines where net fishing, seaweed gathering and crabbing occurred are more and more the exclusive domain of recreational activities: sunbathing, windsurfing, jet skiing. Now, even access to beaches near hotels is strictly regulated or denied to the local public altogether.

The phrase *malama'aina* – to care for the land – is used by government officials to sell new projects and to convince the locals that hotels can be built with a concern for “ecology.” Hotel historians, like hotel doctors, are stationed in-house to soothe the visitors' stay with the pabulum of invented myths and tales of the “primitive.”

High schools and hotels adopt each other and funnel teenagers through major resorts for guided tours from kitchens to gardens to honeymoon suites in preparation for post-secondary jobs in the lowest-

paid industry in the state. In the meantime, tourist appreciation kits and movies are distributed through the State Department of Education to all elementary schools. One film, unashamedly titled “What's in it for Me?,” was devised to convince locals that tourism is, as the newspapers never tire of saying, “the only game in town.”

Of course, all this hype is necessary to hide the truth about tourism, the awful exploitative truth that the industry is the major cause of environmental degradation, low wages, land dispossession and the highest cost of living in the United States.

While this propaganda is churned out to local residents, the commercialization of Hawaiian culture proceeds with calls for more sensitive marketing of our Native values and practices. After all, a prostitute is only as good as her income-producing talents. These talents, in Hawaiian term, are the *bula*; the generosity, or *aloha*, of our people; the *u'i*, or youthful beauty of our women and men; and the continuing allure of our lands and waters, that is, of our place, Hawai'i.

The selling of these talents must produce income. And the function of tourism and the State of Hawai'i is to convert these attributes into profit.

The first requirement is the transformation of the product, or the cultural attribute, much as a woman must be transformed to look like a prostitute, i.e. something that is complicitous in her own commodification. Thus *bula* dancers wear clown-like make-up, don costumes from a mix of Polynesian cultures, and behave in a manner that is smutty and salacious rather than powerfully erotic. The distance between the smutty and the erotic is precisely the distance between Western culture and Hawaiian culture. In the hotel version of the *bula*, the sacredness of the dance has completely evaporated while the athleticism and sexual expression have been packaged like ornaments. The purpose is entertainment for profit rather than a joyful and truly Hawaiian celebration of human and divine nature.

But let us look at some examples. On page 6 in your Aloha Airlines booklet – shamelessly called the “Spirit of Aloha” – you will find a characteristic portrayal of commodified *bula* dancers, one male and one female. The costuming of the female is more South Pacific – the Cook Islands and Tahiti – while that of the male is more Hawaiian. (He wears a Hawaiian loincloth called a *malo*.) The ad smugly asserts the hotel dinner service as a *lū'au*, a

LUAU

A Thrilling Polynesian Revue
 Lavish Island Buffet
 Full/Open Bar from the Moment the Gates Open to Closing of the Show

Only \$39.95 per Person
 Children 12 and Under \$19.95 plus tax

Hawaiian feast, (which is misspelled) with a continuously open bar, lavish "island" buffet, and "thrilling" Polynesian revue. Needless to say, Hawaiians did not drink alcohol, eat "island" buffets, or participate in any "thrilling" revues before the advent of white people in our islands. Nor do most of us do these things at present.

But back to the ad. Lahaina, the location of the resort and once the capital of Hawai'i, is called "royal" because of its past association with our *ali'i*, or chiefs. Far from being royal today, Lahaina is sadly inundated by California yuppies, drug addicts and valley girls.

The male figure in the background is muscular, partially clothed, and unsmiling. Apparently, he is supposed to convey an image of Polynesian sexuality that is both enticing and threatening. The white

women in the audience can marvel at his physique and still remain safely distant. Like the black American male, this Polynesian man is a fantasy animal. He casts a slightly malevolent glance at our costumed maiden whose body posture and barely covered breasts contradict the innocent smile on her face.

Finally, the "wondrous allure" referred to in the ad applies to more than just the dancers in their performances; the physical beauty of Hawai'i "alive under the stars" is the larger reference.

In this little grotesquerie, the falseness and commercialism fairly scream out from the page. Our language, our dance, our young people, even our customs of eating are used to ensnare tourists. And the price is only a paltry \$39.95, not much for two thousand years of culture. Of course, the hotel will rake in tens of thousands of dollars a month on just the *luau*. Our young couple will make less than \$150 a week.

On page 6 of the Tipster section, there is an ad - called "Moloda'i Magic" - for 43.8 acres of our *'aina*, here described as "fee simple, secluded

oceanfront property." The area is depicted in typical Hollywood movie language - "swaying coconut trees, sandy beach, lush tropical vegetation, and a mature mango orchard." The emphasis is on the aesthetics of the land rather than its practical usages like fishing, farming and gathering. Calling this a "rare opportunity to enjoy Island living," the ad lists the price as \$4.4 million, hardly what Hawaiians would identify as "Island living." Notice that all realtors listed as contacts have Japanese surnames.

Leafing through the magazine, you can find various parts of our islands used as tourist attractions of all kinds: mountains on page 7; beaches on page 11; rugged coastlines on page 12; rivers on page 13; flowers on page 23 and on the inside/back cover; uplands on page 26; the volcano on the front cover; reefs and fish on page 28; rural Hawaiian communities on pages 16,

17, 18, 60 and 61; and Hawaiian art on page 62. Even Hawaiian activists attempting to preserve the *'aina* in a Hawaiian manner can be found on page 51.

The point, of course, is that everything in Hawai'i can be yours, that is, you the tourist, the non-Native, the visitor. The place, the people, the culture, even the identity as a "Native" is for sale. Thus, the magazine, like the airline that prints it, is called Aloha. The use of this word in a capitalist context is so far removed from any cultural context that it is, literally, meaningless.

But the transformation of a word or a value into its opposite is a by-product of commodification. Thus on page 8, we find two artists, both *haole* - one Israeli and the other American - proclaimed by the President of Aloha Airlines (himself a *haole*) to be *kama'aina*, that is, Native born children of the land. None of these three people are Hawaiian by genealogy or ancestry but, according to the article, they share Hawaiian values, and are thus transformed into Hawaiians. Its all rather easy. Just move to Hawai'i and you too can be "Native."

Lest you think these examples rare, I should say that this booklet is but one among thousands of propaganda pieces that litter Hawai'i. Indeed, tourist advertising is so commonplace, many Hawai'i residents are inured to its presence.

Thus Hawai'i, like a lovely woman, is there for the taking. Those with only a little money get a brief encounter, those with a lot of money, like the Japanese, get more. The state and counties will give tax breaks, build infrastructure, and have the governor personally welcome tourists to ensure they keep coming. Just as the pimp regulates prices and guards the commodity of the prostitute, so the state bargains with developers for access to Hawaiian land and culture. Who builds the biggest resorts to attract the affluent tourists gets the best deal: more hotel rooms, golf courses and restaurants approved. Permits are fast-tracked, height and density limits are suspended, new ground water sources are miraculously found.

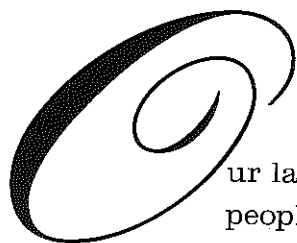
Hawaiians, meanwhile, have little choice in all this. We can fill up the unemployment lines, enter the military, work in the tourist industry, or leave Hawai'i. Increasingly, Hawaiians are leaving, not by choice but out of economic necessity.

Our people who work in the industry - dancers, waiters, singers, valets, gardeners, housekeepers, bartenders and even a few managers - make between \$10,000 and \$25,000 a year, an impossible salary for a family in Hawai'i. Psychologically, our

young people have begun to think of tourism as the only employment opportunity, trapped as they are by the lack of alternatives. For our young, modelling is a "cleaner" job when compared to waiting on tables, or dancing in a weekly revue, but modelling feeds on tourism and the commodification of Hawaiian women. In the end, the entire employment scene is shaped by tourism.

Despite their exploitation, Hawaiians' participation in tourism raises the problem of complicity. Because wages are so low and advancement so rare, whatever complicity exists is secondary to the economic hopelessness that drives Hawaiians into the industry. Refusing to contribute to the commercialization of one's culture becomes a peripheral concern when unemployment looms.

Of course, many Hawaiians do not see tourism as part of their colonization. Thus tourism is viewed as providing jobs, not as a form of cultural prostitution. Even those who have some glimmer of critical consciousness don't generally agree that the tourist industry prostitutes Hawaiian culture. To me, this is a measure of the depth



ur language, our dance, our young people, even our customs of eating are used to ensnare tourists.

of our mental oppression: we can't understand our own cultural degradation because we are living it. As colonized people, we are colonized to the extent that we are unaware of our oppression. When awareness begins, then so too does decolonization. Judging by the growing resistance to new hotels, to geothermal energy and manganese nodule mining which would supplement the tourist industry, and to increases in the sheer number of tourists, I would say that decolonization has begun, but we have many more stages to negotiate on our path to sovereignty.

My brief excursion into the prostitution of Hawaiian culture has done no more than give an overview. Now that you have heard a Native view, let me just leave this thought behind. If you are thinking of visiting my homeland, please don't. We don't want or need any more tourists, and we certainly don't like them. If you want to help our cause, pass this message on to your friends. Thank you. ♦

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NOTES

1. For a discussion of state policy based on the rapid expansion of the tourist industry and its crucial influence on in-migration and population growth, see Eleanor Nordyke, *The Peopling of Hawai'i*, 2nd ed. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989), p.134-172. In 1990, Hawaiians numbered around 225,000. The tourist count was projected to 6.5 million by the end of the year.
2. In the 1989-91 biennium budget of the Hawai'i state legislature, the Hawai'i Visitors' Bureau received over \$15 million.
3. Nordyke writes in *The Peopling of Hawai'i*, "In 1980 the gross density of Waikiki, including over 17,000 residents, 43,000 non-resident visitors, and 32,000 workers employed in the area was about 93,000 persons per square mile - one of the most densely populated regions in the world." p. 50. In April of 1990, the Waikiki Improvement Association reported the de facto population of Waikiki at 130,000. For examples of the socio-economic and environmental problems resulting from tourism see *Hawai'i Business*, April, 1985; Jon Matsuoka and Terry Kelly, "The Environmental, Economic, and Social Impacts of Resort Development and Report, vols. I and II, 1983, US Department of the Interior. For an analysis of the Territorial period (1900-1959), see Noel Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).
8. For statistics on Hawaiians, see *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. I, op. cit.; also see *E Ola Mau: Native Hawaiians Health Needs Study* (Honolulu: Alu Like, Inc., 1985).
9. The Center for Responsible Tourism and the Third World European Network were created out of the activism and organizing of the Ecumenical Coalition on Third World Tourism (ECTWT). This umbrella organization is composed of the following member bodies: All Africa Conference of Churches, Caribbean Conference of Churches, Christian Conference of Asia, Consejo Latinoamericano de Iglesias, Federation of Asian Bishops Conference/Office of Human Development, Middle East Council of Churches, Pacific Conference of Churches. In addition, sister organizations, like the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism, extend the network worldwide. The ECTWT publishes a quarterly magazine with articles on Third World tourism and its destructive effects from child prostitution to dispossession of Native peoples. The address for ECTWT is P.O. Box 24 Chorakhebu, Bangkok 10230, Thailand.
10. Nordyke, op. cit., pp. 134-172.
11. Meda Chesney-Lind, "Salient Factors in Hawai'i's Crime Rate," University of Hawai'i School of Social Work.
12. Nordyke, Ibid.
13. Bank of Hawai'i Annual Economic Report, 1984.
14. Estimate of independent hydrologist Kate Vandemoer to community organizing group, *Kupa'a He'eia*, February, 1990. Water quality and ground water depletion are two problems much discussed by state and county officials in Hawai'i but ignored when resort permits are considered.
15. *Honolulu Advertiser*, April 8, 1990.
16. David Stannard, Testimony against West Beach Estates. Land Use Commission, State of Hawai'i, January 10, 1985.
17. Department of Hawaiian Homelands, Annual Report, 1989.
18. *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, May 8, 1990.
19. Band of Hawai'i Annual Economic Report, 1984. This figure is outdated. My guess is that now, in 1990, families spend closer to 65 percent of their gross income for housing costs. Billion-dollar Japanese investments and other speculation have caused rentals and sales to skyrocket.
20. This is the estimate of a state-contracted firm that surveyed the islands for homeless and near-homeless families. Testimony was delivered to the state legislature, 1990 session.
21. For an analysis of post-statehood Hawai'i and its turn to mass-based corporate tourism, see Noel Kent, *Hawai'i: Islands Under the Influence*, op. cit. For an analysis of foreign investment in Hawai'i, see *A Study of Foreign Investment and Its Impact on the State*, Hawai'i Real Estate Center, University of Hawai'i, 1989.
22. Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Land and the Promise of Capitalism*, op. cit., p. 2.
23. See Larry Kimura, "Native Hawaiian Culture," in *Native Hawaiians Study Commission Report*, vol. I, op. cit., p. 173-197.

Tourism on Native Hawaiians," in *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare*, vol. 15, no. 4, 1988; David Stannard, "Tourism Called a Phony 'Happiness' Industry," in *Honolulu Star-Bulletin*, June 9, 1986; and the 1989 Declaration of the Hawai'i Ecumenical Coalition on Tourism which calls for a ban on all resorts in rural Hawaiian communities, among other things, unpublished but available from the American Friends Service Committee, Honolulu, Hawai'i. Finally, for state projections of tourist industry growth see Nordyke, op. cit., p. 256.

4. For Hawaiian population estimates, see David Stannard, *Before the Horror: The Population of Hawai'i on the Eve of Western Contact* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1989).

5. For the Hawaiian relationship to land and an analysis of the impact of the Great Mahele on this relationship, see Lilikala Kame'eleihiwa, *Land and the Promise of Capitalism*, Ph. D. Dissertation, History, University of Hawai'i, 1986.

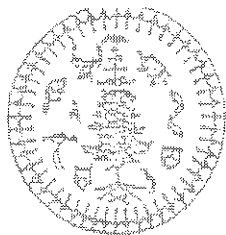
6. Neil Levy, "Native Hawaiian Land Rights," *California Law Review*, 63, July, 1975, p. 857.

7. For the original report on the overthrow and Native sentiment against annexation, see Hon. James Blount, the *Blount Report*, US 53rd Congress, Ed. Sess., 1894-95, House of Representatives. For the modern controversy over the culpability of the United States in the overthrow see, *Native Hawaiians Study Commission*

HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA

Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada JOL 1B0



HAUDENOSAUNEE

Communique:
July 16, 1990

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que.

It is urgently requested that you approach the Canadian government and the Province of Quebec to cease its violent racist activity against our people, The Mohawk Nation, especially at Kanesatake, Kahnawake and Akwesasne.

The Following is a brief resume of what has transpired to date:

On March 30, The Mohawk Nation territory of Ganienkeh was surrounded by 250 heavily armed New York State police. The circumstances for this were created and fabricated by the United States and New York State authorities after a helicopter was shot down near the Ganienkeh territory. To date, no one has been arrested for this incident.

On May 1, 1990 the Mohawk Nation Territory of Akwesasne was surrounded by approximately 2,500 heavily armed forces from New York State, Ontario, Quebec, The Canadian Army and National Guard. Large numbers of these forces remain today under the disguise of "peacekeeping".

On July 11, 1990, the Mohawk Nation territory of Kanesatake was attacked by the Quebec Provincial Police with tear gas, concussion grenades and intense automatic weapon fire. The resistance of the Mohawk people to surrender land which would cause us to uproot, relocate a burial ground of Mohawk people for the proposed expansion of a golf club.

Kanesatake has been sealed off by the Québec provincial police who have denied access in or out of the territory and have not been allowed the delivery of food and medical supplies or services. On this day a police officer was mortally wounded by gunfire but it has not been determined the source of this gunfire.

We, the Mohawks of Kahnawake, deeply grieve for the loss of life of this individual, and the loss to his family. Today, we will have a century old tobacco burning ceremony to ensure safe passage of his spirit into the after world.

On July 12, 1990, the Mohawks of Kahnawake took over the passage over the Mercier bridge in Montreal, in support of the Kanesatake Mohawks. Since then, the Quebec forces have sealed off the territory of Kahnawake, and [we] have been denied access in or out of the territory, and have not been allowed delivery of food or medical supplies or services.

ONCE AGAIN WE URGENTLY ASK YOU TO INTERCEDE WITH THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT, THE UNITED NATIONS, AND WHOEVER ELSE WE CAN CONTACT IN OUR HOUR OF NEED.

CONTACT: MOHAWK NATION OFFICE
SIX NATIONS CONFEDERACY
KAHNAWAKE BRANCH

TEL: (514) 638-4730
FAX: (514) 638-6790
(514) 638-1892

COMMUNIQUE:
JULY 16, 1990

IT IS URGENTLY REQUESTED THAT YOU APPROACH THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC TO CEASE ITS VIOLENT RACIST ACTIVITY AGAINST OUR PEOPLE, THE MOHAWK NATION, ESPECIALLY AT KANESATAKE, KAHNAWAKE AND AKWESASNE.

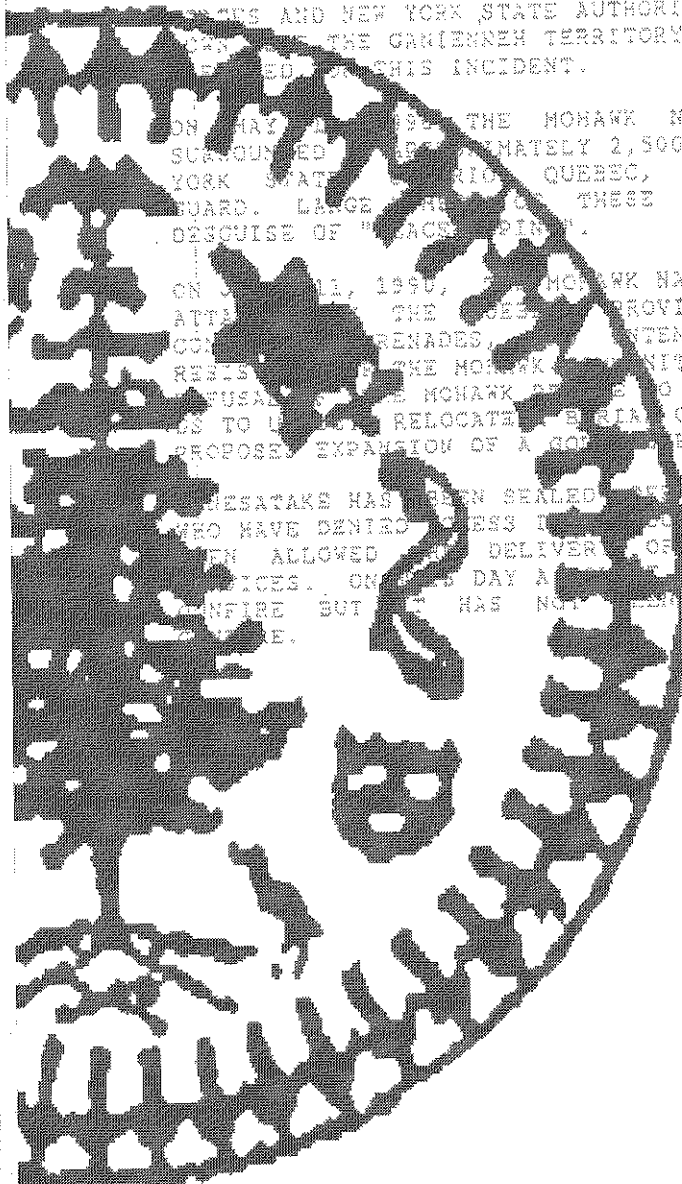
THE FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF RESUME OF WHAT HAS TRANSPIRED TO DATE:

ON MARCH 30, THE MOHAWK NATION TERRITORY OF GANIEKHEH WAS SURROUNDED BY 250 HEAVILY ARMED NEW YORK STATE POLICE. THE CIRCUMSTANCES FOR THIS WERE CREATED AND FABRICATED BY THE UNITED STATES AND NEW YORK STATE AUTHORITIES AFTER A HELICOPTER WAS SHOT DOWN NEAR THE GANIEKHEH TERRITORY. TO DATE, NO ONE HAS BEEN ARRESTED FOR THIS INCIDENT.

ON MAY 1, 1990, THE MOHAWK NATION TERRITORY OF AKWESASNE WAS SURROUNDED BY APPROXIMATELY 2,500 HEAVILY ARMED FORCES FROM NEW YORK STATE, ONTARIO, QUEBEC, THE CANADIAN ARMY AND NATIONAL GUARD. LARGE NUMBERS OF THESE FORCES REMAIN TODAY UNDER THE DISGUISE OF "PEACEKEEPING".

ON JULY 11, 1990, THE MOHAWK NATION TERRITORY OF KANESATAKE WAS ATTACKED BY THE QUEBEC PROVINCIAL POLICE WITH TEAR GAS, CONCUSSION GRENADES, AND INTENSE AUTOMATIC WEAPON FIRE. THE RESISTANCE OF THE MOHAWK PEOPLE TO SURRENDER LAND WHICH WOULD CAUSE US TO UPROOT, RELOCATE A BURIAL GROUND OF MOHAWK PEOPLE FOR THE PROPOSED EXPANSION OF A GOLF CLUB.

KANESATAKE HAS BEEN SEALED OFF BY THE QUEBEC PROVINCIAL POLICE WHO HAVE DENIED ACCESS IN OR OUT OF THE TERRITORY AND HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED THE DELIVERY OF FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES OR SERVICES. ON THIS DAY A POLICE OFFICER WAS MORTALLY WOUNDED BY GUNFIRE BUT IT HAS NOT BEEN DETERMINED THE SOURCE OF THIS GUNFIRE.



JULY 20TH, 1990

On the morning of Wednesday July 11, 1990 a heavily armed 500-man force of the Quebec Provincial Police attacked the 1,200 Mohawk People of Kanesatake, coming from the north and east. They did this behind tear gas canisters, concussion grenades and machine guns. They shredded massive trees in "The Pines" area. The gunfire killed one of their own and wounded many others. The Police advance.



Dámarys Sepúlveda
Película del Pasado y Futura de una raza (Film of the Past and Future of our Race)
etching
22 inches x 30 inches

Five Mohawk women were pezzed when the attack began. They availed themselves of the protection they were trying to protect. On the wind that sent the tear gas back to the Police. It gave the Mohawk men positions to cover the women on the inside. The Q.P.P. withdrew quickly with their cruisers, 2 vans and a bulldozer.

At issue is a piece of ancestral land that the municipal government is adding pine holes to their present development of condominiums. ONLY TO ENSURE SAFE the Oka municipality and one of the

members of the Oka golf club. Prime Minister Mulroney gave tacit and direct approval of the government in its supremacist stand and actions against the Mohawks of Kanesatake. FROM ORGANIZATIONS RED CROSS, UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA; NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY LIBERAL M.P. ETHEL BLONDIN, QUEBEC.

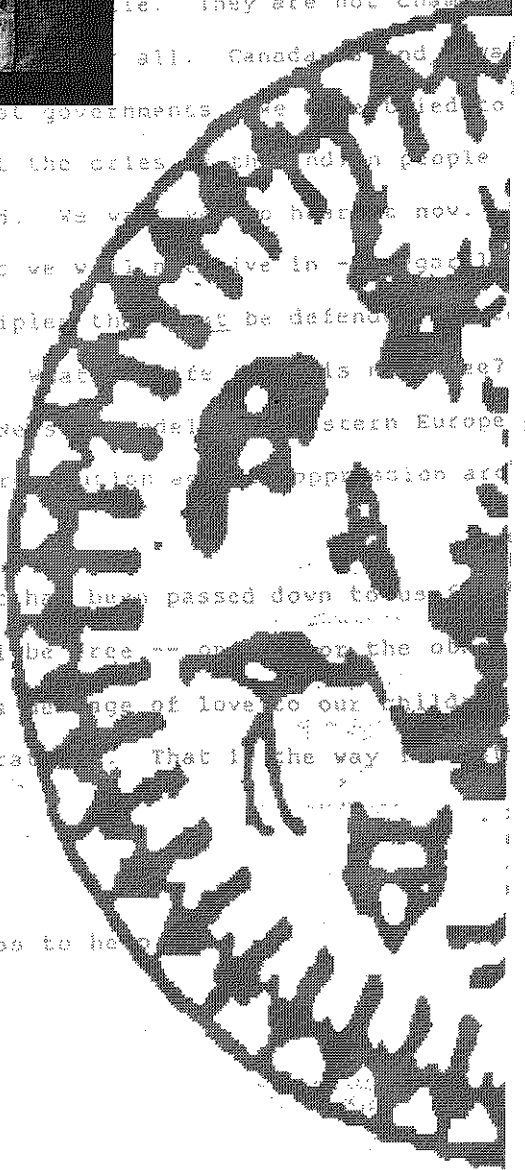
International moral support has been received from organizations worldwide, e.g. World Council of Churches, the Red Cross, United Church of Canada, African National Congress. In Canada, New Democratic Party leader Audrey McLaughlin, Liberal M.P. Ethel Blondin, Mr. Bernard Landry of the Quebec Party Quebecois. This is only a partial list and is continually growing.

Presently when peace, freedom, democracy and self-determination for people and nations are being promoted by the U.S. and Canadian governments throughout the world; these very governments are determined to terminate the inherent rights of Native sovereignty.

An immediate international investigation should be conducted as to violations and abuses of the treaties between the Native people and the United States, Canada and Great Britain, which are still valid today. The adamant refusal to acknowledge the sovereign status of the Mohawk nation, and as people, the flagrant violation of basic human rights.

Once again we urgently ask you to intercede with the Canadian Government, The United Nations, and whoever can be of assistance in our hour of need.

of the Kahawake Mohawk ridge to which pass through their territory against the Kanesatake and Ottawa could be achieved by denying the psychological weapon to others of our people Indians of Kanesatake and the people is unending. We want the world to know that Canada is not a country of racist governments. You hear this so very often, but the cries of the people of Canada could never be heard. We want to hear a voice that you to understand that we will live in the world. There are principles that must be defended. That life be worth living. Isn't that the message of the people of Eastern Europe? Isn't that the message of the people of Africa? Isn't that the message of the people of the world? It is the message that has been passed down to us from the beginning of time. We will be free from the oppression of this commitment, we give a message of love to our children and grandchildren to seven generations. That is the way of the Mohawk Nation.



Niatwen
for your willingness to help
peace and friendship
The Mohawk Nation
The Nations' Indigenous Confederacy

HAUDENOSAUNEE

MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada JOL 1B0

NEWS RELEASE

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

1990

**Communique:
July 20th, 1990**

... hearts and tranquil minds, the Kanienkehake people
... assaults promised by the racist governments of
... and Robert Bourassa. Our peace and tranquility
... the knowledge that we have followed our law and worked
... with all of our might. Now that war is being forced
... will turn our hearts and minds to war and it too we
... with all of our might. Ours is a just and honorable
... it flows from our laws and our way. Our enemies have
... for. They have no such commitment to the principles
... justice based on truth and the equality of all
... people. Our strength of heart, mind and spirit flows from
... principles. As we stand before the darkest enemies of
... and the nobility of all life, we are unafraid. Our
... strong. We are together at last with ourselves and
... our ancestors; we are proud before our children and
... sons unborn. We are true to the spirits of our past,
... to the spirits of our present. We are true to the
... those unborn. We are free. No yoke of white
... oppression can contain us. We are free.

Mohawk Nation Office
Six Nation Iroquois Confederacy
Kahnawake Branch

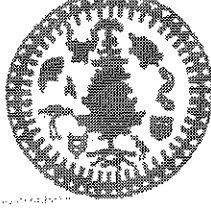
(514) 638-4750
(514) 638-4750
638-1692

Kanesatake Branch

(514) 479-8353
(514) 479-8354

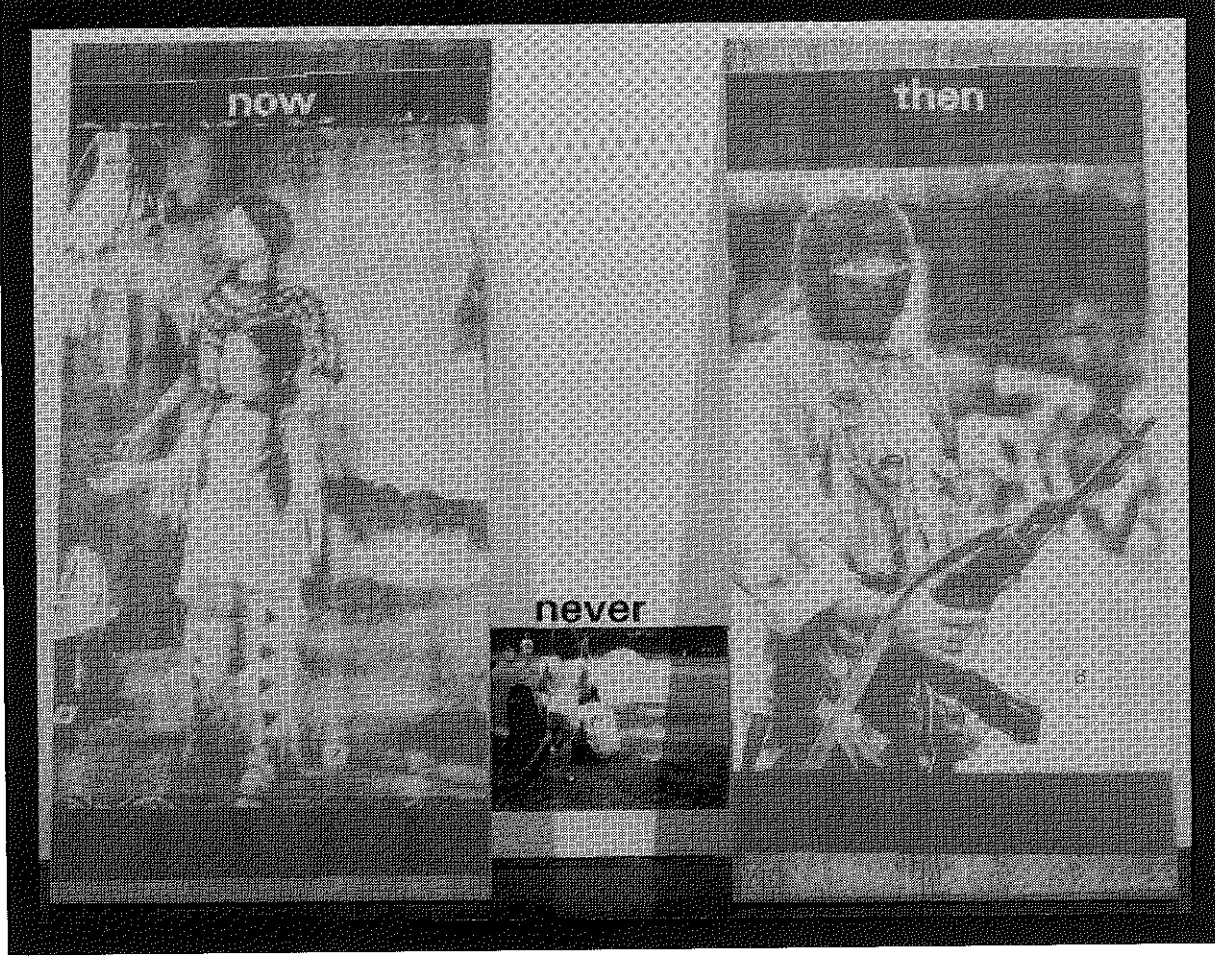
On the morning of Wednesday July 11, 1990 a heavily armed
500-man force of the Quebec Provincial Police attacked the 1,200
Mohawk people of Kanesatake, composed mostly of women, chil-
dren and elders. They did this behind a barrage of tear-gas, canis-
ters, concussion grenades and automatic weapons fire that shred-
ded massive trees in "The Pines" at waist level. Their gunfire
killed one of their own snipers who was deployed ahead of the Po-
lice advance.

Five Mohawk women were performing a tobacco-burning
ceremony when the attack began. They avoided dying by
hugging the land they were trying to protect. Others were saved
by a shift in wind that sent the tear gas back into the face of the
Provincial Police. It gave Mohawk men time to get to their defen-
sive positions to cover the women on the outside and those on the
inside. The Q.P.P. withdrew quickly, leaving behind four police
cruisers, two vans and a bulldozer.



HAUDENOSAUNEE
MOHAWK • ONEIDA • ONONDAGA • CAYUGA • SENECA • TUSCARORA
Mohawk Nation Kahnawake Branch
Box 645, Kahnawake, Que., Canada JOL 1B0

MOHAWK HARBORS SOCIETY/MOHAWK SOVEREIGNTY SECURITY FORCE



... attacked the Mohawk
... soldiers, who were
... ars/helicopters. The
... and proceeded to fire
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... were able to tape
... cated denials by the
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... Robert Bourassa (who
... ec to justify the
... t maneuvers to date.
... ne treatment and the
... en citizens to protest
... nded to break the will
... the Oka Golf Course,
... e.
... acklash for the Native
... wk land claims in
... SIX OF QUEBEC IS OWNED
... ing is the fact that
... Joe David/Andrew Forster
... not Canada does not.
... Clinging to a Chiché
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... bec; the Canadian
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... o interesting to note is
... un their armoured person

THE CITIZENS OF CANADA ARE SPENDING OVER ONE MILLION DOLLARS PER DAY FOR THE SURETE DU
QUEBEC'S MANEUVERS AGAINST THE MOHAWK NATION. THE COSTS FOR THE CANADIAN ARMY AND
ALL OF THEIR MILITARY EQUIPMENT AND WEAPONRY IS ESTIMATED TO BE MUCH HIGHER.

AS CITIZENS OF CANADA, ARE YOU WILLING TO CONTINUE FINANCING THIS GENOCIDAL WAR ON THE
MOHAWK MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN????

09-18-90

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September 10, 1990, we of the Mohawk Nation and it's allies have to reach a peaceful conclusion to the present crisis. It's roots long before that. The problems between our people and Canadian political leaders to legitimate concerns and rights and Premier Bourassa have a y of our claims and promised in a real manner, it remains

ship of the Canadian and their responsibilities since the beginning of this nor discussed the issues, not a public know in your hearts

the last ten days, we behind numerous communications with to avoid discussions with ye chancel Prime Minister Mulronee their rather of office decision making authority to th

have attempted to communicate all our efforts have been a obviously making all the de y on behalf of YOU, the Canada

the last ten days the military h of national and international

we access to Doctors and medicine. we access to winter clothing and other of life.

we access to sufficient amounts of food. ing with all of our communications, ing those of our spiritual advisors, families,

At issue is a piece of ancestral Indian land, including a burial ground that the municipality of Oka wants, in order to add nine holes to their present 9-hole golf club, and to construct some 70

condominiums. Mayor Jean Ouellette of the Oka municipality and one of his councilors Rejean Larocque are members and shareholders of the Oka golf club. Prime Minister Brian Mulronee gave tacit and direct approval of the Provincial Government in its supremacist stand and actions against the Mohawks of Kanesatake.

The almost spontaneous reaction of the Kahnawake Mohawks, some forty miles to the east, in blocking the Mercier Bridge to Montreal and its approaches, all of which pass through their land, stopped any further police action against the Kanesatake people.

Today, what the governments of Quebec and Ottawa could not achieve by force of arms, they are trying to achieve by denying food and medical supplies, applying the psychological weapon of isolation, and even refusing entry to others of our people to visit, console and Council the Indians of Kanesatake and Kahnawake.

The long war of destructive attrition that Canada and its Provinces have waged against our people is unending. We want the world to know this. We want the world to know that Canada and its provinces are living a cruel lie. They are not champions of justice, fairness and equality for all. Canada is and always has been a country of racist governments. We have tried to tell you this so very often, but the cries of the Indian people in Canada could never be heard. We want to hear it now. We want you to understand that we will not give in — regardless of the cost. There are principles that must be defended in order that life be worth living. What is life if it not free? Is that not the message of Nelson Mandela and Eastern Europe? Isn't that the message of revolution against oppression around the world?

It is the message that has been passed down to us from the beginning of time. We will be free — one way or the other. By this commitment, we give a message of love to our children and grandchildren to seven generations. This is the way it must be.

**Nia:wen
Nia:wen for your willingness to help us.**



Quebec as witnesses selected by your

your governments promised that when the Mercier bridge was open and all barricades at Kahnawake and Kanesatake were removed discussions regarding our long term grievances would begin. Our people opened the roads and cleared the bridge, your discussions a

**Diane Pugen
b) Forest Floor: the Pines
Installation: cloth, pine needles,
branches wire**

1991.

Your army promised that once the roads were opened and the br territory. They lied! Since that time they have violated sacred longhouses, beaten our women, urinated on our children, raped our entire territory and last night fired weapons gas, and beat unarmed people.

Your government told the European parliament, (who stron announced your leaderships' role in this crisis), that they meeting with our representatives to end this stalemate. O again they have lied. No such meetings have occurred.

any put, your government has turned over the voice of people to soldiers, who are unaccountable to anyone. Do wonder why we cannot believe or trust Prime Minister Mulronee Premier Bourassa.

no mistake about it, we behind the barbed wire are will to lay down our weapons and to enter into a trusteeship as ceases to resolve our long term complaints is initiated. never demanded anything, nor do we now, before we take t first step.

All that we ask is for a process and not promises. All that ever received is promises and not action. This process, however, must begin at the same time as this disengagement.

Today we turned over to the media a complete set of all of communications to and from the military. We ask you, Canadian public to judge, who in this crisis has good faith who does not. Who seeks a peaceful resolution and who preventing it.

The abdication of the governments of Quebec and Canada leaves us choice. We will no longer discuss political problems with military who claim to be powerless to address them, yet denies to our civilian leadership.

We urge Canadians from all walks of life to demand to ye leadership a return to its sanity. We urge Canadians from a of life to demand of your leadership to assume i responsibility, not just to us, but also to you, to negotiate peaceful settlement to this crisis.



Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Buffalo Skull Mound
24 inches x 30 inches
1982

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The Sweetgrass Meaning of Solidarity

Four hundred ninety-nine years and a few days after the invasion began, I light a stalk of sage and watch the fast way it burns. The burning sage glows red. A cloud of smoke burns my eyes, blurring my vision. Smoke enters my nostrils. The burning smell clears my head. For a moment, the blurring, burning cloud hides the other cloud. "The stink hiding the sun," Cree poet Joy Harjo calls it.

500 Years of Resistance

Under the sage cloud, I smell strength. I breathe clear, clean air. I touch five centuries of invisibility that refuses to vanish. Sage gives me power – for a moment. Then the cloud is gone and the other smell returns. My smudge pot is black from the ashes of the sage stalk now consumed.

I reach for a braid of sweetgrass, the medicine that does not light easily nor burn fast. The sweetgrass smell works slowly, moving from my nostrils into my mind, arriving before announcing itself. In it, I see a wisp, not quite invisible. And I smell a different strength – a patient strength. The smell lingers amid other smells, 499 years and a few days after the invasion.

Soon, 499 will be 500. The US Quincentenary Jubilee Commission will spend \$80 million dollars to celebrate five centuries of attempted genocide and cultural imperialism.

Countries around the world will celebrate five centuries in which Europeans first

exploited native peoples' land and labour, then violated the dignity of humans around the globe, exploiting them as slaves, then cheap labour, to fuel arrogant greed.

The sage calls me to respond, to organize people to express indignation, to stand and say, "500 years and we are still

here. We have never given up and never will!" The sage makes me want to tell others to organize protests, anything to disrupt this self-congratulatory party. Then I smell the sweetgrass and sense that other strength.

Its lingering smell reminds me that the celebration is one moment in a 500-year party that Indian people have hosted, a party for which Indian people have done all the work. That longer party will continue long after the celebration is over. Sweetgrass patience tells me to balance my indignation with the kind of work that will give us all something to celebrate the next time one of these anniversaries comes along. When 1992 is over, what will we have done to bring an end to the longer party?

That is the question I smell when I burn sweetgrass. This 500th anniversary has been an opportunity for American Indian people from North, South and Central America and the Caribbean to ask questions about our future, and it has been an opportunity to celebrate our survival and our resistance. It has been an opportunity for us to acknowledge that ours is not the only story of survival and resistance.

Amid talk of coalitions, movements and solidarity, we have hoped that people will stand with us as the original people whose story is the beginning point of five cen-

ROBERT ALLEN WARRIOR

turies of resistance to oppression in these Americas, able to speak for ourselves and to articulate our own agenda for a just and peaceful future. Yet we are always in danger of being nothing more than a symbolic presence – the “poster children” of 1992.

As we make our plans and try to work together sweetgrass is an invitation to reflect on what solidarity with American Indian people means in 1992 and beyond. But, I should warn you, sweetgrass demands patience.

This summer, I was one of approximately 350 Indian people – including Yanomamis, Mapuches, Kumas, Quechuas, Caribs, Navajos, Hopis, Lummis, Lumbees, Osages, Inuits, Crees, and Seminoles – from North, South and Central America and the Caribbean who met in Ecuador for the first ever intercontinental encounter of American Indians. The theme was “500 Years of Indigenous Resistance.”

Working commissions developed statements concerning human rights, self-determination, and land claims. We heard a lot of speeches, wrote a lot of statements and manifestoes, and drove a couple dozen translators to exhaustion. In our final statement, “The Declaration of Quito,” we committed ourselves to international indigenous solidarity in confronting the quincentenary.

Our coming together was a fulfilment of prophecy. The Runa people of Mexico believe that the indigenous people of the Americas were divided long ago in two groups – people of the Eagle (those of the north) and people of the Condor (those of the South). When the Eagle and the Condor rejoin their tears, the Runa story goes, a new era of life and spirit will begin for American Indian people.

We fulfilled the prophecy at dawn of the first morning when Rose Augér and Ed Burnstick, Cree people from North America, led us in a pipe ceremony. We gathered around a blazing fire in cold, mountain air. Some Peruvians offered coca leaves to the fire to symbolize our unity. Rose and Ed passed a lighted braid of sweetgrass to people to come forward to offer prayers.

The local press attended the ceremony and called it a pagan rite that “evoked many gods.” The Baptist owners of the campsite were more than a little dismayed that their name would be linked with something pagan. Conference organizers discussed discontinuing the ceremonies due to the negative reactions.

But as Burnstick said, “We don’t just decide on our own. Rose is guided by the grandfathers. I think we have to follow our spiritual leaders and be willing to come out and do the ceremonies for our people and for the conference.” We continued the ceremony and kept the fire burning until the meeting was over.

In Quito, and in a North American follow-up meeting over the Columbus Day holiday weekend in Minneapolis, we

committed ourselves to two things. First, whatever else happens, we want 1992 primarily to be an opportunity to mobilize American Indian communities for long-range, constructive political action.

For instance, we were told at the Minneapolis meeting how Anishinabe organizers at White Earth in Minnesota are raising funds, pursuing legal strategies, and employing media in their campaign to recover tribal land that federal, state and county governments now hold. The year 1992 is an opportunity for them to bring increased public attention to their efforts and make land recovery a major state issue. Others discussed plans to organize in local communities around issues of religious freedom, protection of sacred sites and economic development.

We also discussed events and protests that will draw attention to American Indian issues. The International Indian Treaty Council will have its annual gathering in the Black Hills of South Dakota in June 1992. Indian organizations in San Francisco, New York and Minneapolis will coordinate responses to major quincentenary celebrations.

In the United States and Canada many groups see the quincentenary as an opportunity to create new movement toward fundamental social change. In South and Central America, the various popular movements are planning to stage major disruptions of government celebrations.

The second commitment made in Quito and Minneapolis was to resist non-Indian groups that attempt to exploit Indian people in 1992. In Latin America, Indian people have historically been a major factor in popular movements. They have laid down their lives on the front lines of revolutionary struggles but have benefited least when revolutions were successful. Their demands for self-determination and land rights have been dismissed, ignored or forgotten.

In the last 25 years, Indian people in the South have started their own political organizations out of their suspicions of popular movements, including liberation theology. In Nicaragua, for instance, the Miskito people have worked toward autonomous status. In Quito a Miskito delegate said, “Because of the Sandinistas we achieved autonomy, but our autonomy is in danger because of the new government. They are creating government offices that obstruct our work. But we are clear about our destiny and we will only take political positions that support our people. We won’t be a tool of someone else.”

Tensions between indigenous and popular movements are not keeping Indians and non-Indians from working together in the South in response to the quincentenary. Important work has come from unified analyses of racism by indigenous people and African people of the Americas. The tensions remain, though, presenting the popular movement with new demands from Indian people for cultural and political autonomy. “We should never commit ourselves to powers that will endanger our identity,” one Guatemalan del-

Whatever else happens, we want 1992 to be an opportunity to mobilize American Indian communities for long-range, constructive political action.

egate said in Quito.

The situation in the United States and Canada differs from that in the South insofar as many groups see 1992 as an opportunity to initiate some kind of broad based movement for fundamental social change. As Philip Tatjitsu Nash said in a recent Clergy and Laity Concerned newsletter, "This Quincentenary possibly provides progressives with our best opportunity since the Vietnam war to come together in a forward-looking, broad-based coalition. This is an issue that has something for everyone."

Working in coalitions like Nash describes is easy for no one, but it has always presented Indian people with special difficulties, both in the North and the South. Our primary focus as Indian people must be on establishing our right to a land base and a cultural and political status distinct from non-natives. As Ed Burnstick said in Quito, "We (the Cree) see ourselves as a nation with our own culture, government, and we won't allow Canada to call us ethnic, a minority or a class."

To realize our greatest hopes, fundamental change will have to take place, but Indian people have neither the numbers nor the resources to influence coalitions like our sisters and brothers in the South. As 1992 approaches, Indian people are finding our own power and our own voices. The quincentenary is a rare opportunity to speak for ourselves and bring the issues most important to us to the attention of people around the world.

Since the 16th century, Indian people have been surrounded by paternalistic mythology, getting lost in someone else's agenda. Within a few years of the invasion, Indians were a hot topic of political battles in Europe. People on one side described Indian people as savage brutes who deserved to be exploited, tortured, and exterminated. People on the other side described Indian people in glowing Utopian terms and held Spain in contempt for its cruelty and injustice.

But these battles were always about Europe. The Spanish had finally expelled the last of the Muslims in 1492 and found in the Americas a way to reassert themselves through discovery and conquest. The English, on the other hand, published accounts of Spanish cruelty and injustice to fuel their anti-Spain propaganda machine. The church in Rome used New World evangelism as a way to divert attention away from its crumbling European authority. Protestants and reformers, on the other hand, pointed to the conquest as evidence of papist evil and decadence.

The same kind of battles have continued ever since — in Puritan New England, the winning of the West, Hollywood westerns, the environmental movement, and New Age spirituality. Indian people are forever being discovered and rediscovered, being surrounded by thicker and thicker layers of mythology. And every generation predicts our inevitable and tragic disappearance.

After five centuries, Indian people are still here, resisting and surviving in whatever ways we can. We have been joined in that story by non-native people, such as 16th century priest and historian Bartolomé de las Casas, who spent their lives doing what they could to stand with the Indian people in protecting land, culture, and human dignity. Las Casas and his comrades renounced their economic and evangelistic privilege in order to prove to themselves and to Indian people that they could live peacefully and respectfully.

The year 1992 can be a time for all of us to begin learning how to be in solidarity with each other, mutually empowering our struggles for justice and peace. If we can stand together in defiance of the self-congratulatory celebrations, perhaps we will see the way toward standing together in constructive praxis, respect and hope for all humanity.

Within the informal network of Indians in North America, we are working hard to find ways out of the mythological nightmare. At the same time, we are committed to keeping any individual or group from using the quincentenary as a way of exclusively advancing their own agenda or ideology. Many of us are also committed to finding ways to be inclusive of others, especially African Americans, whose middle-passage of slavery and resistance began not long after ours. As one person at the Minneapolis meeting said: "No one owns 1992."

At the closing session of the Quito *encuentro*, Rose Augér spoke for the North American delegation, saying, "I am glad we can come together, North and South. It is in our prophecies. We are strong people. We are going to continue coming together in a strong way. People need to learn how to live again and help each other so we won't die at the hands of what has been oppressing us for 500 years. I plead with you that all of us learn to live in a harmonious way. I bless all of you who are here in a sacred manner. All my relations!"

When the encuentro was over, Indian people at a village called Huaycopungo feasted our coming together. From paper bags, we ate a dinner of goat, roasted corn, potatoes and salsa. We walked together to a hacienda Indians recently took over for themselves. We laughed across languages. We gathered in a public field for speeches, our numbers having grown to 3,000 or so, raising our fists and yelling "Viva!" whenever appropriate and sometimes when it wasn't.

All night long we danced. Terengo bands from around the continent played songs of love and heartbreak. Even when I awoke the next morning, frozen to the bone at 6 a.m., three bands were still playing and people were still dancing.

In the midst of the speeches and the dancing, some of us from North America borrowed a drum and got permission to

sing. We stood on the crowded stage of orators and musicians, waiting for our turn. Someone had lit some sage to bless the drum and our singing, and I knew then we would be doing an honour song. We passed the burning sage around, clearing our minds in its cloud.

Soon, we stepped forward to sing. The drummers began the slow, persistent beat of a Plains honour song that I did not know. Eugene Hasgood, a Diné (Navajo) man who lives on Big Mountain in Arizona, stretched his throat, tilted his head and sang the first phrase, alone, in a face-contorting high pitch. "Way yah hey way yah hi yah." Two more men joined him at his pitch, and then all of us joined them in whatever octave was comfortable. Some of the women added high-pitched trills — we call it *lu-lu-ing* on the southern plains.

When the beginning came around again, I tilted my head, stretched my throat, and added my voice after Eugene's first phrase. We sang through the song more times than I remember, each time gaining power and strength. I stood mesmerized by the sight of strong hands and muscular forearms beating drumsticks against the drum, beating out the earth's pulse.

After the song, I left the stage and walked to the back of the crowd. I saw a non-Indian friend and asked how people had responded to the honour song. Most Indians from the south had never heard our music. My friend told me that they seemed to enjoy it a lot. I mentioned what a great job Eugene had done leading the song. She agreed and said the men who joined him on the second phrase were also very good. I smiled. She didn't know I was one of the people she was complimenting, but she had heard my voice.

Before 1492 and every year since, Indian people have been singing songs and burning sage and sweetgrass, whether people hear their voices or not. After the quincentenary, Indian people will be singing songs and burning sage and sweetgrass, hearing and seeing what is on the other side of "the stink hiding the sun."

As 1992 approaches, clouds of sage smoke will be visible wherever people gather to crash the colonial party. The sweetgrass will not be so easy to find. The sweetgrass is what will linger after the countercelebrations and protests are over.

And if you listen closely, you will hear the music — the slow patient drumbeat and the stretched-neck strains. When you do, join the circle, listen to the sounds, and smell the smells. And if someone invites you to add your voice, by all means sing. ♦

Robert Allen Warrior is a member of the Osage nation and a doctoral candidate at Union Theological Seminary in New York City.

As 1992

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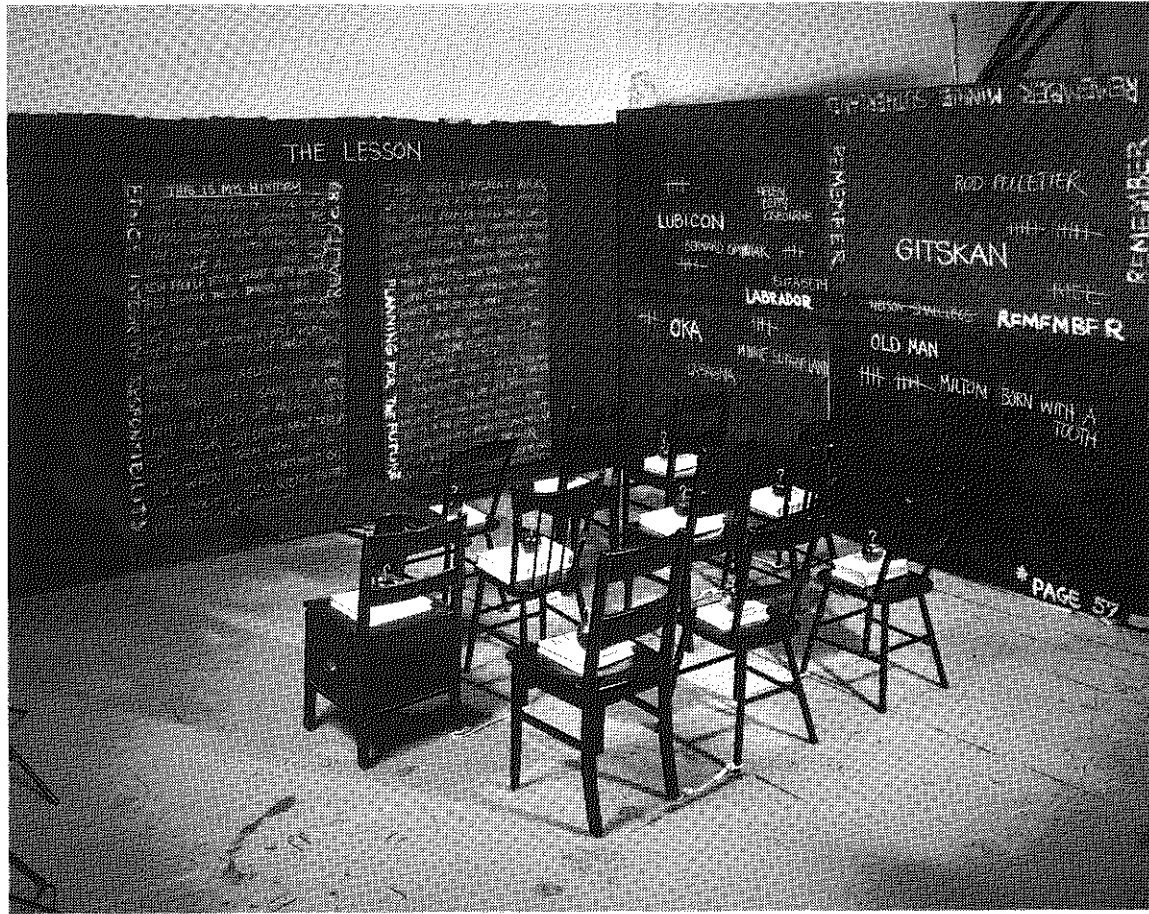
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Joane Cardinal-Schubert
Preservation of a Species: Deconstructivists – The Lesson
mixed media
12 feet x 12 feet x 8 feet
1991

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and pure water. They stole
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the taking they also stole our
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leaders, killed in battle or
assassinated. And now, after
all that, they've come for the
very last of our possessions;
now they want our pride,
our history, our spiritual
traditions. They want to
rewrite and remake these
things, to claim them for
themselves. The lies and
thefts just never end.*

Margo Thunderbird, 1988

Colonialism, Genocide and the Expropriation of Indigenous Spiritual Tradition in Contemporary Academia

WARD CHURCHILL

The exploitation and appropriation of Native American spiritual tradition is nothing new. In many ways the process began the moment the first of Columbus's wayward seamen washed up on a Caribbean beach, returning home with wondrous tales of "los Indios." And it has been functioning in increasingly concerted fashion, under rationales ranging from the crassly commercial to the "purely academic," ever since. Over the past two decades the ranks of those queueing up to cash in on the lucre and lustre of "American Indian Religious Studies" have come to include a number of "New Age" luminaries reinforced by a significant portion of the university elite.

The classic example of this has been Carlos Castaneda (aka Carlos Aranja), whose well-stewed borrowings from Timothy Leary, the Yogi Ramacharaka and Barbara Meyerhoff were blended with a liberal dose of his own turgid fantasies, packaged as a "Yaqui way of knowledge," and resulted not only in a lengthy string of best-sellers but a Ph.D. in anthropology from UCLA. So lacking was/is the base of real knowledge concerning things Indian within academia that it took nearly a decade to apprehend Castaneda as "the greatest anthropological hoax since Piltown Man," and one still encounters abundant instances of *The Teachings of Don Juan* and *Journey Through Ixtlan* being utilized in courses and cited (apparently in all seriousness) in ostensibly scholarly

works as offering "insight" into American Indian thought and spiritual practice.

Then there is "Dr. Jamake Highwater," an alleged Cherokee/Blackfeet from either Montana or Canada (the story varies from time to time), born by his own accounts in several different years. In an earlier incarnation (circa the late sixties), this same individual appeared as "Jay Marks," a non-Indian modern dance promoter in the San Francisco area whose main literary claim-to-fame was in having penned an "authorized biography" of rock star Mick Jagger. Small wonder that the many later texts of "Dr. Highwater" on Native American spirituality and the nature of the "primal mind" bear more than a passing resemblance to the lore of Greco-Roman mythos and the insights of hip-pop idiom à la *Rolling Stone* magazine. Still, Highwater's material consistently finds itself required reading in undergraduate courses and referenced in supposedly scholarly fora. The man has also received more than one hefty grant to translate his literary ramblings into "educational" PBS film productions.

Then again, there was Ruth Beebe Hill, whose epic potboiler novel, *Hanta Yo*, set certain sales records during the late seventies via the expedient of depicting the collectivist spirituality of the 19th century Lakota as nothing so much as the

scarcely an Indian in the United States has not been confronted by some hippie-like apparition wishing to teach crystal healing methods to Navajo grandmothers, claiming to be a pipe-carrier reincarnated from a 17th century Cheyenne warrior, and with an assumed "Indian name" such as "Beautiful Painted Arrow" or "Chief Piercing Eyes."

living prefiguration of her friend Ayn Rand's grossly individualistic crypto-fascism. In the face of near-universal howls of outrage from the contemporary Lakota community, Hill resorted to "validating" her postulations by retaining the services of a single aging and impoverished Sioux man, Alonzo Blacksmith (aka "Chunksa Yuha"), to attest to the book's "authenticity." Before dropping once again into a well-deserved obscurity, Blacksmith intoned — allegedly in a dialect unknown to Siouxian linguistics — that what Hill had written was true because "I, Chunksa Yuha, say so, say so." This ludicrous performance was sufficient to allow a range of professors to argue that the controversy was really "just a matter of opinion" because "all Indians are not in agreement as to the inaccuracy of *Hanta Yo*." Such pronouncements virtually ensured that sales would remain brisk in supermarkets and college bookstores, and that producer David Wolper would convert it into a TV mini-series entitled *Mystic Warrior* during the mid-eighties.

And, as if all this were not enough, we are currently treated to the spectacle of Lynn Andrews, an air-head "feminist" yuppie who once wrangled herself a weekend in the company of an elderly Indian man of indistinct tribal origin. In her version of events he had apparently been waiting his entire life for just such an opportunity to unburden himself of every inner-most secret of his people's spiritual knowledge. He immediately acquainted Andrews with previously unknown "facts" about the presence of katchinas on the Arctic Circle and the power of "Jaguar Women," charged her with serving as his "messenger," and sent her forth to write a series of books so outlandish in their pretensions as to make Castenada seem a model of propriety by comparison. Predictably, the Andrews books have begun to penetrate the "popular literature" curriculum of the academe.

To round out the picture, beyond the roster of such heavy-hitters circle a host of also-rans extending from "Chief Red Fox" and "Nino Cochise" (real names and ethnicities unknown) to Hyemeyohsts Storm, David Seals and scores of others, each of whom has made a significant recent contribution (for profit) to the misrepresentation and appropriation of indigenous spirituality, and most of whom have been tendered some measure of credibility by the "certified scholars" of American universities. One result is that at this juncture, scarcely an Indian in the United States has not been confronted by some hippie-like apparition wishing to teach crystal healing methods to Navajo grandmothers, claiming to be a pipe-carrier reincarnated from a 17th century Cheyenne warrior, and with an assumed "Indian name" such as "Beautiful Painted Arrow" or "Chief Piercing Eyes." Needless to say, this circumstance has in turn spawned a whole new clot of hucksters

such as "Sun Bear" (Vincent LaDuke, a Chippewa) who — along with his non-Indian consort cum business manager, "Wabun" (Marlise James) — has been able to make himself rather wealthy over the past few years by forming (on the basis of sizeable "membership fees") what he calls "the Bear Tribe," and selling ersatz sweat lodge and medicine wheel ceremonies to anyone who wants to play Indian for a day and can afford the price of admission.

As the Sioux scholar Vine Deloria, Jr. put it in 1982:

the realities of Indian belief and existence have become so misunderstood and distorted at this point that when a real Indian stands up and speaks the truth at any given moment, he or she is not only unlikely to be believed, but will probably be publicly contradicted and "corrected" by the citation of some non-Indian and totally inaccurate "expert." More young Indians in universities are now being trained to view themselves and their cultures in the terms prescribed by such experts rather than in the traditional terms of the tribal elders. The process automatically sets the members of Indian communities at odds with one another, while outsiders run around picking up the pieces for themselves. In this way, the experts are perfecting a system of self-validation in which all sense of honesty and accuracy are lost. This is not only a travesty of scholarship, but it is absolutely devastating to Indian societies.

Pam Colorado, an Oneida academic from the University of Alberta at Lethbridge, goes further:

The process is ultimately intended to supplant Indians, even in areas of their own customs and spirituality. In the end, non-Indians will have complete power to define what is and is not Indian, even for Indians. We are talking here about an absolute ideological/conceptual subordination of Indian people in addition to the total physical subordination they already experience. When this happens, the last vestiges of real Indian society and Indian rights will disappear. Non-Indians will then "own" our heritage and ideas as thoroughly as they now claim to own our land and resources.

A Little Matter of Genocide

Those who engage in such activities usually claim to do so not for the fame and fortune (real or potential) involved, but for loftier motives. Many of Castenada's defenders, for example, have argued that despite the blatant misrepresentation of Yaqui culture in which he has engaged, his books nonetheless articulate valid spiritual principles, the "higher truth value" of which simply transcend "petty criticism" such as demanding at least minimal adherence to facts. Similar themes have been

sounded with regard to Highwater, Andrews and others. Within academia proper, such thinking has led to the emergence of a whole new pseudo-discipline termed "ethnomethodology" in which inconvenient realities can be simply disregarded and allegorical "truth" is habitually substituted for conventional data. Harold Garfinkle, a founder of ethnomethodology at UCLA has contended that such an approach represents "the pursuit of knowledge in its purest form."

At another level, the poet Gary Snyder, who has won literary awards for the penning of verse in which he pretends to see the world through the eyes of an American Indian "shaman," has framed things more clearly: "Spirituality is not something that can be owned like a car or a house," says Snyder. "Spiritual knowledge belongs to all humanity equally. Given the state of the world today, we all have not only the right but the obligation to pursue all forms of spiritual insight, and at every possible level. In this sense, it seems to me that I have as much right to pursue and articulate the belief systems developed by Native Americans as they do, and arguments to the contrary strike me as absurd in the extreme."

Indeed, the expression of such proprietary interest in native spiritual tradition is hardly unique to Snyder. For instance, at a 1986 benefit concert staged to raise funds to support the efforts of traditional Navajos resisting forcible relocation from their homes around Big Mountain, Arizona, one non-Indian performer took the opportunity between each of her songs to "explain" one or another element of "Navajo religion" to the audience. Her presumption in this regard deeply offended several Navajos in attendance and, during an intermission, she was quietly told to refrain from any further such commentary. She thereupon returned to the stage and announced that her performance was over and that she was withdrawing her support to the Big Mountain struggle because the people of that area were "oppressing" her through denial of her "right" to serve as self-appointed spokesperson for their spirituality. "I have," she said, "just as much right to spiritual freedom as they do."

Those who hold positions of this sort often go beyond assertion of their supposed rights to contend that the arguments of their opponents are altogether lacking in substance. "What does it hurt if a bunch of people want to believe they're the personification of Hiawatha?" asks the manager of a natural foods store in Boulder, Colorado. "I will admit that things can get pretty silly in these circles, but so what? People have a right to be silly if they want to. And it's not like the old days when Indians were being killed left and right. You could even say that the attention being paid these days to Indian religions is sort of flattering. Anyway, there's no harm to anybody, and it's good for the people who do it."

The traditional Indian perspective is diametrically opposed. As Barbara Owl, a White Earth Anishinabe, recently put it:

We have many particular things which we hold internal to our cultures. These things are spiritual in nature, and they are for *us*, not for anyone who happens to walk in off the street. They are *ours* and they are *not* for sale. Because of this, I suppose it's accurate to say that such matters are our "secrets," the things which bind us together in our identities as distinct peoples. It's not that we never make outsiders aware of our secrets, but *we* — not *they* — decide what, how much, and to what purpose this knowledge is to be put. That's absolutely essential to our cultural integrity, and thus to our survival as peoples. Now, *surely* we Indians are entitled to *that*. Everything else has been stripped from us already.

"I'll tell you something else," Owl continued:

a lot of things about our spiritual ways may be secret, but the core idea has never been. And you can sum up that idea in one word spelled R-E-S-P-E-C-T. Respect for and balance between all things, that's our most fundamental spiritual concept. Now, obviously, those who would violate the trust and confidence which is placed in them when we share some of our secrets don't have the slightest sense of the word. Even worse are those who take this information and misuse or abuse it for their own purposes, marketing it in some way or another, turning our spirituality into a commodity in books or movies or classes or "ceremonials." And it doesn't really matter whether they are Indians or non-Indians when they do such things; the non-Indians who do it are thieves, and the Indians who do it are sell-outs and traitors.

Former American Indian Movement (AIM) leader Russell Means not only concurs with Owl's assessment, but adds a touch of terminological clarity to her argument:

What's at issue here is the same old question that Europeans have always posed with regard to American Indians, whether what's ours isn't somehow theirs. And of course they've always answered the question in the affirmative. When they wanted our land they just announced that they had a right to it and therefore owned it. When we resisted the taking of our land they claimed we were being unreasonable and committed physical genocide upon us in order to convince us to see things their way. Now, being spiritually bankrupt themselves, they want our spirituality as well. So they're making up

rationalizations to explain why they're entitled to it.

"We are resisting this," Means goes on:

because spirituality is the basis of our culture; if it is stolen, our culture will be dissolved. If our culture is dissolved, Indian people *as such* will cease to exist. By definition, the causing of any culture to cease to exist is an act of genocide. That's a matter of international law: look it up in the 1948 *Genocide Convention*. So, maybe this will give you another way of looking at these culture vultures who are ripping off Indian tradition. It's not an amusing or trivial matter, and it's not innocent or innocuous. And those who engage in this are not cute, groovy, hip, enlightened or any of the rest of the things they want to project themselves as being. No, what they're about is cultural genocide. And genocide is genocide, regardless of how you want to "qualify" it. So some of us are starting to react to these folks accordingly.

For those who would scoff at Means's concept of genocide, Mark Davis and Robert Zannis, Canadian researchers on colonialism, offer the following observation:

If people suddenly lose their "prime symbol," the basis of their culture, their lives lose meaning. They become disoriented, with no hope. A social disorganization often follows such a loss, they are often unable to insure their own survival.... The loss and human suffering of those whose culture has been healthy and is suddenly attacked and disintegrated are incalculable.

Therefore, Davis and Zannis conclude:

One should not speak lightly of "cultural genocide" as if it were a fanciful invention. The consequence in real life is far too grim to speak of cultural genocide as if it were a rhetorical device to beat the drums for "human rights." The cultural mode of group extermination is genocide, a crime. Nor should "cultural genocide" be used in the game: "Which is more horrible, to kill and torture, or to remove [the prime cultural symbol which is] the will and reason to live?" *Both* are horrible. ♦

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THE

Culture

OF

hydroelectric

Power

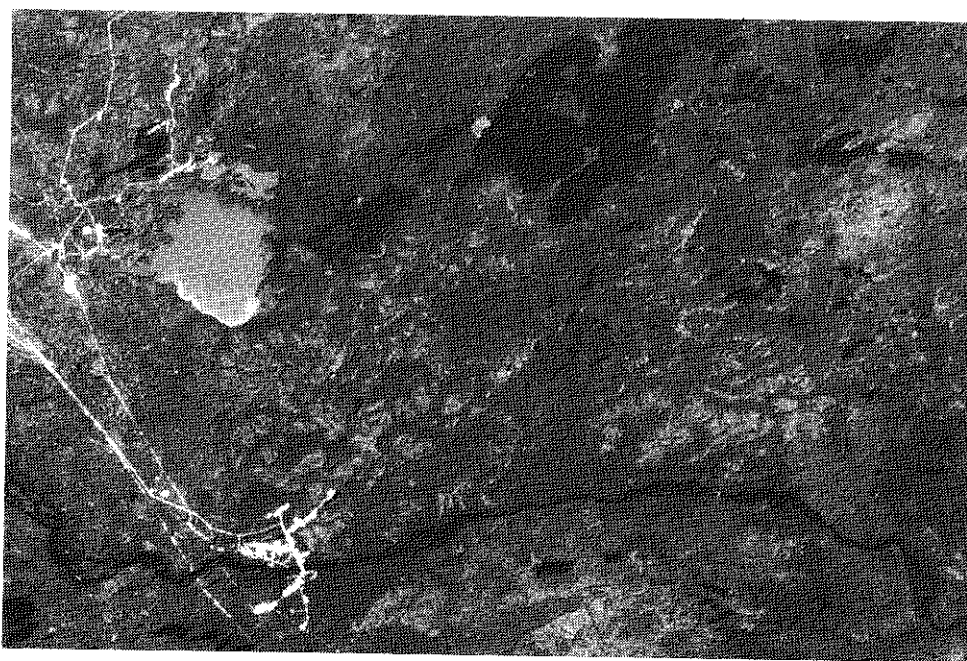
Now, the rivers do not always flow,
the animals are not always there, and strange as it may
seem, there are no longer six seasons
in some parts of this land.

WINONA LADUKE

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As I sit at my desk, I can almost see the shore of James Bay – ten miles downstream from the island of Moose Factory in the Moose River. Almost Arctic Ocean beachfront, some would say, yet I'm coming to think of it as a Hydro viewpoint. As a matter of fact, if all the plans go ahead, I may no longer live on an island, but, on a peninsula of the mainland overlooking a huge water reservoir, where presently I've become accustomed to the saltwater of James Bay. Dams upstream from this small village promise to lower water levels, and change the ecosystem permanently. And, amazing as it may sound, a powerful group of engineers has a proposal to place a dyke over the bay to eventually create a vast reservoir of fresh water to sell in cities in the southwestern US.

James Bay I,
under construction.
Landsat satellite
image ▼



There are many things Cree people have taken for granted over countless generations. That the rivers will always flow, the sun and moon will alternate, and there will be six seasons of the year. The Cree also have assumed there will always be food from the land, so long as as the Eeu – the Cree, do not abuse their part of the relationship to the animals, and the land. Now, the rivers do not always flow, the animals are not always there, and strange as it may seem, there are no longer six seasons in some parts of this land – Hydro Canada has made sure of that.

This, to me, is the essence of culture and the essence of the meaning of life. From where I sit on James Bay, it seems almost trivial to talk about other things – so called religion, literature, spirituality and economics, when I have to come to terms with my own existence and world view as a person who lives in this ecosystem. If there are no longer six seasons of the year, the waters no longer flow in their order, and places where people have prayed, been buried and harvested their food cease to exist as “land,” is that not the essence of cultural destruction, cultural genocide? Is the destruction of the whole ecosystem, as people have come to know it, not only a biological act, but also a cultural act? Because of that, this is a story about culture. This is also a story

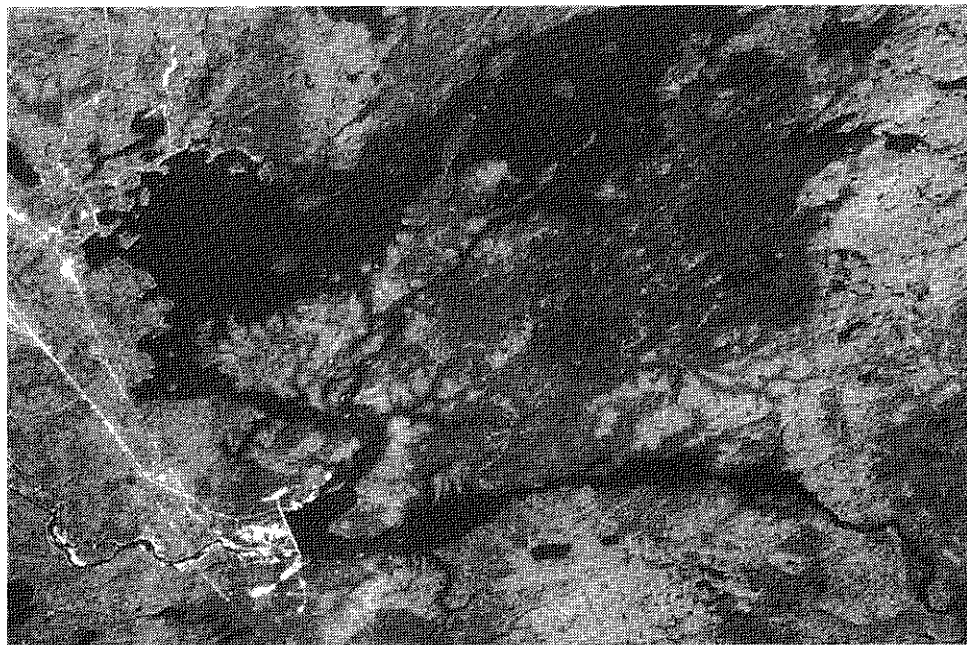
about all of us, and how this industrial society is consuming the lifeblood of this continent.

It is now “current” to discuss the destruction of the Amazon rainforest, global warming, “the greenhouse effect” and other climatic changes. But a \$60 billion megaproject brings it all home to US and Canadian consumers. The new dams, water divisions and hydroelectric projects will, according to the National Audubon Society, “make James Bay and some of Hudson’s Bay uninhabitable for much of the wildlife now dependent on it.” Audubon senior staff scientist Jan Beyea reports that the Society is “convinced that in 50 years [this entire] ... ecosystem will be lost....” The ecosystem at stake is as large as California, and includes the central flyway of most of the migratory birds in North America, the drainage of most northern running river systems in the central part of the continent, a number of endangered species of animals, and Inuit, Cree and Naskapi/Innu people, who have lived here for at least 9,000 years.

They are no longer strangers who devour the land. They are entrenched in the north, in the form of Hydro Quebec

which put 4,400 square miles of land under water, and otherwise wreaked ecological havoc in an additional 67,954 square miles. The electric companies, led by Hydro Quebec, Ontario Hydro and Manitoba Hydro are taking a vast territory notable for running water, and essentially transforming it into a vast territory of stagnant reservoirs – virtual toxic sinks.

James Bay I, completed. Landsat satellite image ▼



There is spreading methyl mercury contamination, created by the decomposition of plants and trees drowned in the flooding. The process converts inorganic

mercury, already present in the soil, into organic methyl mercury, a lethal contaminant. Because the process is enhanced in acidic conditions, the mercury levels in the reservoir system are up to six times the levels considered safe for humans.

In the village of Chisasibi, downstream from one of the reservoirs (LG-1-4), scientists tested for mercury poisoning several years ago. Two of every three people were found to have excessive levels of methyl mercury already present in their bodies – 30 milligrams per kilogram of body weight. Some elders registered 20 times the levels deemed acceptable, and developed symptoms of mercury poisoning such as shaking, numbness of the limbs, loss of peripheral vision and neurological damage. Hydro Quebec advised the Crees to stop eating fish, and instead to harvest fish from James and Hudson Bay. These fish, which although still relatively free from methyl mercury, are frequently contaminated with PCBs, a result of other “projects” in the region, and contamination now moving into the Arctic food chain from industries to the south.

The Crees call it *nimass aksiwaw*, “fish disease,” and no other two words could

have a more devastating effect on people. “*Nimass aksiwaw* strikes at the very heart of our society. It’s like being told that Armageddon has started, and people are scared as hell,” says George Lameboy, a Cree fisherman and trapper. “The scientists come in here and tell us we’re getting better (by eating less fish), but hey, you can’t measure the effects of *nimass aksiwaw* by taking hair samples. How can you measure a man’s fear? How can you measure your way of life coming to an end?”

If the methyl mercury was not enough,

the very change in water levels in the rivers has devastating results. Normally, rivers run highest in the spring melt and lowest in the winter. Since the new flow of river is determined not by nature, but by electrical needs for southern consumers, the order has been reversed; and many times, it is increased or decreased dramatically, to respond to the “power grid” of the south. In 1984, a release of water proved deadly. The water was released out of the Canapiscaw Reservoir (now the largest lake in Quebec at 1,865 square miles), precisely during the seasonal migration of the George’s River Caribou herd. Ten thousand caribou drowned. Hydro Quebec officials called the disaster “mainly an act of god.”

The ongoing environmental problems have reiterated Cree opposition to any more development in their territory, and strengthened their calls for a comprehensive environmental review of the first phase of the project, prior to any new dams. The Cree call to halt the project is now supported by a growing number of local, national and international environmental and consumer groups who are deeply concerned about the possible long term

consequences of the development. The Crees, and other groups have joined in an extensive, and seemingly endless legal challenge to the project, which, at this point, has resulted in a court decision calling for an environmental inquiry. Unfortunately, neither the scope of the review, or the weight (i.e. if findings will be binding to the utility) have been determined, leaving many Cree and environmentalists frustrated and skeptical.

The Cree and other groups have consistently called for federal intervention. Cree Chief Mathew Coon Come points out the irony, saying, “When you have the largest project of the century in your backyard, and no environmental assessment ... not one person monitoring the impact, there is an obvious failure of federal responsibility ...” Bill Namagoose, of the Cree Regional Authority, echoes his words, calling the federal sidestepping of the issue “environmental racism.” Can you imagine a man who has lived his whole life in Paris, one day awakens, looks out of his window and Paris is underwater? It just wouldn’t happen. The Crees, Inuit and Innu are far away, dark and different. That is one reason this project, like the exploitation of the Amazon and other rainforests, is planned to go ahead. If Hydro Quebec proposed to flood the villages, farms, homes and gravesites of thousands of French speaking white people, well, it just wouldn’t happen. That is perhaps the most disgraceful political aspect of the James Bay proposal. Quebecois and politicians continue to banter about nationalistic economic, social and political agendas, yet Quebec has, through the history of this project, and last summer’s events at Oka, clearly illustrated that the province, more so than any other, has no tolerance for diversity – biological or cultural, and is more than willing to sacrifice the Native population for their own program of economic and political independence.

If the second phase goes ahead, the new dams will devastate the ecosystem. At Great Whale, four smaller rivers will be diverted into a single large one. On the Nottaway, Broadback and Rupert River systems, eleven dams would be built, with the Nottaway being diverted into the Broadback, and then the Broadback into the Rupert. In total, the reservoirs will cover more than 10,000 square miles, an area the size of Lake Erie. The project according to the National Audubon Society, “is the northern equivalent to the destruction of the tropical rain forest.”

What is worse is that the Quebec dams are only one set of proposals for James Bay. Already, another huge hydro-electric project has been put in place on the Nelson River in Northern Manitoba, draining into Hudson Bay, and an undetermined number of dams are planned for the rivers in Northern Ontario. In total, virtually every single river flowing into James Bay is now proposed for some hydro electric or diversion scheme.

This also worries not only the Native people, but environmentalists and other people to the south. For although an environmental impact assessment is pending for Quebec projects, there is no proposal, as yet, for a cumulative impact assessment for all developments in essentially one ecosystem – James and Hudson's Bay. As Alan Penn, an environmental advisor to the Grand Council of Crees of Quebec points out, "there is no precedent for the manipulation of a subarctic watershed elsewhere in the world on the scale pro-

for about nine percent of the electricity supply since 1970. This figure is expected to rise 30 percent by the year 2000. Seven US utilities – the New England Power Pool, the New York Power Authority, Vermont Joint Owners, Massachusetts Power Authority, Citizens Utilities, Consumers Power, Detroit Edison – and others have entered into longterm contracts with Hydro Quebec and Ontario Hydro to secure power for the next ten years or more. This, of course, enhances the utility's ability to raise the huge investments required

As politicians, environmentalists and economists speak of the future, "sustainable development" is the phrase most in vogue. While the interpretation of the phrase is in the mind of the audience, the concept stays in my mind. Some days, I listen to my father-in-law talk when he has come in from the trapline – which is, incidentally, just west of the proposed NBR project. He explains that he walked five miles one way to check his rabbit snares and his traps. And he tells me of reaching his hand into a beaver house to count the number of beavers in the house. There is even a word for this counting in Cree. The point of the counting is so that no person will take more beavers than should be taken from a specific area. There is no word for this in English – only a long description. And it makes no sense, whatsoever to explain to a Cree the concept of "sustainable development" when my father-in-law and his ancestors have been harvesting and hunting this same area, for thousands of years. It appears to me that "sustainable development" and a "sustainable economy" are scheduled for destruction, only so, twenty years from now, some southern expert can "reinvent" a sustainable economy for this same area.

At some point there will
be no more "frontiers" to
conquer. There will be no
more resources to mine,
rivers to dam, trees to
fall or capital to invest.

posed here – the project represents a natural experiment, both ecological and sociological, on a massive scale."

Perhaps most horrendous is that this massive experiment is all about making money. Hydro Quebec is the provincial government's chief economic tool for capitalizing their economy. Although the promised 125,000 jobs never materialized from James Bay 1, Hydro Quebec has, all in all, done well from its huge investments. In 1970, Hydro Quebec had 12,000 employees, assets of \$3.5 billion, and debts of \$2.6 billion. Today, Hydro has 23,000 employees, assets of \$34 billion and a debt of \$23 billion. The provincial corporation accounts for 20 percent of all investments in Quebec.

While the problem may seem "northern" and remote to residents of southern Canada and the US, a great portion of the scheme is designed to service electrical markets in the US. A number of American utilities have accepted Hydro's promotion of the power as a cheap, clean alternative to coal and nuclear generating. New York, for instance has purchased Hydro Quebec power, and the purchase has accounted

for the new phase of development. In other words, American consumers are clearly implicated in the destruction of this ecosystem.

Canadians, however, are far from innocent. According to Tom Adams, from Toronto-based Energy Probe, "We are the single most inefficient consumers of electricity in the world. We are twice as inefficient as even the next in line – the US." And that inefficiency is buttressed by low rates – industries in Ontario, for instance, pay six times less for electricity than would their counterparts in Japan. Not only do the provincial electric corporations subsidize the "hidden costs and diseconomics" of the power production, but the very "cheap" rates discourage conservation and essentially any incentive to plan realistically. Energy analysts like Amory Lovins have frequently pointed out that conservation of electricity would make the dams not only unnecessary for the projected demand, but cost a great deal less, just in hard cash. More so, it is outrageous that "cheap electrical rates" are a justification to destroy an entire ecosystem and way of life.

The problem is not Hydro Quebec, Ontario Hydro and the American electrical contracts. The problem is "development," and the structure of Canada's (and for that part, the US's) industrial economy. The Canadian economy has always been based on the exploitation of raw materials and resources from the "frontier." The north has always been the "frontier," and continues in this role today. The Canadian economy requires this exploitation to prosper. The James Bay projects are only a small set of many megaprojects presently underway, or proposed for the north. All share a common denominator – a development policy based on capital-intensive, resource-extractive industries. The promise is jobs and prosperity, but, as evidenced in James Bay 1, the reality is stark and destructive.

At some point, there will be no more "frontiers" to conquer. There will be no more resources to mine, rivers to dam, trees to fall or capital to invest. As we approach the year 2000, those who have an interest in surviving to the next century, would say that point in time is now. As I sit in my Arctic Ocean beachfront, I think about that. And I hope that by a collective act of conscience, sanity, political and economic change, James Bay will remain salt water and free of methyl mercury. ♦

B RIDGES AND B

BARRICADES

THE CROSSING OVER

An interview
with Milton Born
With A Tooth
and Vickie English,
Blackfoot
Confederacy
Lonfighters

To protest the irrigation dam project on the Oldman River in Alberta, the Blackfoot Confederacy Lonfighter Society and its supporters sought to heal the river by diverting the water back into its original channel. Although this diversion took place on Peigan land, the Alberta government obtained a court order prohibiting any diversion of the river and sought to enforce it by entering Peigan territory, an act which contravenes Peigan sovereignty. On March 5th, 1991, Lonfighter leader Milton Born With A Tooth was convicted of seven of eight charges arising from his non-violent opposition to the construction of the Oldman Dam. Three weeks later, he was sentenced to 18 months in prison. In this interview, Milton Born With A Tooth and Vickie English discuss some of the issues surrounding this dam.

Border/Lines: Everyone says the Oldman River dam is a disaster. Why do you think the Alberta government is persisting in going ahead with it?

Milton Born With A Tooth: The underlying reason is common knowledge to a lot of people. The basic reason is water transfer. Water transfer has a lot to do with the shortages they have in southern California, Arizona, Nevada and now Colorado as well. This is at the root of their reasoning. We do have information but, because of who controls what messages come out, it's hard to get through their reasons for justifying the building of the dam. It's basically the same thing as James Bay Hydro. It has the same people behind it and it has the same mentality. The reasoning the Canadian government is putting out to justify it doesn't say anything except that it's to help build the economy. But whose economy are we talking about? And at what price?

Vickie English: It is really a sad decision by both the federal and the provincial government because they have had a hidden agenda for a long time and have tried in many ways to take the reserves from Native people, so they can use the kinds of resources that we have on the reserves. They gave us the poorest land; a lot of the reserve land in Alberta is either on gravel pits or on prairie where nothing grows, or swamp or bush. But, all of a sudden, they are striking oil on most of these reserves and then there are such things as the water that is such a large commodity these days. Even in Turkey a large dam is being built – fresh water will be a means of control of the Middle East.

Now Native people are beginning to fight for their reserves, most of which are either in prime timber land or where there are good rivers. The government doesn't seem to care what's happening to these Native people. On the Peigan reserve, the Indian people who live along the river bottom have not been moved out. They have not been compensated but the non-Native people have been compensated. They have been moved out of the lower areas and they've been paid for their land. But the Native people have been given – the government said – four million dollars, most of which would go to management, overhead costs, lawyers, consultants. So by the time they have finished with all this financial expense they have nothing left for the people. The government doesn't seem to realize that the people are beginning to understand what's happening to them and the degree to which we, as Indian people, will fight against the government. The government will just make an example of what

their authority is, what their power is, and by making an example they will say if you protest against our development, our contracts, you will be in the same situation.

Though, their attempts to intimidate people are not working...

Vickie English: Their way of intimidating people is scary because it is not an Indian fight any more. It's a human rights issue. I think, in Alberta, it's a human rights issue rather than just a Native rights issue because they have taken away the freedom of speech, the right to be on your own property without having to fire warning shots. They just walk in whenever they want. The Native people were told not to do anything with the river and the RCMP were told the same thing, but the RCMP just walked in and they were not reprimanded. If the Indian people went near the water they would have been in jail. That kind of control from the government over the court system is a scary situation.

I'm interested in both the tensions and support from non-Native environmentalists. Are you getting much from them?

Milton Born With A Tooth: More so than people think. It's basically because if you look at Alberta, the environment is one that even rednecks, or what we refer to as a "hard-headed non-Native person," will have to admit that the scenery and the landscape is awesome. Even without a Native person saying too much about it they do admit that it is worth something other than destruction. On that level, we've been able to cross over a lot easier in getting the upper middle class support and getting the support of some of the more conservative environmentalists, the ones who hate to get their clothes dirty, who will do nice posters and nice banquets and stuff. But this is where we were able to cross over. This is where it came out how well we were able to unify these two, apartheid-like, situations. This has, in my view, saved some bloodshed, and saved myself from being incarcerated any longer. It has kept the issue to its original points, rather than making it a very one-sided, racist kind of struggle.

People are seeing that what we're talking about are the kinds of things that affect all of us, only that now they're understanding who can give the best interpretation of what the environment really means. In such a short length of time, the environmentalists in Alberta have had to cross over this line and come toward the aboriginal or Native side. Now they realize what all they've read in books or seen in movies, about us talking about nature, has given them - because now they are in

court battles and they realize that, in the courts, they have got to be able to have a better interpretation as to what the connection between the environment and humans is really all about. So, when this happens, we're going across the line.

Five years ago you could look back in Alberta and you could see this line, even the environmentalists were fighting against Natives because they said we shouldn't have any privileges or hunting rights, or special privileges for certain areas which we have access to on what they call crown land. They were saying that they had to treat everybody fair. Now they've changed their view and they're saying: maybe it's good that we have these ways to protect it, or that we've been giving it that fine line interpretation between nature and man or nature and human beings.

Vickie English: Getting across to the non-Indian people to support us in Alberta as a lobbying group is really difficult. There's so much education that has to be done. There's so much that they don't understand about Native people. Some of them have lived right next door to Native people all their lives but they see the Native people as separate from the environment. To try to make that connection, or to try to put into their minds that Native people don't have to learn to be environmentalists - they are environmentalists - is difficult. We are born into the kind of culture and lifestyle where we live the environment every day. We don't access it from books or learn about it in other ways then stand back and support it from a city where they say "well, the environment is out there and let's just leave it looking beautiful and once in a while we can go and look at it." The Native people live it day to day and it's really not a religion as much as it is a way of life and a culture. Something we live from day to day, meshed with the whole environment.

We are trying to keep the coalition that we started in Calgary going and to continue as a support group and a coalition to support Native rights because, at this point, people are beginning to understand that Native people don't want anything for nothing. They just want to live their life and they don't want to have people coming in and destroying their life because they know that, once the environment is destroyed, then their lifestyle is destroyed. To make non-Indian people understand that is a lot of hard work. A lot of meetings, a lot of groups being educated through speeches and talks, even writing - it's needed so much more now than ever before. Before, there wasn't really a need to educate the non-Indians as to what

I don't need
human permission,
all I know is:
nature is really -
if you want to
put words in its
mouth - it's screaming.
There's no other
way to say it.
It is screaming
and it is dying.
Are you willing
to listen?

Native people are. We didn't really need their support. We always wanted them to understand that we didn't have to have their support so desperately as we have to have it now.

I think it's much harder to access support in the West from non-Indians than it is in the East. It's very difficult to do anything that's a little bit out of the norm. You just have to keep plugging away. It's like digging at something that never comes to the bottom. But we are getting more support and it's coming from people who really understand. A lot of the support is from university professors, educated people. Not from the people who work on construction and don't know much about different cultures or who are not really sensitized to anything but their own work or their day-to-day as labourers.

Most of the people coming out to support the Native people are from civil liberties, people who work in universities, education systems and churches. The churches have been really supportive. They

have a group in the city which meets once a month to talk about Native issues. We talk about what kind of support we need and what kind of support we want, not what kind of support they think we should have.

I think a lot of people all over have the sense that, in terms of the land, it's now or never.

Milton Born With A Tooth: You can talk only so long and that's the problem – too many nice speeches, too many nice things. In a way what we did is we didn't just talk, we did. And that was the crossing over of everything. Everybody says, "when is somebody going to make the next step?" and "how many more times are we going to bring out the nice statistics?" For my part I don't care about all that, I don't have to ask permission because destruction is something that you have to act on. So you hurt people's feelings, but then the crossing over is how sincere you are about it.

It is what's going to be the teaching as to whether this is something that's worth looking into.

Just to point out how strong the line was that we crossed over, how many people would ever have thought that environmentalists would be cheering a bulldozer?

They were cheering a bulldozer on throughout the month of August as we were diverting the river into its original channel. Even that was something that was not very well reported and, if it had been reported, it would have made a lot more realize what we were able to do. To be a part of it and say, "well, maybe this is the answer, maybe this is a way not to have another Oka or another Lonefighters Society situation." We have all the things that can provide the answers and I think one of the greatest ones is that we've had enough of talk. We've had enough of it. Let's talk when we're doing, lets not talk when we're not doing.

Vickie English: This is a very dangerous tactic. It's very dangerous for the government to realize that the non-Indian people are beginning to see the Indian peoples' viewpoint.

The government does not want that. They have tried in so many different ways, by propoganda, by threatening, by just telling them outright "it's not your business, stay out of it." They'll try to quash the support that we have in whichever way they can. And, when they realize that a lot of the supporters are doing something about what's happening to the Native people and Native rights and the dam, they put a lot of people on it to distort what was being said. A lot of what was being said in the papers was really distorted and negative. None of the things they had done was in the paper, just what the Native people had done. They were referring to us

as militant and every other word was "militant Indians." They said that Indians were doing something to you white people so you had better stop and listen and realize it. And those who don't know what treaty rights are all about or what the environment is all about believe this kind of thing, so we lose their support.

How do you think we can best sustain the commitment?

Milton Born With A Tooth: You're talking to somebody who is, let's put it this way, front-line material. You're talking to somebody who says – well, my way of dealing with it is saying – "let's get in their face, let's stand in front of them, let's put away our differences." That's the only way I know how it works because I'm one who has looked at everything. They say shit kind of falls down, well, its always been falling down and I'm not the one who has a nice degree or a nice personal resumé and that's part of what I think people are hearing, at least at this day and time. They're hearing the front line people: their mentality, what makes them stand up, why do they do this. We do this because we have nothing left.

Do I tell all the people to give everything up and feel the same way we feel? Should we let these people just disappear? Does it take a death? That's what I'm looking at here, saying, well, maybe it does take a death, and for me I'm saying it's worth it. For me it's going to be the answer.

My adversaries out there are not planning to deal with me peacefully. They are planning to put me away. That's all there is to it, so what can we do? It's got to be immediate. It can't be at the next board meeting, it can't be at the next convention, it's got to be immediate. For my part, there's an enormous legal fee, there is enormous outreach work that has to be done, the message has to be carried out in a quality way, with people putting things in the right perspective. How do we break through to the other side? Well, we've shown how to break through to the other side, shown how to be effective in a very strategic way.

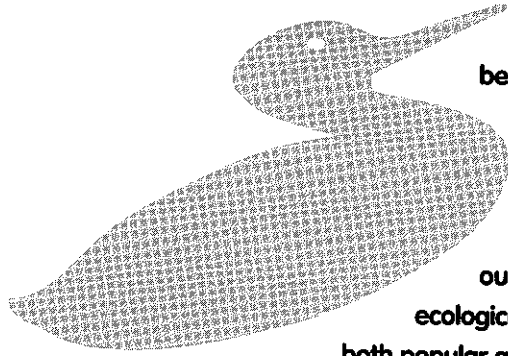
As for the Lonefighters, our approach starts with an idea of nature. When do we say that we can turn away? For myself, there's not a time or a second that I can turn away and accept building a dam. For me, I put all the energy to it and if it means dying, that's what it is because that's the seriousness of it. There's no nice thing that we can plan for next year. I don't know if I'm going to be here next year and that's reality because my adversaries out there are very serious. They have a billion-dollar mentality and, in order to face that, we're going to have to face it with the same kind of intensity and that's what's going to work. Lets put the foot down and let's start doing.

What makes me do what has happened in the last little while, I've done it because I've given everything away. That's what is real, is nature.

It's not something new, my people said that in 1866, a day before treaty signing. So it's not like all of a sudden. It's not a new thing. There are very few that remember, or there are very few that care. Everyone has gone through their assimilation process and, by going through that assimilation process, they've gone away from the real, true character, of being able to say: me and the water, we're friends. People can't understand it, yet it's true you have to have that kind of feeling for something to be able to say: well, let me stand in front of you, let me take all I can so that you can have that protection. If the water had a voice, it would say the same thing I said, I know that for sure, but it doesn't so the Creator said this is what we all must do. The Lonefighter Society, we ask for no permission, we have permission. Everyone has told me from the beginning, well, did you get permission from the elders, did you get permission from the chief of council? I get permission from no one, except from nature and that's the way I live it out. I don't need human permission, all I know is: nature is really – if you want to put words in its mouth – it's screaming. There's no other way to say it. It is screaming and it is dying. Are you willing to listen? I'm willing to listen, so now it's something that everyone's going to have to look at: if it's worth dying for. We're all going to die, let's set our priorities as to how we want our tombstone to read.

Vickie English: I think, now that a few uprisings have occurred across Canada, Natives are beginning to realize that they are the only ones who can do something about it. So many times the non-Indian people have made decisions for the Native people. Nowadays I think the Native people are becoming so aware of what is happening that they themselves are going to be their own support. You have to convince everyone not to be afraid. The Native people have to get closer together. They have to become unified. They have to understand that they need techniques and ways of understanding how the government works and how the system works in order to fight back. If they can fight back with the same tools and the same tactics they can come to a rising out of their oppression.

People just have to take the first step, and taking the first step for them is scary. We just have to have patience with them and help them to understand that taking the first step is really growth for their own rights and their own freedom. ♦



The current environmental crisis has reached far beyond the land; it is a crisis of culture as well. It penetrates our leisure time, our thinking, our bodies, our art and gardens. Landscape, that region of the earth saturated by human cultures, is today a place of deeply conflicting ideas about the natural world and our relation to it. Ideologies of efficiency and progress, ecological harmony, utopia, and apocalypse circulate freely in both popular and official cultures.

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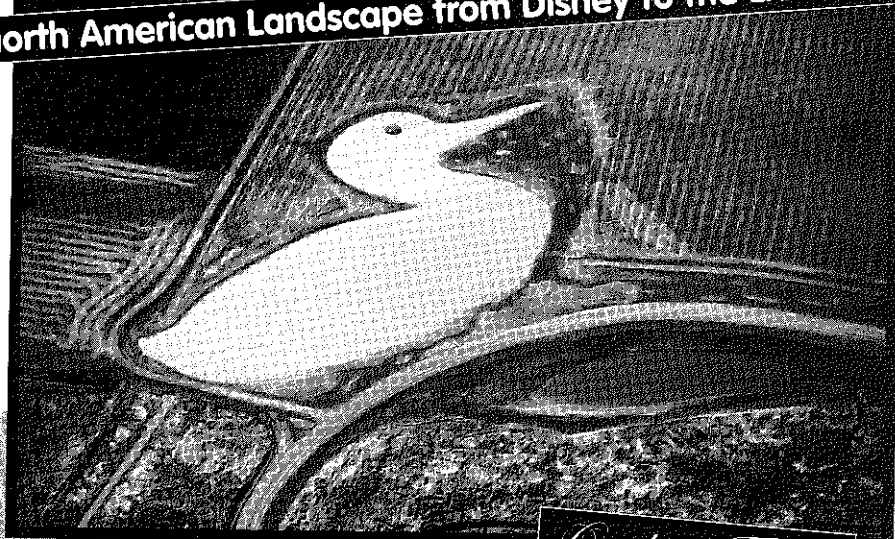
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