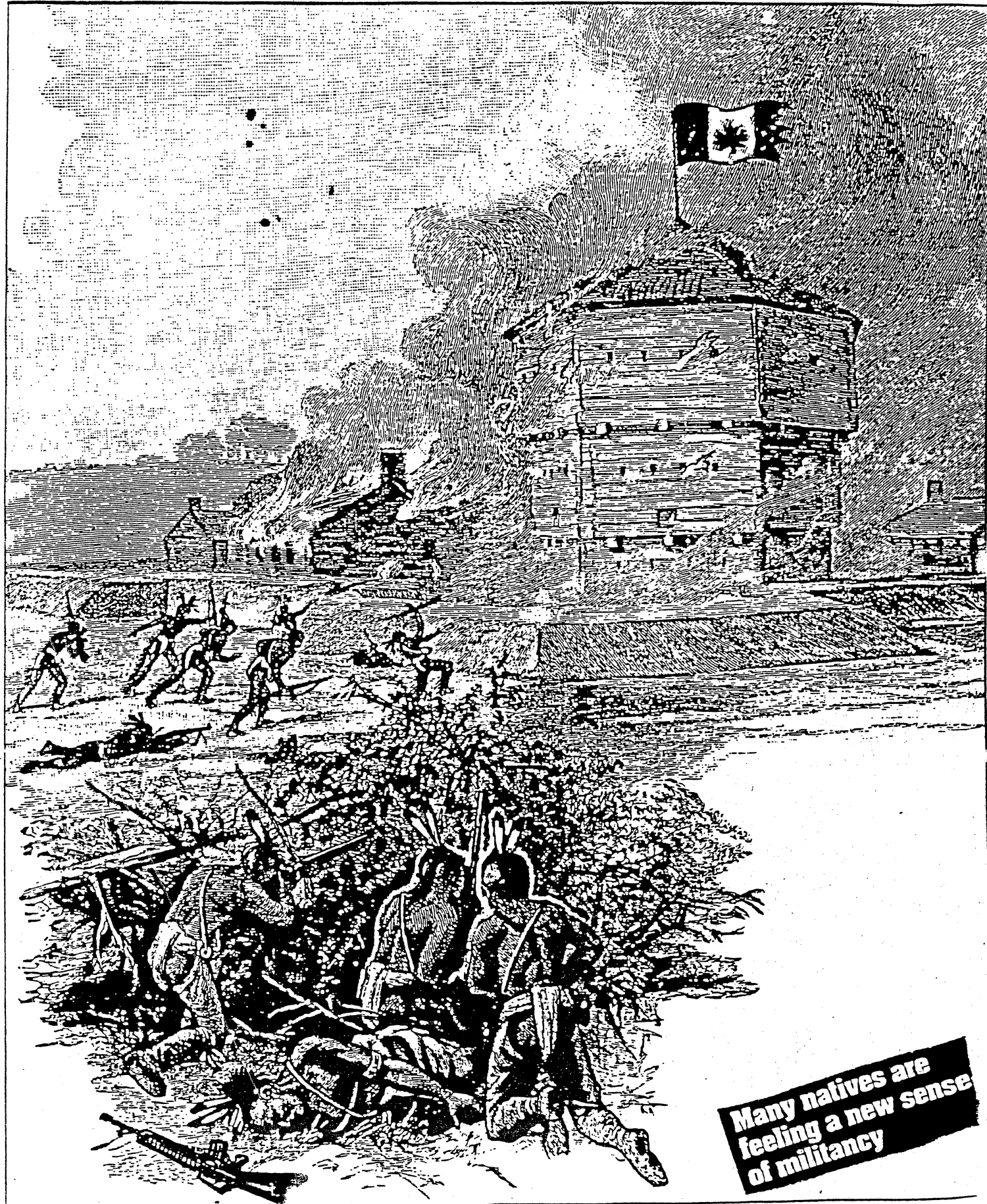


Brothers and Sisters: Is the Time Coming when We will have to Once Again Burn their Forts to the Ground?



Many natives are feeling a new sense of militancy

WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN



WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN

I finished this booklet while I was travelling in Eastern Canada. Since then I've gotten some responses from people and I wanted to add these words.

When I say I am not a "political activist," that the time for newsletters is over, and that I do not see the indigenous resistance as a "revolutionary" movement, this doesn't mean I'm against these things. I say I'm tired of newsletters, but I know they still play an important role, and I'm always reminded of that. I say I'm not a revolutionary, but nothing would please me more than to see this system destroyed by those whom it oppresses.

But we are a special and beautiful people. Not so long ago, we were free. I think we have our own ways, and I think we're different because these are our lands and we still have a connection to it that the non-Indigenous have broken by leaving theirs. We have a way of thinking and doing that's different. I see the linking of all resistance- from the Zapatistas in Mexico, to the Black liberation movement in the US, to even some parts of the militia movement- as being very important. And for some of these other movements, revolution may be their way. And they have the authority to do that, to change their society, because it is controlled by corruption, deception and force; it is an unjust system. But I think that we as indigneous peoples have things not only to fight against, but that we have much to defend. We have our ancestral territories, we have our ancestors who lived in these territories, whose spirits are still strong. These are our lands from which we have grown. The memories of our peoples resisting the colonizer's soldiers is still fresh; it was only 2-3 generations ago that warriors still went out- armed- to fight the soldiers while the people fled. It wasn't so long ago that we were still nations, peoples, who lived in a highly spiritual way. We were free.

Now, things are different. But we are still resisting, even if the number of those willing to ultimately fight the soldier-police is low at times. Even if the number of those willing to carry the struggle is not always big, that resistance continues.

At times even Crazy Horse had only small groups of people who stayed in his camp, fighting the soldiers, enduring cold winters and little food. Many of his own peoples went to the forts, because it was easier. There was food, even if it was bad, and they didn't have to fight the soldiers, even though they had to live under their guns. In some ways it's the same today. But now the forts have grown and grown until now this whole society is the fort, and we are inside it, under those same guns. And now there are many in the non-Indian camps who are also tired of living in this fort under the guns of the soldier-police. They want to overthrow those who run the fort, but not all of them want to do that and then burn the fort down, as we do. Some of them still like the ways of the fort, they just want it organized in a different way. To me, they're the revolutionaries. But we are still the people, and we still remember what it's like to live without the forts and guns over our heads. It's still fresh in our memories and strong in our hearts.

There are also those in the other camps who do not like the fort or its ways. In any case, there are many who want to fight those that run the fort. This is where we can unite with all the other camps, and all those that want to come into our circle should be welcomed. But we still keep our own circle, and it will grow as all people see how good and strong it is. And right now I think we have some work to do in our circle, even though we should be sending runners to the other camps, who are also making theirs strong. And then when all the camps are strong, we'll take the fort.

This booklet is meant to make our circle a little stronger. To bring all those things that make us who we are and that defend these things together. Like we are not just fighters, we are spiritual people also who have responsibilities to the future generations and to those that can't defend themselves. This is why I have used the language of war in these writings, why I emphasize the resistance and the spiritual ways together with struggles to defend land and territory. The pictures I used to give a fighting spirit also.

I have tried to give an understanding of how I see the indigenous struggle, to define something that is hard to see most of the time. It's not to tell you what to do now. It's just to put a fire in your hearts, in the belief that people do what their hearts tell them.

In the Spirit of Crazy Horse
GH,
Wet Fall 1997

Some Useful addresses:

* Canadian Alliance in Solidarity with the Native Peoples (CASNP)

PO Box 574, Stn. P, Toronto, Ont., M5S 2T1 'Canada'
Indigenous & non-indigenous, publish a newsletter, education and agitation
Tel: 416-972-1573 e-mail: <casnp@pathcom.com>
Fax: 416-972-6232 WWW: <<http://www.path.com/~casnp>>

* Settlers in Support of Indigenous Sovereignty

PO Box 8673, Victoria, BC, V8X 3S2 'Canada'
Non-Natives who run a web-site, lots of information
e-mail: <sisis@envirolink.org>
WWW: <http://kafka.uvic.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/SISmain.html>

* League of Indigenous Sovereign Nations

c/o Piscataway nation, PO Box 131, Accokeek, MD., 20607 'USA'
Work to unite sovereign Indian nations and peoples
Tel: 301-932-0808 e-mail: mediac@erols.com
Fax: 301-735-5556

* Kla-How-Ya FM

c/o Co-op Radio, 337 Carrall st., Vancouver, BC, V6B 2J4 'Canada'
A good community radio program in Vancouver, hosted by Kelly White (Coast Salish)

* Solidarity with Native Peoples

3680 Jeanne-Mance #440, Montreal, Quebec, H2X 2K5, 'Canada'
Publish a monthly newsletter since Oka standoff in 1990, do solidarity work with Indian nations engaged in resistance
Tel: 514-982-6606

* Anti-Colonial Action Alliance

#25, 197 Hunter St. W, Peterborough, ON, K94 2L1 'Canada'
A network of groups & individuals who do solidarity work with Native nations
Tel: 705-743-4561 e-mail: thassan@trentu.ca
WWW: <http://www.kawartha.net/~bmc/aca>

* Bulldozer

PO Box 5052 Stn. A, Toronto, ON, N2J 4V1 'Canada'
A newsletter on prison struggles, also includes Native struggles in 'Canada'
e-mail: pns@pathcom.com

* National Commission for Democracy in Mexico

2001 Montana, ste. B, El Paso, TX, 79903, 'USA'
Publish a newsletter and do solidarity work for Zapatista warriors
Tel/fax: 915-532-8382 e-mail: moonlight@igc.apc.org
WWW: <http://www.igc.apc.org/ncdm>

* American Indian Movement

WWW: <<http://www.dickshovel.com/AIMIntro.html>>

* Black Autonomy Collective-Black Autonomy International

323 Broadway ave. E, #914, Seattle, WA, 98102 'USA'
Organizes amongst Black rebels and youth
Tel: 206-680-8916 e-mail: bd982@scn.org
Fax: 206-630-3739 WWW: <http://www.webcom.com/nattyreb/black.autonomy/>

* Anti-Racist Action

PO Box 291, Stn. B, Toronto, ON, M5T 2T2, 'Canada'
It has an 'anti-colonial' group in it who do solidarity work with Native peoples
WWW: <http://www.web.net/~ara>

* Arm the Spirit

A good source of internet info on guerrilla struggles in many parts of the world
e-mail: <ats@locust.cic.net>

Redwire...
the magazine for
wagon burning youth.
c/o EYA
P.O. Box 34097
Vancouver B.C. V6J 4M1
Ph# 873-4734
Fax# 877-1355



Warrior Publications
zig_zag48@hotmail.com
<http://www.warriorpublications.com>



PDF archive
& US distribution by
Quiver distro
2009

Our enemy will never understand us. To them we are the Great Mystery. And it's true. They will never kill or break our spirits.

At the time of these confrontations, many people were confused by the enemy's propaganda. Many are still confused. But confusion can be seen through, because truth is stronger than deception. While many were paralyzed by the enemy's media, there is a generation of youth that can learn from these struggles. They can learn that our enemy can fabricate any lie and that this lie will be dutifully reported by the media. They can learn that our enemy will send in police-military forces and apc's whether the people are armed or unarmed. They can learn that the colonizer's courts do not want to hear about our people's sovereignty, even according to their own laws. They can learn that this system will imprison a 65 year old elder who wanted to hold this system accountable to its own laws. They can learn that our enemy will not punish its soldier-cop mercenaries if they murder an unarmed Brother and then lie about it in their courts.

When the illusions of what this country is are broken, that is when the resistance begins to grow. That is what the enemy fears the most about the Indian peoples, because we can break these illusions. We are the survivors of what this entire society is built on: the genocide and destruction of our peoples and these lands. For over 500 years the colonizer has lied and deceived and killed and exterminated and destroyed to have their "Canada," their "USA," their "Mexico," to have their Disneyland, their televisions, their McDonalds, their hair dryers, their sports cars, etc. Let these illusions be shattered. Let us continue the resistance.

It is a great responsibility to defend the people and the territories. Now that responsibility is turning to the youth. But we need to learn from those that have gone before us. There is no American Indian Movement, there is only the movement. It is natural power. It is spiritual power. When we return to our own ways, to our ceremonies and our drums and our prayers, we will see it is a movement beyond politics and organizations. In fact, it is not these at all.

Many people are looking for direction in these times. Some are seeking to repeat the ways of the 1970s. Many are wondering how we as peoples can even engage, never mind overcome, our enemy, who seems to have so much military and technological power. Remember the words of Anna Mae Pictou Aquash:

"True power is natural. A blizzard is true natural power, a tornado and a hurricane and an earth-

quake. These things of natural power that come from earth are powers that man cannot control."

Statement to the court of South Dakota, September 1975

In these times, we are seeing true power. Our ways are connected to the Creation, to the Great Mystery, and to the Mother Earth. When you return to our original ways, our spiritual ways, you will see the power is turning against our enemy.

Do not fear camoflauge, it is only the colours of Mother Earth. It is our protection.

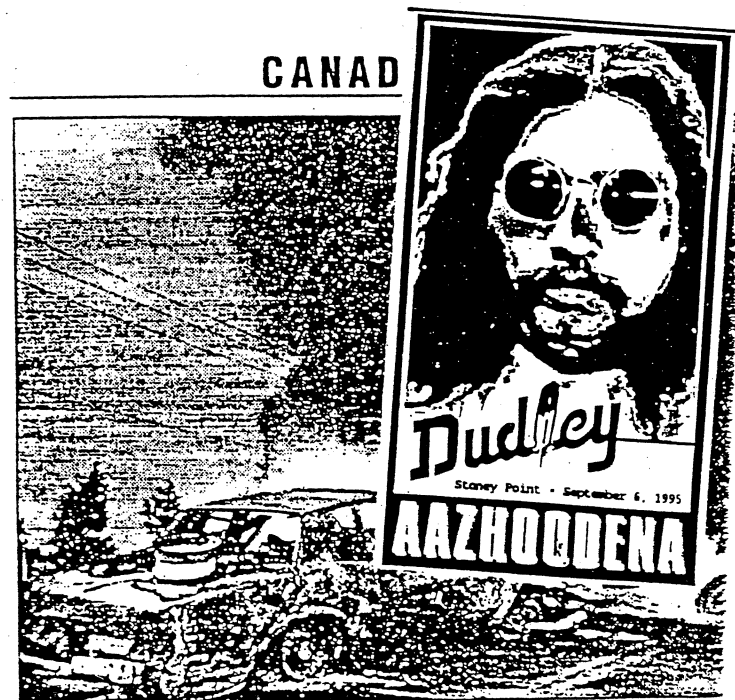
Hoka Hey!!!

You can contact the Ts'Peten warriors and assist in the struggle to free our Prisoners of War through:

Free the Ts'Peten Defenders
Box 13- 2147 Commercial Dr.
Vancouver 'BC' V5N 4B3
"Canada"

Tel: Bill Lightbown, 604-251-4949
Tel/Fax: Splitting the Sky 604-543-9661

You can also contact a support group, the Settlers in Support of Indigenous Sovereignty on the internet, WWW: <http://kafka.ca/~vipirg/SISIS/SISmain.html>



HIGHWAY BLOCKED: Indians angry over shooting death set up burning blockade

In the Spirit of Winalagalis

My name is Gord Hill. I am of the Kwagiutl peoples. Our territory is on northern Vancouver Island on the west coast of this country called "Canada." A film was made about my peoples in 1914, it was called "In the Land of the Headhunters." It was a love story!

I was born in 100 Mile House, in the interior of this province they call "British Columbia." Nobody knew where 100 Mile House was until the summer of 1995 and the month-long siege there. I think it's an honour to be born at a place where Indian people would make such a stand, and I know it's got meaning. I know these people, I know they're good people with good hearts (sometimes they forget this but they're human.) I went to their trial in 1996-97 numerous times. I heard the testimony of the cops and others involved in the terrorism carried out there by the colonizer state of Canada. I heard the lies and the fabrications. I know the truth when I see it, because I've got eyes and ears and I use them. The brothers and sisters at Gustafsen Lake, Ts'Peten, did things in a truthful way. What they did was right, even when many will condemn them, even when the colonizer's courts finds them "guilty" and sends them to prison. It will take time, but the people will see the truth from that standoff.

I have travelled to Aazhoodena, Stoney Point, in a province called "Ontario." I have met these people who withstood police attacks in their struggle to regain their stolen territories; who lost a brother- Dudley George- shot dead by a police-mercenary. They are good people with good hearts, and they too did what was right.

I used to publish a newsletter called 'Oh-Toh-Kin'. In my people's language that means "strength from our ancestry." But I stopped doing it, because I think the time of newsletters is over. What you are holding in your hands is not a newsletter, it is a spirit of resistance put onto paper.

Some people will think I'm a "political activist." But that is not true; I have no interest in politics. What you are holding in your hands is not political, it is reality as I have come to know it. I leave 'politics' to the band council people and the Assembly of First Nations and all the other state-funded Indian organizations, because it is only a way of deceiving and manipulating people. Was Crazy Horse a "political activist?" Was Geronimo, or Sitting

Bull, or Tecumseh, or Pontiac? No, I do not believe they were. They were spiritual leaders, they were warriors, they were the People. I think that is how we must see ourselves, as the People, fighting at this time an enemy that wants to dehumanize us, to control us, and to destroy our spiritual connection to life.

I have put these thoughts onto paper in the belief that I have something to contribute to this struggle. I have written these things for the People, and especially for the youth. I have written these for all peoples because I believe in the Four Directions, and because I know people must be judged for the colour of their hearts and not by their skin. Because the first people colonized by our

enemy was his own people, and that is the root of their great disconnection from life.

Soon, there will be great changes sweeping across these lands. It is already happening. At the same time, the colonizer's empire is falling apart. That is why they are now building up their police-military forces, why they have more prisons, why they have new laws that disarm the people. And that is why they will unleash their police-military forces against our people once again, whenever we make a stand. These same things were done during the

decline of the Roman Empire, when the European sovereign nations- the Vandals, Visigoths and other tribal peoples- destroyed it. This system is nothing more than the continuation of that defeated empire. So, when in Rome, do as the Vandals do.

Gilakas'la to all those who helped make this publication possible, to all those who shared their knowledge & teachings, and who gave to me shelter and food on my journeys. I would thank you here, but the time of giving names to our enemy is over. Gilakas'la to the Creator, the Great Spirit, the Great Mystery.

In the Spirit of Winalagalis!
Hot Summer, 1997

(Winalagalis is the warrior spirit of my peoples. His name translates as "Making-War-Around-the-World.")

If you would like more copies of this to share with people then go to a xerox machine and make them, or go to a copy shop and get them printed. It's easy.



"ONE DOES NOT SELL THE EARTH UPON WHICH THE PEOPLE WALK"

Against the Treaty Process in 'British Columbia'

"One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk."

Tashunka Witko (Crazy Horse)

The "BC Treaty Process" has been underway since late 1990. Despite the colonizer's well-known use of deception and dishonour, particularly in regards to treaties, there is little resistance against the treaty process in BC. Can it be that colonization is merely a thing of the past, that Canada is truly a free and democratic country that is trying to resolve the problems Indian people face as a result of history?

Or can it be that colonization not only continues, but has reached a point where we are so colonized and assimilated to the way of the colonizer, that we are blind to the truth? Sometimes, in order to find the truth, we must look deep within ourselves. The words

by Crazy Horse above are not more than 150 years old. They are true. Everybody knows they are true when they hear or see them. What has happened to our beautiful Indian people in those 150 years that has taken away their ability to speak such simple truths, as their "leaders" prepare to sell away ancestral lands, again?

This is a look at what treaties are, why they're made, how they were used in the colonization of most of Canada, and how they are being used in "British Columbia" today. The lack of information on what a treaty is, on historical treaties and documents, and with hardly any opposition being voiced, leads to a confusion amongst Indian

people as to what is going on in the treaty process. But this is more than just information, it is also a look at our own colonization. Because a people do not lose their ability to speak simple truths such as that spoken by Crazy Horse, without a reason.

What is a Treaty?

Officially, treaties are internationally recognized agreements made between two or more sovereign nations. Treaties are signed for economic trade, to end wars, to surrender lands, etc. Under international law, treaties can only be made between sovereign nations. If not, they are not considered subject to international laws.

Not so officially, treaties are stalling tactics used while an aggressor builds their forces to accomplish their final goal.

At the time of the European invasion of the "Americas,"

"a number of factors forced... the newcomers to establish [legal] relations with indigenous nations... On the one hand, the European settlers arrived in areas of the eastern... seaboard which were not thinly populated and, for that matter, were inhabited by peoples who showed a remarkable degree of cohesion, organization and military prowess. In order to physically survive, the fledgling European enclaves very much needed to establish as peaceful relations as possible with the original inhabitants."

(Miguel Alfonso Martinez, special rapporteur to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Document E/CN.4/Sub. 2/1991/33 para. 132)

As well, competition between the British, French, Dutch and others led to alliances and agreements with Indian nations to gain their support in the early fur trade. This competition between

two years. In 1995 the military left the camp- it was being closed as a military base. In September/95 the people moved into the provincial park. On September 4 the Ontario Provincial Police began surveillance and intimidation of the people. During this time police threatened Anthony 'Dudley' George. In a confrontation with riot police on Sept. 6, in which the people were greatly outnumbered, they fought hard and forced the OPP to retreat, abandoning several vehicles. Later that night the OPP made another assault using heavily-armed police. After a confrontation with the people, the OPP opened fire, wounding a 16-year old youth and killing Dudley George.

Although the people were prepared to engage the riot police, at no time were they armed. This was not an armed standoff, as in Ts'Peten. Nevertheless, the response from the colonizer state was the same. Some 250 OPP were deployed, including Tactical Response Units. Two Bison APC's were on hand. As well, the OPP requested from the military two Huey helicopters, two additional APC's, bullet-proof vests, night-vision goggles, helmets, gas masks, and "material for the containment of chlorine spills."

The Aazhoojena people have remained in their territory and now live in the former military barracks. They have control of both the former military base and the park. Their territory is beautiful, and one can

see why Dudley George believed that their land "was worth dying for." Dudley George was buried in the territory following a funeral in which over a 1,000 people gathered.

After two years, Dudley George's killer, acting-Sgt. Kenneth Deane, was convicted of criminal negligence. Despite noting that Deane had lied to the court, the judge sentenced him to two years of community work in the summer of 1997.

As in Ts'Peten, those who withstood the police assault at Aazhoojena strongly believe that they had spiritual protection. Some say they felt holes burn through their chest when the police opened fire, and yet were not harmed.

DEFEND THE TERRITORIES-WITHOUT RESERVATION!

It is clear from these two confrontations that the colonizer believes violent repression will stop or limit our people's resistance. It is also clear that this way of conducting police-military operations against us will be

repeated. The enemy will see these operations as "successes." In 1997 the RCMP announced they would be purchasing armoured personnel carriers of their own, so they would not have to "borrow" them from the military as they did in Ts'Peten. At this time the colonizer state feels secure enough in its control of the people and the media that it can conduct these operations without fear of reprisal. It believes it can lie and deceive and fabricate incidents to accomplish its goals. It believes it can kill or imprison the truth away.



**NO JUSTICE ON
STOLEN LAND**

Media Control

During the siege, the media were tightly controlled and prohibited from entering the Sundance camp. All communications were cut-off. The media were fed only the RCMP version of events. During the course of the year-long trial in 1996-97, almost all of these reports were shown to be outright lies and fabrications, including alleged shooting incidents. In a video taped meeting (the entire operation was taped by the RCMP for "training purposes") RCMP officers are seen asking "Is there anyone who can help us with our smear and disinformation campaign?" to which the Sgt. in charge of media relations replies "smear campaigns are our specialty." By controlling the media, the RCMP were able to present the Ts'Peten warriors as terrorists, cultists, and criminals.

This media control had its desired effect. Many people believed the lies, including our own people. The Ts'Peten warriors were isolated while the people were overwhelmed by confusion. It was extremely difficult to organize any actions on the outside to prevent a massacre by the police.

Shoot-to-Kill

During the trial it was revealed that the RCMP had a shoot-to-kill policy. One senior RCMP officer, Chief Superintendent Johnston, noted that "there are six hardliners in the camp that will require killing." This shoot-to-kill policy was carried out during the siege:

* On September 11/95 an ambush was carried on a red pick-up used by the people. As the truck drove down a road an explosive device was detonated. After a massive explosion, the damaged truck was then rammed by one of the Bison apc's. As the two occupants and a dog fled the vehicle, the police opened fire on them, killing the dog and wounding one of the people. As many as 77,000 rounds may have been fired by the ERTerrorists during the siege, most of them during this assault. Only 100 rounds were attributed to the defenders.

* The next day, Sept.12/95, RCMP snipers opened fire on a person from the Sundance camp walking in a "no-fire zone" agreed upon by both groups, even though the man was clearly unarmed and in a no-shoot zone. The standoff ended on September 17/95 when the people walked out of the camp. Altogether this was the largest and costliest RCMP operation in the history of Canada.

The Trial 1996-97

Following the end of the siege, the people were charged with mischief, trespass and some weapons offenses. One elder- William Jones Ignace (whose

Shuswap name is Wolverine) was charged with attempted murder along with his son Jojo (the charges against Jojo were later removed, while Wolverine would be found "not guilty" of attempted murder). Wolverine was held without bail for nearly two years before the trial and during it.

The trial finally began in July 1996 in the maximum security court located in Surrey, BC, a suburb of Vancouver. This despite the standoff occurring in the interior of "BC". The court was sealed by a bullet-proof glass wall that separated spectators from the actual court-room. People had to pass through a metal detector to get into the court. During the trial most of the defenders maintained their original argument and defense: that the lands were Shuswap and had not been surrendered to the British crown or the Canadian state; that it was still sovereign Shuswap territory. Their legal defense was based on national, international and natural law. This was denied as being relevant to the case by the judge, who also prohibited the defenders from using a self-defense argument known as the 'colour of right'. As a result the jury convicted 13 of the defenders. In late July 1997, the judge sentenced them to prison terms ranging from six months to 4 1/2 years. Wolverine received the longest prison term of 4 1/2 years. Edward Dick was sentenced to three years, as was "OJ" James Pitawanakwat.

Many of the defenders believed strongly that only one person was wounded during the standoff because of the spiritual protection they had.

AAZHODENA

At the same time as the siege at Ts'Peten, the confrontation at Aazhoodena (Stoney Point) was occurring. Comprised of Chippewa and Potawatomi peoples, the people of Stoney Point had begun reoccupying their territory along the shore of Lake Huron in southwestern "Ontario" in 1993.

In 1942, the Department of National Defense, through the War Measures Act, expropriated (stole) the territory of Aazhoodena. The people were moved to a nearby reserve-territory, Kettle Point. The Canadian state assured them the land would be returned at the end of World War 2, and in the meantime their land was transformed into a military training camp, "Camp Ipperwash." After the war ended the land was not returned, despite repeated and continuous requests. In 1956 Ipperwash Provincial Park was established next to the army camp and on land that was a burial ground for the Aazhoodena people.

In 1993 the Aazhoodena people reoccupied their land in the military camp. They stayed there for

the European colonizers and their need to legitimize claims to our territories, in accordance with European legal standards of the times, made relations with our peoples especially important. Treaty making was the logical way to make such relations.

Despite present-day debates about the nature of such treaties, and misinformation designed to confuse us, these treaties were clearly made between sovereign nations: the European nation-states on the one hand, and the Indian nations on the other.

We Are Sovereign Peoples

To be a sovereign nation means that you are a people with jurisdiction and control in your territory, independent from any other nation. It means that as a people you are free to follow your own laws, your own forms of government, your own ways.

All peoples on earth were at one time sovereign. They were all at one time indigenous peoples with their own territories. For the Indian peoples in these lands, this sovereignty came to us from our Creator. This is why all the many different Indian nations have their own stories of creation, of how their

ancestors came to be in that territory. Our sovereignty as peoples cannot be denied or legislated away by a colonizing nation-state such as Canada. It comes to us from our spiritual connection to our territories, from the spiritual power of creation. This connection and power is not subject to European legal standards. Our sovereignty is based on truth, and no laws or "treaties" can change it.

Being a collection of peoples (for the most part) long ago disconnected from a spiritual relation to life, it cannot be expected that the European would understand how and why we are sovereign. Yet, even by their own laws, we are sovereign nations. This is based on the fact that we have a territory, a distinct and permanent population in that territory, a capacity

for international relations and easily identifiable forms of government. These are four key criteria required for a nation or sovereign entity to be the subject of international law. It is only through the efforts of the colonizer that our forms of government, even our own understanding that we are sovereign nations, has been weakened.

Seeing ourselves as tribes, band councils, or "First Nations," is how the colonizer wants us to see ourselves. The colonizer works hard at making sure we are as confused as possible. If a small few see through this, the colonizer will cry that sovereignty has nothing to do with Indian peoples. This was not always the case.

"... in establishing formal legal relationships with indigeneous N. Americans, the European parties were absolutely clear -despite their notions of the "inferior" nature of the formeris culture/society- about a very important fact; namely that they were indeed negotiating and entering into contractual relations with sovereign nations, with all the legal implications that such a term had...

"It is unquestionable that indigenous nations

considered themselves sovereign entities, with sovereign rights to the ancestral territories which they occupied centuries before the arrival of the new settlers... As one scholar has put it: "Expressly or de facto, wars and treaties evidenced European recognition of the political personality and territorial sovereignty of Indian nations."

(Miguel Alfonso Martinez, UN special rapporteur)

In discussing the implications of treaty-making with Indian nations, William Wirt, US Attorney-General in the 1820s, stated:

"The point, once conceded, that the Indians are independent to the purpose of treating, their independence is to that purpose as absolute as any other nation..."

"Nor can it be conceded that that their independence as a nation is a limited independence. Like all other independent nations, they have the absolute



Summer 1995 at Ts'Peten. Wolverine (right) with young warrior

power of war and peace. Like all other independent nations, their territories are inviolate by any other sovereignty... They are entirely self-governed, self-directed. They treat, or refuse to treat, at their pleasure, and there is no human power that can rightly control them in the exercise of their discretion in this respect." (Emphasis added)

(Opinion rendered by the Attorney-General, 1828, pp. 623, quoted in Ward Churchill's *Struggle for the Land*, BTL, 1992, p. 41)

The Royal Proclamation: A Tool of Colonization

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 is often quoted in courts throughout Canada by Indian peoples challenging laws that should not apply to them, such as hunting or fishing regulations. In "British Columbia" the Royal Proclamation is especially important in court-room struggles as there are virtually no treaties in BC, and the Proclamation is seen as an important legal challenge to not only hunting and fishing laws, but also the legality of Canada's jurisdiction in unceded (non-surrendered) territories. The Proclamation actually challenges the very existence of the province of "British Columbia."

While the Proclamation can be used to show that Canada and BC are in violation of their own laws, we must not fall into the illusion that it can do anything more. The courts will not rule in favour of sovereign Indian nations and declare BC "illegal." Instead, it is a way that the fraud and theft carried out by the colonizer can be exposed.

After the first stages of the invasion, the competition between various European powers intensified until, by the late 1680s, they were at war. While armies marched across Europe, the fight for the North American colonies and the wealth they produced "was the ultimate battlefield for state power in Europe."

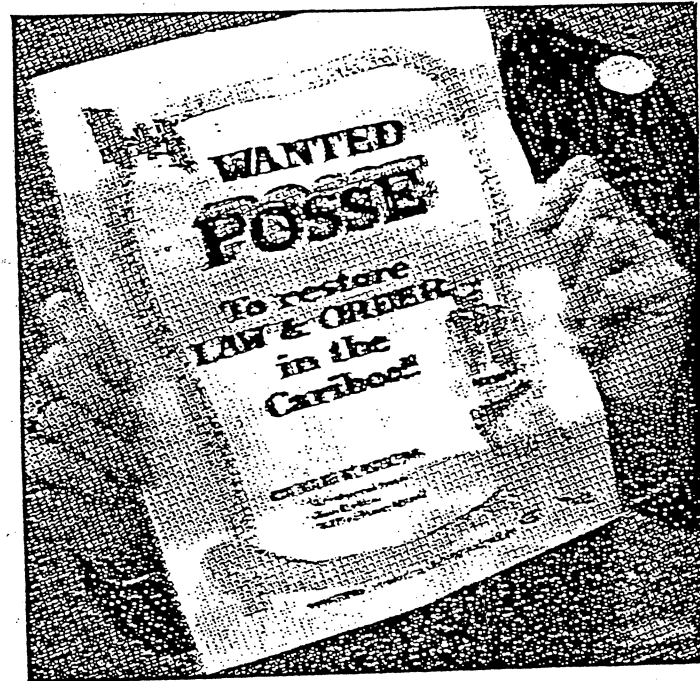
These wars lasted for nearly 100 years and created the so-called "French and Indian War" of 1754-63. From these wars the British emerged victorious, and the French surrendered their territories, including what is today Quebec, in a series of treaties.

At this time, Pontiac, an Odawa leader, began a military campaign against the British. An alliance of Odawas, Algonquins, Senecas, Mingos and Wyandots engaged British forces in a series of conflicts. Between May 16 and June 20, 1763, nine British forts fell. The fort at Detroit, although not destroyed, was put under siege for five months.

Although this Indian military campaign did not

expand, the situation for the colonizer had now drastically changed. The British claimed a vast territory, with French settlers whose loyalty was in question, settlers in the original 13 colonies on the east coast whose discontent with British rule was growing, and Indian nations who, naturally, did not accept British rule. On October 7, 1763, the British issued the Royal Proclamation.

Under the Proclamation, the British colonizers recognized Indian nations as nations, recognized Indian "possession" of their lands, asserted that our people were not to be molested or disturbed, and that lands west of the then-existing colonies had to be sur-



A poster made by anti-Native settlers during the siege at Ts'Peten, "Wanted: Posse to Restore Law & Order in the Cariboo"

rendered to the crown before any settlement or even trade could occur.

"And whereas it is just and reasonable and essential to our interest and the security of our colonies that the several nations or Tribes of Indians with Whom we are connected and who live under our Protection should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of our Dominions and Territories as not having been ceded to or purchased by us are reserved to them or any of them as their Hunting Grounds."

The Royal Proclamation served various uses for the British. It reorganized the colonial administration following the defeat of France and, most importantly, it limited conflicts with the Indian nations. History has shown that this allowed the British to strengthen

AWAKENINGS FOR THE YOUTH: TS'PETEN AND AAZHOODENA 1995

In the summer of 1995 two very important confrontations between Indian peoples and the colonizer state of Canada occurred. In both conflicts hundreds of heavily armed police were used with assistance, equipment, ammunition and armoured personnel carriers from the Canadian military. In both conflicts police were given a green light to shoot to kill; in one standoff some 77,000 rounds were fired with one person being wounded, in the other some 2,000 rounds were fired and one person wounded and one shot dead- Anthony 'Dudley' George.

These confrontations differed from that in Kanehsatake (Oka) in 1990 when the Mohawk nation and its allies engaged the Quebec police and some four thousand Canadian soldiers in a 77-day standoff.

During that engagement the military were given control and there was a reluctance on the part of the state to shoot.

In a widely-circulated analysis of that standoff it was concluded that the use of the military gave the warrior societies a "moral victory" in the eyes of the public. It was advised that the state equip and train police forces for future standoffs with Indian peoples, with no time taken for "prolonged negotiations"

(this analysis came from the Mackenzie Institute for the Study of Terrorism, Revolution and Propoganda, based in Ontario). It can also be concluded that the state learned many other lessons from the confrontation at Kanehsatake. One being that the

media needed to be brought under tighter control. This was done for two main reasons: 1) to minimize protests and solidarity actions (such as those that swept across the country in 1990), and 2) to manufacture public consent for the violence that the police-military forces were directed to carry out.

Ts'Peten (Gustafsen Lake)

The month-long standoff at Ts'Peten in the northern Shuswap territory (central "British Columbia," near the town of 100 Mile House) developed after an American rancher made efforts to evict members of a Shuswap Sundance society from what he

claimed was his land. This included entering the Sundance camp along with a group of cowhands, some of whom made death threats, in mid-June/95.

People began to move into the Sundance camp shortly afterwards to ensure

that any such threats were not carried out. By

mid-August the RCMP had sealed off the area and mobilized

some 450 officers, many of whom were

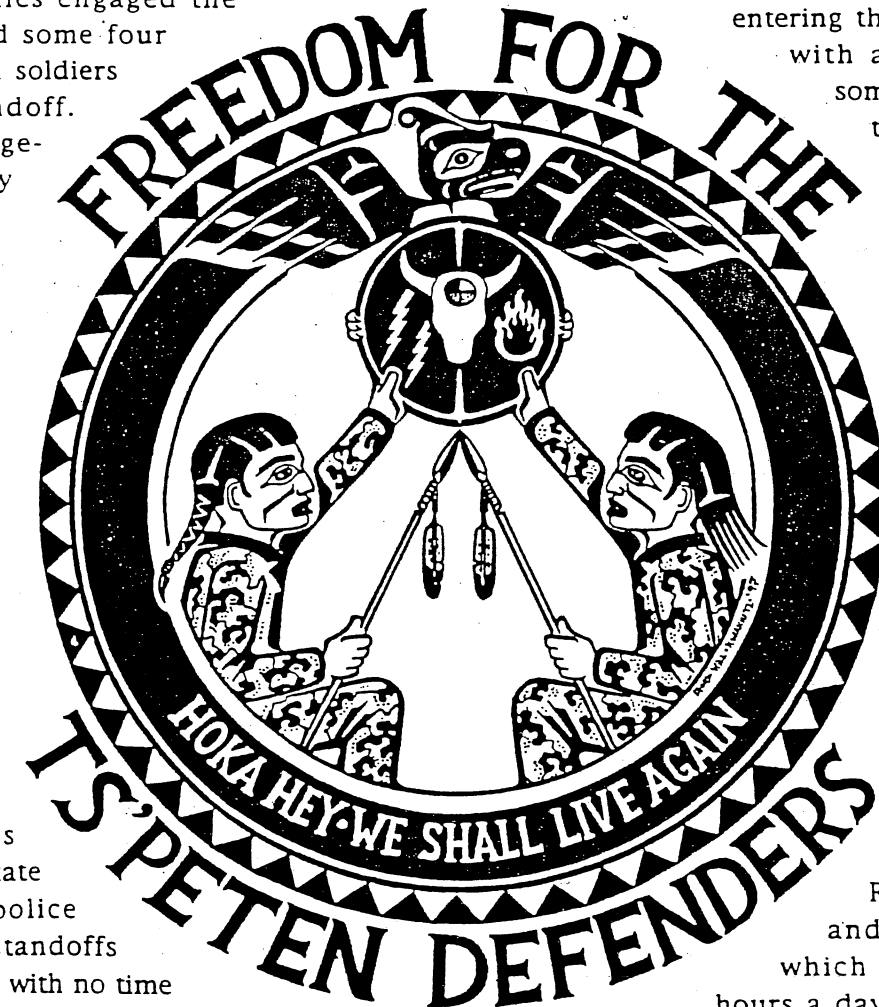
Emergency Response Team (ERT- heavily-armed

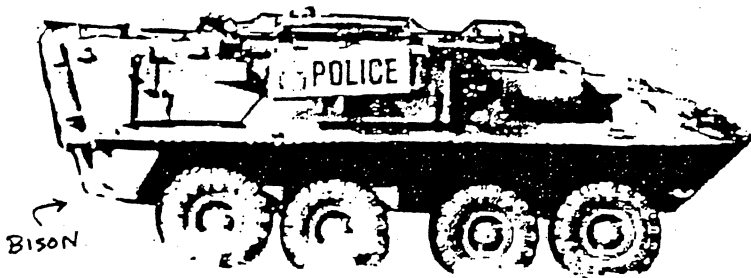
police). Along with their own weapons, the

RCMP used helicopters and a high-flying aircraft which filmed the ground 24-

hours a day. Nine Bison armoured personnel carriers, along with the drivers

and commanders, were sent by the Canadian military. All of this was deployed against some two dozen people.





Diesel Division, General Motors of Canada, Bison APC (Canada)

Key recognition features

- Long hull with nose sloping back under front to first road wheel station, well sloped glacis plate leading to horizontal roof, above second/third road wheel roof is raised and extends to rear of vehicle. Hull rear is vertical with ramp that contains a door
- Four road wheels either side with slightly larger gap between second and third road wheels, upper part of hull slopes inwards on front half of vehicle, rear half almost vertical with extensive external stowage
- Raised commander's cupola in line with second road wheel on left side of hull, 7.62mm MG on ring type mount

Specification

Crew: 2 + 9
 Configuration: 8 x 8
 Armament: 1 x 7.62mm MG, 2 x 4 smoke dischargers
 Ammunition: 2,000 x 7.62mm (estimate)
 Length: 6.452m
 Width: 2.5m
 Height: 2.21m
 Engine: Detroit Diesel Model 6V-53T 6-cylinder diesel developing 275hp at 2,800 rpm
 Maximum road speed: 100km/h
 Maximum water speed: 9.7km/h
 Maximum range: 665km
 Fuel capacity: Not available
 Forging: Amphibious
 Vertical obstacle: 0.381 to 0.508m
 Night vision equipment: Yes (commander and driver)

Weight, combat: 12,800kg
 Weight empty: 10,750kg
 Power-to-weight ratio: 21.48hp/tonne
 Trench: 2.06m
 Gradient: 60%
 Side slope: 30%
 Armour: Classified
 Armour type: Steel
 NBC system: Yes

RCMP get own vehicles
 The RCMP have decided they need their own fleet of armoured vehicles so they won't have to borrow them from the Canadian Forces as they did at the Gustafsen Lake standoff in British Columbia in

September, 1995. The Mounties took delivery of four used armoured vehicles on June 14 from the General

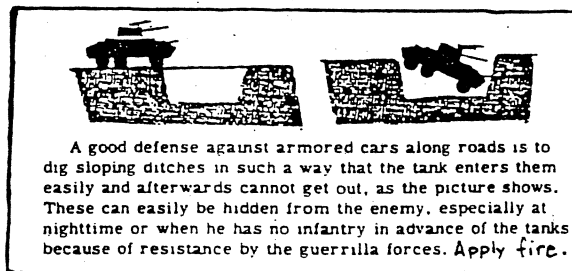
Motors diesel division in London, Ont. The vehicles — two light armoured vehicles, the same type used by the Forces, and two Nyala RG-31 armoured vehicles from South Africa — have been leased for three to nine months, RCMP Sergeant Donna Brownlee said yesterday. There are tentative plans to obtain up to four more armoured vehicles on a longer-term basis, she said. *Globe & Mail*, July 10, 1995. — CP

Development

In 1988, the Diesel Division of General Motors of Canada designed and built the prototype of an 8 x 8 APC as a private venture. This was based on the chassis and automotive components of the Light Armoured Vehicle (LAV) that it has built for the United States Marine Corps (qv). The Canadian Army subsequently placed an order for 199 of a modified version for the Militia called the Bison and first production vehicles were completed in late 1990.

The driver is seated at the front of the vehicle on the left with the commander being seated to his rear with a raised cupola, the powerpack is to the right of the driver with the remainder of the hull being occupied by the troop compartment. The infantry are seated on seats on either side of the troop compartment and enter via a large hydraulic operated ramp in the rear. Over the top of the troop compartment are hatches that open either side of the roof. There is no provision for the troops to fire their weapons from within the vehicle.

The Bison is fully amphibious being propelled in the water by two propellers mounted at the rear of the hull and before entering the water a trim vane is erected at the front of the vehicle which, when not required, folds back under the nose. Steering is power assisted on the front four road wheels and standard equipment includes a winch and fire detection and suppression system.



A good defense against armored cars along roads is to dig sloping ditches in such a way that the tank enters them easily and afterwards cannot get out, as the picture shows. These can easily be hidden from the enemy, especially at nighttime or when he has no infantry in advance of the tanks because of resistance by the guerrilla forces. Apply fire.

Diesel Division, General Motors of Canada, Armoured Vehicle General Purpose (Canada)

Key recognition features

- Pointed hull front with nose sloping under hull to front wheel station, well sloped glacis plate leads up to horizontal hull top which extends to vertical hull rear with two doors. Turret mounted centre of hull roof
- Hull side welded mid-way up then slopes inwards at top and bottom, two firing ports with vision block above each over second and third road wheel station
- Three road wheels each side with distinct gap between first and second, propeller to immediate rear of third road wheel

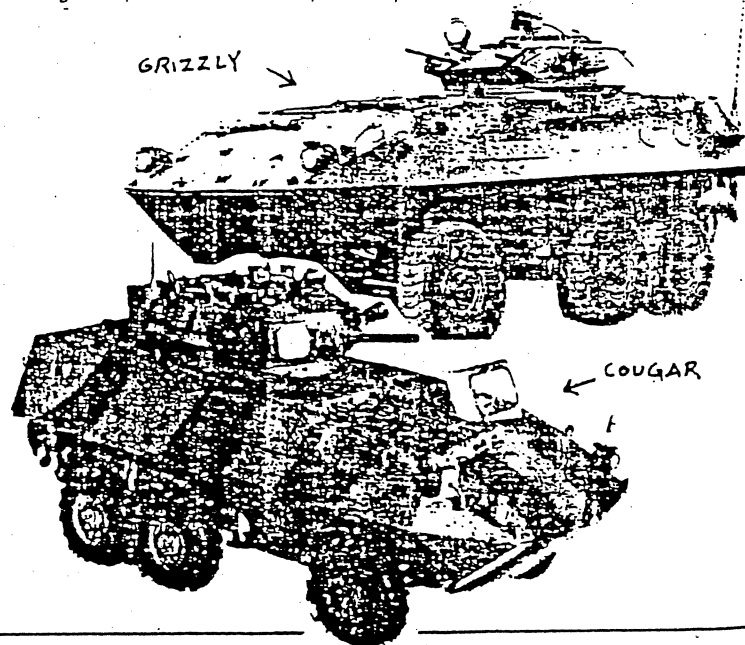
Specification

Crew: 3 + 6
 Configuration: 6 x 6
 Armament: 1 x 12.7mm MG, 1 x 7.62mm MG (coaxial), 2 x 4 smoke dischargers
 Ammunition: 1,000 x 12.7mm, 4,400 x 7.62mm
 Length: 5.968m
 Width: 2.53m
 Height overall: 2.53m
 Height hull top: 1.85m
 Power-to-weight ratio: 20.46hp/tonne
 Engine: Detroit Diesel 6V-53T, 6-cylinder diesel developing 215hp
 Maximum road speed: 101.5km/hr
 Maximum water speed: 7km/hr
 Maximum road range: 603km
 Fuel capacity: 204 lit
 Forging: Amphibious
 Vertical obstacle: 0.381m to 0.508m
 Night vision equipment: Yes (passive for driver)
 Note: Above relates to Wheeled Armoured Personnel Carrier Grizzlyly

Ground clearance: 0.392m
 Wheelbase: 2.04m + 1.04m
 Weight, combat: 10,500kg
 Trench: Not applicable
 Gradient: 60%
 Side slope: 30%
 Armour: 10mm (maximum)
 Armour type: Steel
 NBC system: None

Variants

- Cougar 76mm Gun Wheeled Fire Support Vehicle (WFSV) is fitted with complete Alvis Scorpion turret with 76mm gun and 7.62mm coaxial MG. A total of 195 was built.
 - Husky Wheeled Maintenance and Recovery Vehicle, of which 27 were built, has roof-mounted hydraulic crane and crew of three.
- All Canadian Armed Forces 6 x 6 vehicles are being fitted with the upgraded suspension fitted to the 8 x 8 vehicles which is expected to give improved cross-country mobility.



their forces before expanding west. For the 13 original colonies however, the Royal Proclamation was seen as another example of oppressive British rule (along with high taxation resulting from the wars with France and against the Indian peoples). The result of this was the "American Revolution" and the creation of the United States of America. Unrestrained by British colonial strategy (ie. the Royal Proclamation), the new US of A promptly began its extermination campaign westward.

As a document designed to control its own western expansion and ensure that its forces were not strained, the Proclamation worked well. In the meantime, missionaries and fur-traders, with Royal permission and license, were sent into the Indian territories west of the colonies. They were advance elements of the colonial forces, used to gather information on the people and land, spread confusion, disease and alcohol. As we shall see again and again, the British forces were well experienced in colonizing other peoples.

Despite its strategic value at the time, the Royal Proclamation stands today as a document that continues to challenge the legal and moral authority of the Canadian state and its western-most province, BC.

"The Royal Proclamation of 1763 has a profound significance for modern Canada. Under its terms aboriginal peoples hold continuing rights to their lands except where those rights have been extinguished by voluntary cession..." (quote by Brian Slattery, "The Hidden Constitution" in *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*, Univ. of Toronto Press, 1985, pp. 122)

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 has never been repealed; it continues to be published along with the regular statutes/laws of Canada. It was re-affirmed in the 1982 Constitution. By its own law, the Canadian state was, and still is, obligated to gain the consent of Indian nations for the "surrender" of lands, before any settlement or trade can take place.

Governments in Canada east of the Rockies followed the principles of the Proclamation, even if under fraudulent and deceptive conditions, by making a series of numbered treaties. However,

"[a]side from a brief beginning, they were ignored in BC, and ultimately the province came to assert that the Proclamation did not apply and had not been intended to."

(Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics; The Indian Land Question in BC 1849-1989*, UBC press, 1990, p. 11)

Squatters and Renegades: BC and Canada

During the armed stand-off at Gustafsen Lake in the summer of 1995, the Canadian and BC governments, along with their police-military forces, frequently used the terms "squatters" and "renegades" to describe the people making the stand. These terms, along with "terrorists" and "cultists," were used to isolate the people and justify any use of force the state might use against them. The defenders stood their ground, claiming the land was in fact unceded (non-surrendered) territory, in which neither the provincial (BC) government nor federal (Canadian) government had jurisdiction. This was based in part on the Royal Proclamation of 1763.

Under the terms of the Proclamation, the colonizers were- and still are- obligated to gain the consent of Indian nations for the "surrender" of lands and territories before any settlement or trade can take place.

Ultimately, because virtually no treaties exist in BC, the people who made the armed stand at Gustafsen Lake (Ts'peten in the Shuswap language) were asking: who are the real squatters and renegades?



Rebel natives legally occupying land near Gustafsen Lake, B.C., gesture at photographers. The standoff between about 30 renegades and the RCMP continues.

CANADA: A RENEGADE STATE BUILT ON DECEPTION

History shows us that, when a colonizing force enters into treaties and agreements with the peoples it is colonizing, these treaties and agreements are in fact

tools used by the colonizer in his long-term goals of occupying and exploiting both the land and the people.

The treaties the colonizers made during the first stages of the invasion, for example, were used to establish peace relations with the Indian nations when the colonizer was militarily weak. The Royal Proclamation, for example, used by the British to buy time, strengthened and re-organized its colonial forces. In the same way, treaties that the British forces and Canadian state made with Indian nations were tools used in the colonization process.

By the time Canada was officially created as a state with the British North America Act of 1867, the colonizers were firmly established for the occupation of all that would come to be known as "Canada" today. With the balance of power now swung sharply in their favour, the colonizers began to set into motion the final stages of its colonization strategy.

We must remember: the British colonizers were very experienced in colonizing other peoples. In Africa, Asia, Ireland and in the Americas, the British empire was constantly learning and applying new techniques of destroying indigenous peoples, in colonizing them.

With an expanding and fairly stable settler population, and its well-equipped police-military forces, the colonizer could eventually destroy any military challenge to its authority. But from its colonial experience, the British forces knew that a militarized colonial situation did not necessarily ensure control of an indigenous people. Armed conflicts with guerrilla forces created instability and could ultimately lead to bigger problems within the European settler population, as well as interfering with the plunder of resources.

What had to be broken was the very spirit of the people that led them to resist the colonizer. The British correctly understood that our whole way of life, our nations, our families, our culture, our spiritual connection to life, our relation to our territories; all these stood in the way of the colonization, for they gave us the strength and determination to resist. The colonizer, having control in a military sense, then sought to control us as peoples by destroying our very being as Indians.

Along with the passing of various acts with the

long-term goals of destroying our ways of life, of dismantling us as nations, the colonizer also used treaties as part of its strategy for controlling us.

Following the principles of the Royal Proclamation, the colonizers began negotiating a series of numbered treaties starting in Manitoba and moving west. These treaties covered large areas of land, which were surrendered to the British.

It is important to understand that during this time of western expansion, the devastating effects of colonization were in full force. As part of the colonial war strategy, the buffalo were being slaughtered by the millions, eliminating the single most important food source for the plains Indian nations. Missionaries and traders had been at work for years, Christianizing the people at a time of drastic changes, distributing alcohol and spreading diseases. Where there had been hostilities between

Indian nations, these were intensified by the above conditions and- as in the case of the Blackfeet and Cree- one side had been much better armed thanks to arms dealers. That all these began to occur as the colonizers began expanding west cannot be seen as mere coincidence. These were the tactics of colonization learned and applied.

Many Indian leaders had to choose between signing treaties, which were not translated or were altered after being signed, or face starvation. Rations were used as part of the colonizer's "bargaining power."

By destroying their way of life, and having them "surrender" almost all their territory, the colonizer had effectively set up new enclosures to contain the people. In other words, once free people who moved across their territories following the great buffalo and the changing seasons were now limited to much smaller reserve lands. It was through the treaties that the colonizer not only legitimized the occupation of Indian territories, but also the means by which the reserve system was established. This was an important step in destroying us as Indian peoples, for the reserves were to serve as laboratories for our colonization, for our training and conversion to European values, systems, religion and ways of life.

We have been told of all these things. We are still being told. We know what our responsibilities are. We know what truth is. We must begin to live that truth, to find in it the powers of all of Creation that are right here in front of us. It is time to return to our ceremonies, medicines and prayers to purify our hearts and minds. We must remember what true power is; that it is not economic, political or technological.

"True power is natural. A blizzard is true natural power, a tornado and a hurricane and an earthquake. These things of natural power that come from earth are powers that man cannot control. The federal government does not want us to recognize that as people we carry this natural power within us."

Anna Mae Pictou Aquash
Statement to the court of South Dakota
September 1975

Our movement is based on this natural power, it is based on the truth of our connection to the spiritual, to the Great Mystery. And that is why it is so seemingly mysterious, and yet so beautiful. These things that we have forgotten only serve to weaken us and draw us further into the enemy's confusion. There we have no power, nor do we have any hope for the future or the generations to come. Yet look at how strong our people once were, that in the midst of the destruction and the darkening of their world, they would leave to us the future generations a vision of hope in the Ghost Dance:

The father will descend
The earth will tremble

Everybody will arise
Stretch out your hands

We shall live again
We shall live again



STATE ASSASSINS MODERN DAY GALVARY - RCMP - OPP - SQ - CSIS -

Do You think Indian Copz Are Any Different?



"Red Tomahawk (left) was one of 43 men assigned to seize Sitting Bull. When his superior officer, Lieutenant Bull Head was wounded, he took command and shot Sitting Bull in the back of the head."

weak in our conduct, if we do not conduct ourselves in a good way.

We have been indoctrinated by this system and have taken their ways of conduct as our own. We must return to our ceremonies and medicines. We need to purify ourselves and find our spir-



itual powers, our powers which have not been lost only forgotten. It is right there, in that sweatlodge, in that vision quest, in that song and drum. It's their in our hands, in that tobacco, in that sweet-grass, sage and cedar. It's in the land, away from the cities. It's in our dreams only we're too confused to see what we are being told. The ceremonies and medicines can clear away that confusion and give us strength. That is their purpose, and that is why our people must return to them. Many will not.

There are forces at work at this time that we cannot comprehend. Some of these are manipulations and deceptions from our enemy. Others are emanating from the spiritual, from Wakan Tanka- the Great Mystery. Those from our enemy are difficult to see clearly because that is the way of deception, yet we know what their goals are and that is to control and dehumanize all peoples, to further the destruction of life. Those from Wakan Tanka are not always meant to be understood and analyzed and puzzled over. They just are.

One of these forces that we can understand is the great numbers of our youth. At the present time

(1997) some 65% of the Indian population will be under 30, some 57% of which will be under 25. This will be a generation that has not been broken by the residential school regimes, and which can learn from the resistance of the 1970s and from the experiences and knowledge of movement veterans. They will have the ability to see through the illusions and the new confusions created to distract the previous generation. They will have a burning desire for change, just as the previous generation did. They will naturally have a great distrust of present-day organizations and leaders, including those in the Indian movement. At the same time there is a fighting spirit amongst these youth. Many will involve themselves in defending their people and their territory when such a situation arises.

The movement of youth is of great concern to the Canadian state, because through its analysis it knows that the economic conditions under which these youth will live will be harder, that the situation can change very quickly from a situation such as that at Kanehsatake in 1990. This is why the Assembly of First Nations is now pushing a more "militant" and "aggressive" direction. AFN chief Ovide Mercredi began in 1995 to talk about civil disobedience, about protests and how this might be the path the AFN will have to take because the government just doesn't listen. It is a weak attempt to divert the movement of the youth away from the spiritual movement, the Indian movement, the resistance. This too is a tactic of colonization, to create false movements which divert and confuse the people. As with everything based on deception, it too will fail.



A young Chippewa dressed in camouflage gear, eats a snack of chocolate-covered raisins behind the Ipperwash Park barricades

"BRITISH COLUMBIA": A SQUATTER PROVINCE

In 1849, the colony of Vancouver was proclaimed. The Hudson's Bay Charter was charged with the colonization and settlement of the new colony, by imperial grant. James Douglas was the first governor of the colony and at the same time chief factor over the HBC's fur trade activities on Vancouver Island and the mainland opposite. Between 1850-54, Douglas made 14 purchases of Indian lands; 11 around Fort Victoria, 2 at Fort Rupert, and 1 at Nanaimo. These are known as the Douglas Treaties. The only other treaty in BC was in Treaty No. 8, which covered a small portion of the north-west corner of what would come to be known as "BC."

How did the province of BC, in which virtually no lands were surrendered by treaty, come to be claimed by the colonial state of Canada? This was accomplished by ignoring the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and passing land legislation which gave the government control and jurisdiction over the lands in question. They did this knowing the land legislation was in violation of the Proclamation. In 1875, the Canadian Parliament passed an order-in-council dated January 23, whereby Canada acknowledged its obligation to disallow all provincial Public Lands Acts that had been enacted (particularly in BC). Like the Proclamation, this too was ignored. Over the years, BC has worked very hard at suppressing this truth.

In 1919 and 1922, court cases involving aboriginal title in Rhodesia and Nigeria (then British colonies) had a potentially negative impact on Canada. At that time the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was Canada's highest appeal court. In those two cases the Privy Council had found that indigenous people had pre-existing and continuing title to their territories, unless it had been explicitly extinguished (that is, surrendered by treaty).

During this time, Indian nations in BC were actively pursuing land claims through the Allied Tribes of BC. The Canadian government's response to this was to outlaw land claims and related activities (ie. fund-raising) in 1927. This is an example of how the true face of the colonizer is exposed. As its legitimacy and moral authority are challenged, it resorts to crude and obvious repression. A modern police state, however, prefers to control the minds of its citizens rather than rely on force alone. In 1949, the Privy Council stopped being Canada's highest appeal court, and its decisions could not be imposed on Canada. So, in 1951, the state amended the Indian Act to once again allow land claims activities.

By the 1960s, Indian peoples were again in the courts. There was a possibility that the courts- bound to uphold the law (haha!)- could rule that BC did indeed violate the 1763 Royal Proclamation.

With the Privy Council removed as an international court, Indian peoples had only the court system of Canada as a way of arguing land claims issues. There was no need to ban such legal challenges, for they were contained within Canada's own court system. To further this appearance of legitimacy, legal defenses were constructed by lawyers hired by the BC government. They devised two legal arguments:

1. The Royal proclamation did not apply to the province, based on one key phrase in the document: "Indians with whom we are connected." This was pre-



presented as meaning the Proclamation applied only to those Indian nations the British were in contact with in 1763. Since they had no relations with Indian nations west of the Rockies, this meant the Proclamation did not apply to the lands of BC.

This argument was intended to undermine the application of the Royal Proclamation.

As one researcher explains,

"statutes, proclamations and constitutions are ordinarily taken as continuing to "speak" until they are repealed. The Proclamation has never been repealed... in legal enactments the present tense is often used with a prospective intent."

(Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, pp. 216)

2. The second defense of BC was that, since the lands had not been explored by the British in 1763, they had not intended the Proclamation to apply to those lands.

"To the contrary, as Brian Slattery observes, "Imperial enactments... were normally given a prospective application so as to apply not only to colonies and territories held when the legislation was enacted, but also to those acquired subsequently..." Otherwise, the British would have had to continually amend colonial proclamations and other legislation to

take account of each new colony or territory; this they most certainly did not do... The British officials who drafted the proclamation can hardly have been ignorant of, or uninterested in, the westward extent of the continent. The contention that the proclamation was not intended to extend to the Pacific is thus insupportable in the absence of explicit evidence to the contrary."

(Paul Tennant, *Aboriginal Peoples and Politics*, pp. 217)

The final position of the BC government was based on the idea that "implicit extinguishment" of Indian title was enough. This "extinguishment," the ending of our ownership of land and territory, was said to have been accomplished through laws passed in the 1800s that not only ignored our people's sovereignty and territory, but which also broke the law of their own Royal Proclamation. "Ignoring Indian land title was thus to be seen as extinguishing it."

(Tennant, pp. 217)

We must remember: the purpose of these arguments is not to show that the province of BC is legitimate; they were manufactured to create the appearance of legitimacy and provide a basis for the court's to rule in their favour. Again and again, judges have ruled against our people in cases involving "aboriginal title." This should come as no surprise, for judges are officials in a legal system set up by and for the colonial state. It makes no sense to seek justice from the court-rooms of your oppressor, for they will not rule against themselves. At the same time, these court-room struggles were necessary for us as Indian peoples to move forward in our struggles. Our understanding of our resistance could not have developed without engaging the enemy's legal system, and exposing it as not only corrupt but an important part of the colonial state.

THE BC TREATY PROCESS

The business of treaty-making in BC has been going on for several years now. A good summary of the publicly stated goals of the treaty



process is contained in the following quote:

"Treaties offer the best avenue for fair and honorable resolution of historical grievances that have led to costly litigation, social conflict and economic uncertainty... The treaty-making process is firmly established and is working well in this province... There is no turning back."

BC Treaty Commission, Annual Report 1995-96, pp. 3-4

In 1990, the provincial government established the BC Claims Task Force to "address the issue of how to organize, monitor and fund the treaty negotiation process in BC." At the same time, the federal (Canadian) government announced it intended to "accelerate the settlement of outstanding land claims across Canada."

As we should all remember, 1990 was the year in which the Mohawk nation and its allies resisted a police-military invasion of their territory. The armed stand-off at Kanehsatake (Oka) was an awakening that ignited solidarity blockades and actions throughout Canada. BC saw numerous blockades that summer and into the fall, including the Lil'wat peoples blockade at Mt. Currie.

The move to negotiate treaties is in part a response to the ongoing resistance of the Indian peoples, and not from a sudden realization that "past injustices" must be corrected.

Six months after its formation in December 1990, the BC Claims Task Force submitted its report. One key recommendation was the creation of an "Independent Treaty Commission" based in BC. On September 21/92, an agreement to establish the BC Treaty Commission was signed in North Vancouver. An entire bureaucracy has now grown around the treaty process, with a number of well-funded organizations working in union to push through treaties. Briefly, these are:

BC Treaty Commission (BCTC)

According to their information, the BCTC is an "independent organization which facilitates the treaty negotiation process... and allocates funds to First Nations to assist them in participating in negotiations." The BCTC has five members; two appointed by the First Nations Summit, one from the federal government, one from the BC provincial government, and a "chief commissioner" appointed jointly by the Summit and the two levels of government. The BCTC does not negotiate the treaties, but co-ordinates them between the two levels of government and a particular tribal or band council.

THE TRUTH WILL SET YOU FREE

Empires do not last forever. Every empire falls. From the Roman empire to the British empire. It is natural. Darkness does not last forever. The morning always comes. It's natural too.

Many people look at the way we live today and say "it's always been like this." But that is not true. No people in history have ever lived in a time comparable to that which we presently live in. At no time in history was the destruction of life brought to such a level of "efficiency" that now there are holes in the sky, that now the weather becomes more extreme and violent. At no time in history have people ever endured near-constant visual and audio information and technology. Nor has there been a world humanity so dehumanized and terrorized, and so disconnected from their own spirits, as there is now. There has never been a time when so many were addicted to mind-numbing drugs, or immersed in alcohol, or consumed by materialism. This is why it will change. Because everything will have to change in order that life can continue. The will of life, the power of life,



will force this change. We have been told of these things through our ancestors and by our spiritual leaders.

There is great change occurring all around us right now. Think about how much this country called Canada has changed since the standoff at Kanehsatake in 1990. Think about 1995 and the siege at Gustafsen Lake (Ts'peten) and the killing of Dudley George in Ipperwash (Aazhoodena). This is not history repeating itself. It is reality, and it's always moving to a future. Many are uncertain of what that future will be. During these times of great change, it becomes harder for us as Indian peoples to remain who we are. Each generation becomes more and more disconnected from

the original ways in which we lived. And yet we are still stronger than all the peoples that have left their lands and come here to our lands. Look around at these people. Their confusion is great; they run around aimlessly, seemingly going nowhere in a hurry. They make up for their lack of life by consuming more and more material goods. They make up for their lack of life by watching other's lives on tv soaps, videos and movies. You can travel all around these lands and it's all the same; every city is the same; every McDonalds; every mall. Their spirits are dying as they live the lives they have been told to live.

Many of our own people are the same way. We keep telling ourselves "We're still here!" after over 500 years of colonization, but we need to look at what this system has done to us, and what it is still doing.

"They want to destroy our spirit. They want us to not understand our natural relationship to the earth and our relationship to our spirit. They want us to continue to give respect and validity to their forms of power..."

Anna Mae Pictou Aquash,
Statement to the court of South Dakota,
September 1975



We have to understand that our enemy does not have power, does not have spiritual power. To understand your connection to the spiritual means you understand that you are sacred. To know that you are a sacred being means you know the power of truth; to live in a truthful way means you honour the life you have been given. That truth is the one thing we have as a movement, as a people. Living truthfully means you are following the path that is meant for you, because it is what is meant to be. It is the same for our movement. It must be based on truth.

We must turn away from the ways of the colonizer, the ways of lies and deception and materialism. Our movement is nothing more than the people who are in it. Use deception, look at others as people to be manipulated or exploited or as sexual objects and you weaken our movement. You weaken our ability to carry out our responsibilities to defend the people. Nor will the people move in our circle if we are seen as

is not uncommon.

There are many in the movement who are good with words. They are eloquent speakers for their people. But that is all. By their conduct and how they treat others, one can see they are good deceivers and manipulators. Many do not see this and are instead mesmerized by how these people look, how they present themselves, and their words. In truth, they are motivated by their egos and selfishness, not by a commitment to their people.

There are many tough warriors in the Movement, fiery talkers who might tell you about really heavy situations they've been in. They are false warriors. The false warriors look down on any movement work that needs to be done, unless it promises conflict.

Of course, if weapons were ever used, such people would be nowhere to be found. They too are motivated by ego and selfishness. The false warrior compensates for inner weakness by projecting false strength.

There are also those in the movement who possess a great amount of cultural knowledge. Some may know their language, songs and even ceremonies. They have a great knowledge, but instead of using it in a good way, they use it to manipulate and deceive others. It is difficult for many to see through the cultural strength to the spiritual weakness within.

This is the sheep that would assume to run with the wolves. Some even go about raising funds and asking for handouts wherever they go, for their own profit. They are the sheep that despoil the righteousness of our struggle.

By far the most easily deceived are the non-

Indian peoples. But Indian people too are drawn in. These deceivers in our midst can be seen through by listening to your heart and not being mesmerized by outward appearances and rhetoric.

Yet, even the deceivers who participate in the movement, or present themselves to, have the potential to see truth and change their ways. Such is the strength that flows from the righteousness of our struggle. It is the Great Mystery, working in mysterious ways, that brings these people to our movement. In truth, every one of us as people play these roles, some more often than others. Just to be a real person is a struggle in itself. A few of the more confused will even be infiltrators and informants, for police and "intelligence" agencies are always trying to solve the Great Mystery, the essence of our Indian movement.

Those who stand and defend the people are to be honoured for what they have done, but we must remember they are also real people. They are fulfilling their responsibilities, which is good, but that is all. False heroes, those whose egos are fed by unnecessary or undue praise, contribute nothing to our movement. We must not glorify the warrior or the use of weapons, for this only creates false warriors. Many of our people, especially youth, can easily fall victim to their egos and the image of a "warrior." Holding a rifle and engaging the enemy does not mean one is strong; strength comes from within. From one's spiritual center.

"People must be so dedicated to the movement that they're willing to die... to fight against overwhelming odds, willing to go hungry or starve and out in the cold and do things that are generally considered impossible. These people can be developed and motivated by having a very strong spiritual centre."

AIM member in Wounded Knee,
Voices from Wounded Knee, 1973, pp247

Any person, under the right circumstances, can find the courage to stand and fight. And those who have stood and fought will know this is true more than anyone else, for they know just how human they are.

Yet, being so overwhelmed by the state's military-police forces, and by the conditions which we must survive under, how can we as a movement, as a people, resist the destruction? Aren't we just a tiny people, overwhelmed even by the settler European population?

First Nations Summit

The Summit includes "all First Nations in BC which have agreed to participate in the Treaty Commission negotiations." The Summit is a coordinating group for those band and tribal councils which are involved in the treaty negotiations.

Federal Treaty Negotiation Office (FTNO)

The FTNO is a part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND). Its role in the treaty process is to represent the federal government at negotiations. "The federal government represents the interests of all Canadians" (haha).

Treaty Negotiation Advisory Committee TNAC)

Formed in 1993, this committee was created by the federal and provincial governments for "consultation" between "Government and other resource users to discuss issues and exchange information." The 31-member committee includes representatives from fish, wildlife and environmental groups, municipal governments, labour, forestry, and energy, petroleum and mineral companies. For these reasons the TNAC is said to represent "third party interests."

There are six stages a band or tribal council must go through before a treaty is finalized. To date, no treaty has been signed by any band or tribal council. The first stage is filing a statement of intent to negotiate a treaty, which is sent to the BC Treaty Commission. After this, negotiations begin and lots of money starts rolling in, of which 80 per cent is a loan from Canada and must be paid back (band councils who are a part of Treaty 8 refused to negotiate after they were told that entering into the treaty process means they are obligated to receive funding. The moneys involve tens of millions of dollars). Stage 4 is the negotiation of an Agreement in Principle (AIP). The AIP forms the basis of the actual treaty. Stage 5 is resolving technical and legal issues; at the conclusion of this stage the treaty is signed. Stage six is the implementation of the treaty.

The actual negotiations are conducted between a band or tribal council, the federal government, and the BC provincial government. This "tripartite" negotiation process means the "treaties" being negotiated are not treaties which are subject to international law. Such treaties can only be made between two or more sovereign nations (which the province of BC is not).

When we look into the essence of the BC treaty

process and remove all the glitter, the federal and provincial governments are in fact making agreements with band and/or tribal councils for the sale of ancestral lands and territories. Band and/or tribal councils who owe their very existence to the colonization strategy of the Canadian state.

In its response to a questionnaire on treaties, circulated by Miguel Alfonso Martinez, the UN Special Rapporteur, the Canadian government stated that:

"colonial-era treaties signed by Great Britain and Indian people in what is now Canada, have been found ... to be agreements which are sui generis, neither created nor terminated according to rules of international law."

(E/CN.4/Sub. 2/ 1992/ 32 para. 156)

In a report to the UN Commission on Human Rights, Martinez observes that

"While it is not difficult to conclude that indigenous nations interacted [...] with European powers as entities with international personality and sovereign rights, it is also true that since the early decades of the 19th century one witnesses [...] a clear trend in nation-states aimed at divesting those nations of the very same sovereign attributes and rights..."

(E/CN. 4/Sub. 2/1992/32 para. 160- what an imagination those UN people have for titles)

By denying that Indian nations are sovereign, and by working to deny us access to international law, the colonizer is ensuring that Indian challenges to its authority are contained within its domestic legal system. Any recognition of our peoples as being sovereign nations- nations within a colonial nation-state takes away from the face of legitimacy Canada works so hard to present to its citizens and to the world. It is this "face of legitimacy," the belief that Canada is a world leader in human rights, that is the basis of controlling not only Indian peoples but all peoples in Canada. By maintaining these illusions, Canada ensures loyalty from its population of workers and consumers, and if not loyalty then at least confusion as to who the enemy is.

By going through the motions of making "treaties," of reaching "fair and honorable resolutions," the state is attempting to add another layer to its mask of legitimacy. It is trying to confuse the people into believing that Canada has "progressed," that, yes, colonialism is bad but it's a thing of the past and now we're trying to help the Indians.

But the BC treaty process is not just about preventing conflicts. Nor is it just about legitimizing the theft of Indian land and at the same time putting an



end to court cases involving the Royal Proclamation. The false treaties are meant to do all this, but they are also designed to further our assimilation into the Canadian nation-state. It's 1997, and the Predator is still trying to devour us.

THE NISGA'A AGREEMENT: THE ILLUSION OF "SELF-GOVERNMENT"

In February 1996, the signing of an Agreement in Principle (AIP) with the Nisga'a Tribal Council was announced. The Nisga'a are the first to have reached this stage, and so the agreement was the focus of intense media coverage. It was a great "victory" for the treaty process. As it is the first AIP to be made, it will set the groundwork for all future treaties in BC. What's in it?

The Nisga'a tribal and band councils will receive \$190 million to be paid over a period of years. Some of this must be used to pay back loans made to the Tribal Council during the treaty process (at each new stage the councils receive more money).

Some 1,930 square kilometres of land will be designated "Nisga'a Lands." This represents perhaps 10% of the actual Nisga'a territory. And not all the Nisga'a Lands will be owned by the Nisga'a, as third party interests will continue, as well as some provincial and federal government use and jurisdiction.

The Nisga'a will "own" roads going through the Nisga'a Lands, but in the final treaty there will be provisions to ensure the province has "perpetual and exclusive rights of access... and new road rights of way, as needed."

The Canadian state will have the "power to expropriate Nisga'a Lands for certain federal public purposes..." and will have access to "manage programs and services, carry out inspections [and] enforce laws..." As well, the Nisga'a "will not limit the authority of Canada, or the Minister of National Defense to carry out activities related to national defense and

security."

In regards to water, "Both within and outside the boundaries of Nisga'a Lands, the water and the lands under water will be owned by, and be under the jurisdiction of the province. This means among other things that the province will control hydro projects on and affecting Nisga'a Lands."

The AIP also has the appearance of drastically changing the tribal and band council structures. As a result they will have expanded powers and responsibilities. This is part of the state's "self-government" policy. Self-government has been a phrase used for several years now, and has been incorporated into the BC treaty process.

"Self-government will be dealt with at the same treaty table as other items such as land and resources." *Treaty News*, October 1995, pub. by the Federal Treaty Negotiation Office.

Instead of a Nisga'a Tribal Council, there will be a "Nisga'a Central Government." Instead of band councils there will be "Nisga'a Village Governments." And they will have their own "constitution," which will include how many "officers" and "councillors" must be elected by "Nisga'a citizens." There will be a Nisga'a policing and court system. The Central Government will have jurisdiction over employment, public works, traffic and transportation, social services, health services, some taxation, etc. But all of these will be subordinate to the laws of Canada. Final authority will lay with the Canadian state. If a Nisga'a police force is set up, it will be under the province's supervision. If BC feels the policing is "inadequate" it can send in its own police. Any Nisga'a court system will be supervised by the Judicial Council of BC.

The Nisga'a, in effect, will have a "super-reserve" called Nisga'a Lands, and "super-tribal and -band councils" renamed the Nisga'a Central Government and Village Governments. The image of "self-government" will be everywhere, but it will be false. The Nisga'a, a sovereign people, will be reduced to conducting themselves as a municipality (which is merely an extension of the band council system itself). In exchange for this, and a few million dollars, the col-



The oppressed, through the guerrilla, engage the enemy using everything that is the basis of their own oppression. In the 1990's we have seen many forms of guerrilla movements withdraw from the struggle, after years of fighting police/military states, after tens of thousands of deaths, and assimilate themselves into the very state they fought. In Palestine, South Africa and El Salvador, where the guerrillas have stood down, the guerrilla fighters themselves have been incorporated into the police and military forces.

The Indian movement in North America is not a revolutionary movement. We are a warriors movement fighting for the survival of our ways against an enemy that seeks to dehumanize us and assimilate us into his system. We are a warriors movement that defends our people and territories when possible and/or necessary. We fight not for a political ideology, but for life itself; to love and honour the lives we as human beings have been given.

We remember who we are. We remember why we are. We resist because it is our responsibility to the Creation, to our ancestors who shed their blood that we could be here today. We fight for the generations unborn, that they will have a life; not as dehumanized worker-consumers, but as a free people who know and honour their place in the circle of life.

We are a spiritual movement. Our strength and determination flows from the righteousness of our struggle and from the Creator.

The Indian struggle is to live as human beings, and we know that peace is the only way all peoples can live to fulfill the lives they have been given. Peace is the only way all peoples can once again find their place in the creation. Peace is the only way all people can remember what life is truly about. It is the only way balance can be restored. It is the only way all peoples can respect the different ways and cultures

between them.

"...our people believe very much in the paths of life, that there are different paths to follow. We talk about the path of peace - and how sometimes you have to go to the path of war because there's nowhere else to go and still remain as an Indian." *Warrior in Wounded Knee*, 1973.

(*Voices from Wounded Knee*, 1973, pp. 246)

The colonizer knows nothing about the path of peace and righteousness. Being spiritually empty, he does not see the sacredness of all life and instead follows the path of war. In this day it is still the responsibility of a warrior society to defend the people against this aggression.

"There is a varying concept of warrior society. To white persons, the warrior is the armed forces. It is the guy that goes out there and kills for his people. But Indian people have never had hired killers. A Warrior should be the first one to go hungry or the

last one to eat... He is ready to defend his family in time of war - to hold off any enemy, and is perfectly willing to sacrifice himself to the good of ... his people. That is what a warrior society is to Indian people, and that is what we envision ourselves as, what we idealistically try to be."

AIM member, Wounded Knee 1973

(*Voices from Wounded Knee* 1973, pp61-62)



THE SHEEPS IN WOLVES ROBES

There are those in the movement who understand the responsibility of being a warrior, who understand what the movement is, and why it is. Just as most people, including most Indians, are trapped within the confusion maintained by the colonizer, so too are many in the

Indian movement. Participating in the struggle for one's peoples does not free one of the confusion, for de-colonizing one's mind requires inner strength and a commitment to spiritual ceremonies. The movement is full of people who allow their egos, greed and petty power struggles to dominate them. Personality conflicts between those who would assume to be "leaders"

have also been able to exploit the division of their territories between Canada and the US. They have been able to establish a level of self-sufficiency in tobacco and gambling, through which money has been raised to fund and equip their Warrior Societies.

Like AIM, the development of the Mohawk Warrior Societies of today can be traced to the late 1960's and the general awakening of the Indian peoples that began then.

Within their ancestral territories, Mohawks began carrying out re-occupations of land in the early 1970's. The Warriors Societies began to form and find strength in these struggles. In a confrontation in Kahnawake in 1973, weapons were deployed for the first time. In May 1974, Mohawks occupied an abandoned camp at Moss Lake in New York. They named it Ganienkeh - "The Land of the Flint", the traditional name for the Mohawk homeland (who know themselves as Kanienkehaka- the People of the Flint).

An armed standoff then began, involving hundreds of state police. The standoff would eventually wind down and, after a few years of negotiations with New York state, the Mohawks exchanged Moss Lake for land near Altona, just south of the Canadian border. Ganienka was retained as the name for this land, liberated from the colonizer.

A WARRIOR MOVEMENT

All over the world, oppressed peoples are fighting military regimes that maintain a system which leaves the masses of people in poverty, while a wealthy elite profits from their misery. It has been this way since the predator set out from Europe, lost and confused, with a hunger for material things.

In many countries, the oppressed waged guerilla struggles; they fought to overthrow the state and establish a new one, run by the guerrilla leaders. They were revolutionaries. Their revolutions were European in origin, based on European political ideologies of left and right. This was true whether the guerrillas were African, South American or Asian.

Even while sacrificing their lives for the people

and/or political ideologies, the revolutionaries were unable to achieve freedom, even when their revolutions succeeded. Because freedom can never be obtained within the system of the enemy.

It is not "imperialism" or "capitalism" or "communism" that controls humanity, it is our mental enslavement to these European economic concepts. "Capitalism" is only an idea; by giving our power to the colonizer and accepting his ways, we make it a reality. Most people are unable to see life differently, because their view of the world is learned from the colonizer's schools, media and construction of society.

The colonizer shapes and dictates our reality. We see a normal life as: you are born, go to school, get a job, make a family and then, after 20-30 years, you retire. You work and consume. The buying of material items (a car, tv. etc.) is the incentive that is

used to keep you working, but even more

than the pursuit of material goods, it is the enslavement of our minds to this way of life that keeps us trapped within this false reality.

More and more people are unable to realize these "life goals," and most Indian people never have been. Increasingly, the state's economic system will fail to keep the people controlled, and it will turn to other methods, including more repression.

The Canadian state places the Indian movement as the No. 1 threat to "domestic security." Not because we are a

large and dangerous movement, but because we have the potential to break

the illusions which control the people.

But we are not revolutionaries, for revolutionaries are trapped within the realities the enemy dictates. Through their conditioning, the masses see power in political, economic or military terms. The state is seen to have this power, and to fight an oppressive state, the revolutionaries construct "mini-states" or "states-in-information," which they call guerilla armies or revolutionary movements. Because they are unable to see life in a different way, they organize their movements in ways which mirror the state (they have a centralized command, a military wing and a political wing, an economic plan for the "new society," a manifesto or constitution, a flag etc.).



onizer will have finished any "legal challenges" to its occupation of Indian territories (the Royal Proclamation). As with all things in which the colonizer holds the balance of power we- the colonized- cannot expect truth and righteousness. What is more, we must be aware of the larger strategies of colonization the enemy is using.

(Note: all quotes on the Nisga'a AIP from Mandell Pinder, "Executive Summary and Analysis of the Nisga'a Treaty Negotiations AIP," contained in the handbook for the 28th Annual General Assembly, 1996, of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs.)

THE TRUTH WILL SET YOU FREE

Many of our people are confused about colonialism. This is natural, since we learn about it from the colonizer's education system.

A big part of our confusion is thinking that colonialism refers to a specific historical period, like the 1700s, or the 1800s. But colonization is a long-term process. And some of us think that, because the Canadian state removed the law banning our potlaches and other ceremonies, and because parts of our cultures exist today, that this means we are not colonized. Some think that colonization is not being done today.

The reality is that we are a colonized people. The goals of the colonizer in modern-day Canada are not to banish our cultures, especially when these can be used to enhance tourism and strengthen the illusion that Canada is a "free" and "multicultural" society. Instead, the goals were, and are, to destroy a way of life and a spiritual connection our people had that created the culture. It was our people's connection to the spiritual world that made us who we were, that formed our concepts of life and how we lived that life. This is what stood in the way of the colonizer, for it gave us the strength and determination to resist.

As we have seen, following their military campaigns, the colonizer's had the balance of power. Instead of establishing a military regime to control us (as the British have done in N. Ireland, for example), and instead of physically annihilating our people, the colonizer developed plans for the total destruction of our identities as indigenous peoples. These plans would involve the reserve system, the band council system, the residential school system and acts which would essentially establish a police state to control us.

As already noted, the reserve system was to serve as a "laboratory" for the containing and indoctrination of our peoples. Once contained within these reserves, the systematic colonization could begin. The

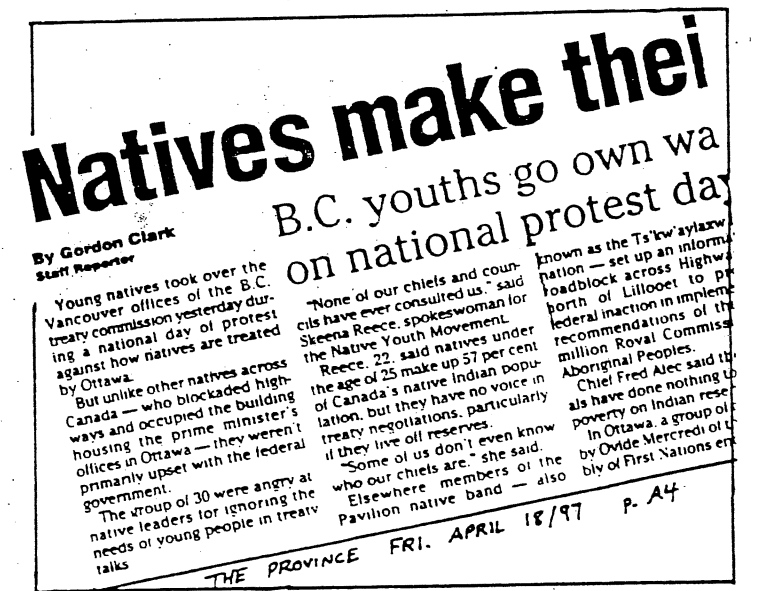
colonizer then began to impose its religion, language and ways of life. This system would be so successful that it would be the model for the South African apartheid system.

In 1869, the Governor in Council was given the power to impose the band council system and to remove from office those considered "unqualified or unfit."

In 1876, what has come to be known as the Indian Act was passed. This act strengthened the power of the state in controlling almost every aspect of our peoples lives (from marriage to education to political systems etc.). Over the years, this act would be added to and revised as the colonizer found necessary.

The Indian Act of 1880 enabled the state, "to deprive the traditional leaders of recognition by stating that the only spokesmen of the band were those men elected according to the provisions of the Indian Act..."

(John L. Tobias, "Protection, Civilization, Assimilation," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, University of Alberta Press 1992, pp. 214)



Many reserves refused the band council system in eastern and central Canada, regions the colonizer considered to have had enough contact with Europeans to be ready for the band council. Despite their opposition, these reserves nevertheless had the band council imposed on them. Many elected their traditional leaders, which the government removed from office as being "unfit." Because they were simply re-elected, the Indian Act was amended in 1884 to stop those who had been removed from being immediately re-elected. That same year, the prohibition against potlaching, Sun Dances and other ceremonies was passed.

For the colonizer,

"The elected band council was regarded as the means to destroy the last vestige of the old "tribal system," the traditional political system. The reserve system, other sections of the Indian Act, and missionaries were thought to have dealt with all other aspects of traditional Indian values. The only impediment to... assimilation was lack of training in the Canadian political system."

(Tobias, pp. 214)

The colonizer was well aware that the assimilation- the colonization- of our people would not be an over-night affair. With this in mind, the residential school system was set up, for it would create the first generations of Indians, isolated from their peoples, to whom the dehumanization and indoctrination of colonialism could be fully applied. In 1894 the Indian Act was amended to force children into residential schools.

You can go to any reserve today and see the results of these strategies. We are a colonized people. For the most part we are as lost and confused as the Europeans and other peoples who have immigrated to these lands. We have forgotten how to live. We have been reduced to surviving within a system which feeds off our confusion and isolation.



Members of the Native Youth Movement during occupation of the BC Treaty Commission offices in Vancouver, April 17

Many of our people including our elders have been Christianized, or at least lost their spiritual power. Alcohol, cocaine, irrational violence and sexual abuse are as widespread as in the settler peoples.

And the spiritual connection to the Creation which gave life to our cultures has almost disappeared, even though fragments of the cultures still exist.

These are the realities for Indian peoples today.

It is no surprise that the government talks of doing away with the Indian Act and the Department of Indian Affairs, for they have nearly completed the process they were established for. An important part of this colonization process is being carried out in BC through the treaties and the federal government's

"self-government" model.

In 1884, the government passed an "Act for conferring certain privileges on the more advanced bands of Indians of Canada with the view of training them for the exercise of Municipal Affairs." This act came to be known as the Indian Advancement Act.

"The Indian Advancement Act was an ideal tool for directed "civilization." It extended slightly the powers of the band council beyond those of the Indian Act by giving the band council the power to levy taxes... it also extended the council's powers over police and public health matters."

(Tobias, pp. 214)

Most reserves refused to come under the Advancement Act. When you look at the Nisga'a AIP, it's clear that the treaty process and "self-government" are new methods of carrying out a strategy developed in the 1800s. It is difficult to see our own colonization

when we are in the midst of it, and so we are unable to make the connection between old laws and acts and current government policies.

The situation has come to the point now where the band and tribal councils can be given extended powers because they have shown that they have internalized the ways of the colonizer. What is more, once the state begins to dismantle the Indian Act and the DIA, and begins to transfer financial responsibilities to the new and improved band councils, we will see our "leaders" lining up to sell off lands and resources to transnational corporations. The corruption,

despair and confusion will grow even more. And some of the "super-reserves" may profit very well in the short-term. And these will be the most confused, where the youth will be even more lost than the previous generation, and when they kill themselves or sink into a world of drugs and despair, everyone will scratch their heads and wonder "Why?" Why? For the same reason it all goes on now: our connection to life has been broken. Like the European colonizers we are falling into the darkness, fooling ourselves into believing that happiness comes from money and material goods, or having power over other people.

When you are in a spiritual ceremony you can

through the use of its police-military forces, but through the creation of illusions of what this country is. Welfare, healthcare, "multiculturalism," state-funding of Indian organizations and centers- these contrast sharply with the US. Yet, they have been a primary way of confusing people as to the true nature of the enemy. In the summer of 1990, these illusions were shattered.

THE AWAKENING OF KANESATAKE, 1990

For 4 months, the Mohawks of Kanesateke (Oka) had protested the expansion of a golf course onto their ancestral lands. For 4 months, they had blockaded a road leading into the Pines, in which their burial grounds was also located. On July 11, 1990, the Quebec provincial police (SQ) sent in a heavily armed "tactical interventions squad." The SQ shot tear gas into the Mohawk positions, and a short fire fight erupted. The winds shifted and blew the tear gas back onto the police forcing them to retreat. One SQ member was shot dead. To date, no one has been charged as it is unclear who shot him.

Almost immediately barricades were erected by Mohawk warriors, some formed by police vehicles left behind during the SQ retreat. Mohawk warriors from nearby Kahnawake seized the Mercier Bridge, a vital route into Montreal City.

The standoff would last 77 days and see at least 1,000 police and some 4,000 soldiers with tanks, APC's, helicopters, and artillery, deployed by the Canadian state.

The resistance at Kanesatake would ignite solidarity actions by Indian peoples across the country. Blockades were erected in nearly every province, and occupations and demonstrations were widespread.

For a generation that had not experienced the struggles of the early 1970's, Kahnesatake was an awakening. For a time, the enemy was clear. The illusions that maintain Canada's control of the people were broken. By engaging the enemy's police-military

forces, the Mohawk nation showed everyone that Canada was not a "free and democratic" country, nor a "champion of human rights." It was a colonial nation state built on the destruction and subjugation of Indian nations.

Kahnesatake brought an understanding of what it means to be a sovereign Indian nation, despite colonialization. Just as importantly, it revived the warrior spirit of the Indian peoples. Many Indian nations found renewed strength to confront the enemy at numerous roadblocks across the country since 1990, as well as Indian protests and occupations in southern Ontario. All of these have their roots in the stand at Kahnesatake.

Just as it was the responsibility of the Sioux to carry on the spiritual rebirth of the people, so too was it the responsibility of the Mohawk to maintain their warrior traditions and contribute to the rebirth of our fighting spirit.

While most Indian nations were militarily overwhelmed or broken to such an extent that their warrior traditions are today almost non-existent, the Mohawk nation was able to keep theirs.

In modern North America, no other people have engaged the enemy in military confrontations as often as the Mohawks; nor have they been able to

establish and keep police no-go zones for as long as the Mohawks have.

We whose nations lost their warrior spirits should not feel bad about this. For it could be no other way. This was a responsibility the Mohawk nation were given. They inflicted many defeats against the enemy and were never militarily conquered. Like all our peoples however, they were unable to repel the colonization process, of which military conquest is only one part.

The Great Law, the guiding principals of the Haudenosaune (the Six Nations Confederacy, of which the Mohawks are one nation), has enabled the Mohawks to retain their identity as a sovereign nation, and the responsibility of a nation to defend itself.

In the colonial situation of today, the Mohawks

(Buddy Lamont and Frank Clearwater).

Wounded Knee was the awakening of an entire generation of Indian people. One Oglala elder in Wounded Knee said,

"I lived here 77 years. This whole reservation was in darkness. And somewhere, these young men started AIM. And they came to our reservation and they turned that light on inside. And it's getting bigger- now we can see things."

Voices from Wounded Knee 1973, pp. 59

The experiences of Wounded Knee and the contributions of AIM gave the people the strength and inspiration to engage the enemy in many confrontations following this stand. The reemergence of cultural and spiritual practices - everything from modern day pow-wows, ceremonies, Indian-directed schools, drum and dance groups; in short, our whole reality as Indian peoples today, can be traced directly or indirectly to the awakening brought about by AIM and the Oglala resistance at Wounded Knee 1973. And all this, in turn, can be traced back to the sacrifices of those such as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull.

In the years following, AIM was involved in many other actions, from confrontations to protests, but the stand at Wounded Knee was the movements high point. For AIM was both a movement and an organization.

Following Wounded Knee, the US government unleashed a wave of repression against AIM comparable to counter-insurgency programs used in countries such as El Salvador and Guatemala. Death squads on the Pine Ridge reserve, employed by the tribal council and equipped by the FBI, murdered scores of AIM members and supporters. AIM's leadership were charged and imprisoned (including Leonard Peltier who remains in prison to this day).

As an organization with a centralized leadership, AIM was thrown into confusion and misdirection by this repression. As an organization, AIM had no protection. Much of the organization was built around the media image which the leaders projected. They were eloquent speakers and sought to "exploit" the enemy's mass media to build and sustain the organization. But movements are not built by the mass media.

While struggling to overcome the Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) of the FBI, AIM's leadership began to lose their direction. Once the repression subsided, AIM was unable to carry out much more than media campaigns (that is, actions which relied on the media to convey messages or to raise issues). Their campaigns against "racist mascots" in professional and college level sports, for example, or their demonstrations against the 500 year "celebrations" of Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas in 1992, being another.

Today, AIM as an organization exists in only a few US cities and regions, calling itself the International Confederation of Autonomous Chapters of the AIM. This confederation resulted from AIM members (some would say 'sell outs') in Minneapolis- the birthplace of AIM - "incorporating" AIM as the National AIM (NAIM). Businesses are incorporated, not movements.

The Indian movement, AIM or otherwise, has survived as a movement, however. It has survived and continues to resist because it is not an organization whose leadership are vulnerable to state repression and /or the egos and other weaknesses that human beings have become consumed by.

The movement's only true leadership is the Great Mystery, which the enemy can never solve.

As people of the land we do not recognize the borders established by the two colonizer states, the USA and Canada. For we are one people; many nations but one people. Nevertheless, it is a reality in the present time that we in Canada face an enemy quite different than our Brothers and Sisters to the South. It is the same enemy, but while the USA was created by a settler revolt (the "American Revolution"), Canada is the product of hundreds of years of British experience in colonizing other peoples. Canada is a highly controlled modern nation-state. With a few exceptions, Canada has been a model of state control that has not had to resort to the use of state violence as often as the US. This control is maintained not so much

get a glimpse of the beauty and power our people knew of. What happens to a people who were so beautiful, who knew the truths of this life and of the spiritual, what happens to them when they are broken, twisted, raped, killed, maimed, terrorized, isolated, confused? They are colonized and controlled.

And yet, despite all the destruction our people have gone through, despite all the destruction the Mother Earth has gone through, we are still here. In spite of the enemy's colonization and war against us, there are still some know truth, and who carry out their responsibilities to defend the people and to honour the life they have been given. For there is a power that the enemy can never destroy, because they will never understand it. It is the power of truth, of honour, of life, of the spiritual; it is the power of Creation. It is a power that is the source of great strength and a determination to live as free people. We know that a thousand winters and summers from now we will still be here, while the enemy's empire will have crumbled to dust. We know this, because the enemy will never solve the Great Mystery.

But to outlast and outlive the enemy, we must survive. How do we, as Indian peoples, stop the further destruction of our nations and territories that the treaty process and "self-government" policies will surely bring?

Many of our people are ignorant of what the treaty process is and what the state-imposed band and tribal councils are doing. They need knowledge about these things; this can be brought to the people through gatherings, posters, leaflets and other forms of passing on information. They need to be reminded of their responsibilities to the future generations and to our ancestors. Still there will be many who are apathetic or who are so addicted to this system that they will accept whatever is done to them. Those who have the most to lose from this process are the youth. We can see this from the April 17/97 occupation of the BC Treaty Commission office in Vancouver by the Native Youth Movement.

It is possible to build a resistance against the treaty process, because it is vulnerable to the truth. At the same time, we must remember it is but another way the colonizer is attacking our sovereignty and our territories, which has gone on for over 500 years. We

need to understand that our struggle is not just against a "treaty process" or a government policy, it is against a way of life that destroys and destroys until there is nothing left to destroy. What would be the point of stopping the treaty process, if it is only so that life can go on as it does now? To make a resistance against the treaties, we continue the struggles of our peoples. In doing that, we need to remember who we are. We need to remember why we are. If our parents and much of our people have forgotten these things it is only because that is the goal of a colonizing state. This generation of Indian peoples has a great responsibility.

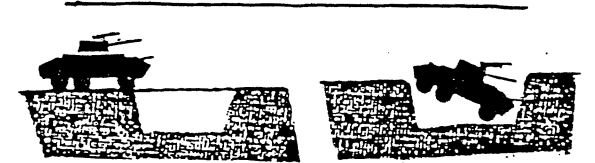
We are living in a time that has no comparison in history. These are times of great confusion, deception and corruption, of false religions and false movements. The predator is destroying and devouring life, calling it "progress," at an ever-increasing rate.

We have a responsibility to our ancestors, to the future generations, to survive through these times. We have an obligation to defend the land and territories, to defend the Creation and all our relations that are here with us in the circle of life.

It is our responsibility to honour the lives we have been given by the Creator. It is our duty to resist.

The enemy seeks to contain us within this physical world, to disconnect us from the spiritual. It is from the spiritual worlds that we will find direction and strength.

The colonizer calls this province "Supernatural British Columbia." And it's true. It is a powerful land of cedar, towering mountains, and dark grey skies. There is no place in the world like it. Despite the destruction, it is one of the few areas that still has large areas of forest and clean water, that still has eagles, bears, cougars and wolves. There is power in this land and in the sea. It is the land of Thunderbirds. It is here that we can still say "One does not sell the earth upon which the people walk." •



HOKA HEY! WE SHALL LIVE AGAIN!

There is a movement amongst the Indian peoples of North America that most people neither are aware of nor which they understand. This is true as much for the majority of Indians as well as the non-Indians.

It is a movement with no central office or headquarters; it has no president, chairman, "chief" or official leader. It has no official membership or annual dues; it has no symbol, logo or official title. It is a natural movement which comes together during times when the people engage the enemy. It appears during blockades, occupations or standoffs - at any time when the defense of the people and the territories is possible and/or necessary. It appears during gatherings, conferences, caravans, or protests, at anytime when the struggles of Indian nations can be advanced. It is formed by those who follow its natural way and by the people who are brought into its circle when they join in the resistance. As naturally as it comes together, it also disappears when its reason for appearing is ended. Because it has no official centre, or office, or spokesperson, or logo, it is not visible to the people as a whole. Many of those who participate in the movement do not necessarily understand its natural rhythm. It is the Great Mystery.

The colonizer does not understand the movement. He labels it "political," "militant," "criminal" or "terrorist." These labels are used to confuse the people, to isolate the movement, and justify any level of repression that may be unleashed against it. These labels are updated versions of those used against our people in the past - "hostiles," "renegades," or "savages."

Anytime there is a confrontation between the movement and the enemy's police/military forces, the state, through its mass media, will claim that members of the American Indian Movement and/or the Mohawk Warriors Society are present, as if this were proof of a

"terrorist" or "criminal" element. Because movement veterans are under near-constant surveillance by the state's police and "intelligence" agencies, it knows that such claims are rarely true.

Mohawk warriors and AIM members do not wander the land searching for confrontations and opportunities to "stir up trouble." The people in the movement are real people. Yet when the enemy labels us "AIM members" or "Mohawk warriors," we do not jump up and deny it. For, in reality, the enemy honours us with such claims. AIM and the Mohawk Warriors Societies have played a crucial role in the movement that exists today. They were part of the awakenings which the Creator has sent to us.

THE AWAKENING OF AIM AND WOUNDED KNEE

The American Indian Movement was formed during a time when many peoples - all over the world were standing up and resisting a world wide system of exploitation they then understood as "imperialism." It was the concept of "anti-imperialism" which

united many peoples movements during this period. The enemy wants us to view this period as the "hippie era." But it was far more than just the Beatles and dope-smoking hippies, maaaaan. It was a time of liberation movements and struggles, when an entire generation saw through the confusion. Most would eventually retreat from these struggles.

In Minneapolis, in 1968, AIM was formed. At first, its way of organizing was influenced by the other peoples movements then active in the US. The Black Panthers for example.

"AIM was started by a group of men that had been living in urban situations... Most of them had done time in correctional institutions..."

"They first started working in the way of many urban organizations... Of course, during its origin, the leaders of AIM knew that there was something missing,

They could go deal in the white mans courts, they could go advocate for Indian people in the poverty program and that sort of thing - but they still weren't helping the Indian people in the way that they wanted to be helped...

"At that time, some AIM leaders heard about a spiritual leader on the Rosebud Sioux reservation named Crow Dog and they made a trip to visit with Crow Dog... and see if they could gain some sort of spiritual direction that they had realized was so vitally missing.

"And Crow Dog told them that if they wanted to be a true Indian organization, they had to have the spiritual involvement of our medicine men and holy people. And that is actually when AIM was first born. Because we think that AIM is not only an advocate for Indian people, it is the spiritual rebirth of our nations."

AIM member in Wounded Knee, 1973

(*Voices from Wounded Knee 1973*, pub. by Akwesasne Notes, 1974, pp. 60)

Much of AIM's spiritual direction and early growth as a movement would center around the Sioux nation in South Dakota. Not only was much of AIM's leadership Sioux, but it would also be this nation that would contribute much to the rebirth of our people's spiritual ways. Even today, many urban Indians who have been acculturated turn to Sioux ceremonies such as the Yawipi, the pipe, sweat lodge, vision quests and the Sundance.

In their language, the Sioux call themselves Ocheti Shakoy, the Seven Council Fires. While many other Indians lost their spiritual ways due to the colonizer's Christianization process, the Sioux were able to keep theirs. We should not feel ashamed about this, for this was one of the responsibilities the Great Mystery gave the Sioux, so that we the future generations could find our spiritual ways once again. There was no other way, and the Ocheti Shakoy sacrificed much to pass on their spiritual strength.

Because the Great Plains provided good territory in which to carry out armed resistance, and because it was their destiny, the Sioux continued to fight the

colonizer into the late 1880's. Under the direction of spiritual leaders such as Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull, the Sioux inflicted major military defeats against US forces - one being the destruction of Custer and his 7th calvary at the Little Big Horn in 1876. The Sioux fought against overwhelming odds, knowing they



Bison apc's used by the RCMP at Ts'Peten, Summer 1995

would be militarily defeated. They knew what their future held (dehumanization, confinement to reservations, destruction) from the visions of their spiritual leaders. Yet, they also knew that they had to resist, to show the future

generations that the enemy was not invulnerable, to show that there were those who knew the beauty and power of the Creation, of the spiritual. They knew it was their responsibility to pass on this legacy to the future generations, for there would come a time when the people would awaken. Even while many of their own people retreated to the US forts and reserves, Crazy Horse and other leaders continued to fight and live as free people until they died. This resistance earned the Sioux the hatred of the US government. Even after the military defeat of the last free Sioux, the enemy sought to destroy their spiritual strength. In the winter of 1890, troops of the reformed 7th calvary massacred 300 Sioux, mostly women and children. The site of the massacre was Wounded Knee in South Dakota.

But the enemy could not kill the spirit of the people.

South Dakota was the focus of much of AIM's work in the early 1970's. In the winter of 1973, several hundred Oglala Sioux returned to Wounded Knee to make a stand against conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation, which was characterized by violence and corruption by the tribal council.

The response of the US government was to deploy hundreds of FBI, police and military troops, armoured personnel carriers, helicopters and heavy machine guns. The Wounded Knee area was sealed off, and an armed standoff began that would last 71 days, from February 27 to May 8th. Thousands of rounds were fired, primarily by the heavily-armed police-military forces. At least two Indians were killed