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A Nation Within A Nation:
The Dependency Theory And The James Bay Cree.

by: Marie-Anik Gagné

A thesis submitted to the
School of Graduate Studies and Research
in Partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
Master's Degree in Sociology.

Director: Raymundo DeAndrade

University of Ottawa



Marie-Anik Gagné, Ottawa, Canada, 1993



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Abstract

This thesis analyses the conditions of the James Bay Cree using the Dependency Theory. The first chapter consists of a discussion surrounding the theory. This is followed by a look at how the Cree became a periphery through the years. The third chapter highlights the effects of dependency on the mental and physical health of First Nations Citizens accross the country. The James Bay Hydroelectric Project is then given as an example of how the centre exploits the peripheries. Finally the possible solutions to the problem of dependency are discussed in the conclusion.

To Raymonde and Norman
who made this possible,
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Introduction

French vs English Canada

I have decided to make the introduction the least formal section of this research. I would like to describe the subject of my thesis and the manner in which it evolved to become what you are about to read. It began in the spring of 1991 with a discussion with the Canadian Programme Coordinator at OXFAM-Canada, Chryse Gibson, we were discussing a possible topic which would bring both the subjects of development and First Nations together. I mentioned to her that I wanted to write something which might interest some people, something which they might find useful. At this point she gave me a paper which John Mohawk had written on the economic development of First Nations. She said, "write a paper on the obstacles of economic development for First Nations and I and others in the NGO community will be very interested".

I decided to narrow the subject to the First Nations residing within Quebec's boundaries. I set this limit after reading Robin Philpot's book *Oka: dernier alibi du Canada anglais*. The main theme throughout this book is that the Oka crisis could not

have happened in any other province. The crisis was directly related to the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, and to the ongoing conflict between English and French Canada. Just by comparing the English and the French press one can see the differences of opinions: the English press generally criticized the Quebec government, while the French press stated that the Mohawks were in fact demanding too much. During this crisis Quebec was accused of violating human rights, such as not letting food beyond the barricades, or beating the Mohawks. It is true that Quebec experienced a tumultuous summer. However, conflicts involving First Nations have not been confined to this province. But Quebec's situation is unique from that of the rest of the country, since, it is the only province fighting for independence and the recognition for its distinct society. Hence, Quebec is the only province which is fighting against First Nations who are requesting the same recognition. Therefore it seemed a logical way to limit the subject, which otherwise would have been too broad.

At this point I took this basic idea to my thesis director. He was enthusiastic and quickly introduced the idea of "a nation within a nation". My director added that one could not simply consider the economic development, but one must also examine political and social development because they are all intertwined. Sharing his "global" vision of the world I agreed with him and decided to look at the development of First Nations as a whole. I was lent some books to read on the development theories, since my previous studies had familiarized me with the situation of First Nations. This basic idea of nation within a nation led me to want to see if there was enough of a link

between Third World countries and First Nations that we may compare them and interchange theories. The three following questions then appeared in my thesis proposal: 1) Do the First Nations Citizens in Quebec share the same structures as developing nations? 2) Is there an underdeveloped nation within Quebec's borders? 3) Can some theories which have been traditionally applied to the Third World be used in the analysis of the situation of the members of the First Nations in Quebec?

This research is being done to try and find new solutions to old problems. If First Nations in Quebec and Third World Countries had enough in common then theories relating to the Third World situation could be applied to Quebec. Theories which have traditionally been applied to Third World Nations could now be applied to First Nations in Canada. Social, political and economical programs tried for either party could be exchanged. Theories which have failed one group would not be applied to the other. But most important it would broaden the base of support for First Nations in Canada: these citizens are already reaching south to other First Nations but they have not reached out to other southern populations. If this research concludes that the First Nations in Quebec are in fact Quebec's Third World nations then links can be created. In an idealistic way perhaps those who suffer the most could create a united front.

The limits of this research were not clearly defined until my meeting with two professors at the University of Ottawa, with whom the proposal was to be discussed. At this point the subject included all First Nations of Quebec, three or four development theories, and a direct comparison with one or two Third World nations. Both said that this task was much too big for the scope of my research. After much discussion it was decided that only the Cree of James Bay would be dealt with, and that only the dependency theory would be used for the analysis, and furthermore, that there was no need to make a comparison with a Third World country.

I have divided this paper into four chapters. The first describes the dependency theory. It contains several versions of the theory, including the tendency which I have chosen. In the second chapter I describe how the Cree of the James Bay area have become dependent on the centre, that is, have become a hinterland. I discuss the effects of dependency on all First Nations of Canada in the third chapter. The manner in which the political and socio-economic structures of First Nations across the country are harmed by this dependence. The final chapter describes the manner in which the centre can and does exploit the hinterland, by using the James Bay Project. In the conclusion I discuss the possible solutions to this problem.

Before I start I would like to leave you with a quote I read in Boyce Richardson's book, *Strangers Devour the Land*. Francois Mianscum, a Mistassini hunter was in court in 1974 before Justice Malouf. He was asked to put his hand on the Bible and swear

to tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. The translator turned to the Judge and said: "He does not know whether he can tell the truth. He can tell only what he knows" (Richardson, 1991:46). I would like to use these words if I may, because this thesis is based on written materials only, most of which was written, I am afraid, by "whites". This is my reason for stating only facts, and the reason why my suggestions for possible solutions have been directed towards the centre. I am hoping that by "telling you only what I know", it is still a paper which you, the reader, will be able to deduce your own truth.

Chapter 1

The Dependency Theory

The "universality" of the dependency theory is the trait which distinguishes it from the other theories. It is universal because it examines the relationship from all aspects of society. The interdependence of the political, economic, and social structures are analyzed. Furthermore, this theory does not only examine the internal structures but also determines the effects of the external structures. Finally, the dependency theory is one of the only development theories which can be applied within countries, to different regions. It is a theory of development in the true sense of the word because it deals with the economic, political and social development of all countries and regions, and not only with the development of Third World countries.

For the purpose of this research the dependency theory is employed to determine whether the Cree are an underdeveloped nation within a nation. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first discusses the emergence of the dependency theory, along with the definition of related terms. Other theories will also be examined within this first section. The second part of this chapter will determine the various

forms of dependency, such as: economic, political, historical and social. Other key elements needed for the dependency theory will also be brought to light. The final section discusses an application of the dependency theory to Canada.

The Emergence of the Dependency Theory

The Third World did not gain the attention of sociologists until after the Second World War. Before this time most researchers believed that the Third World countries would simply evolve as the developed countries had, they were just a bit behind. These scientists were social-evolutionists. Many produced stages of development, whereby one could look at a countries' characteristics and determine exactly at which level of development they were. Spencer, Parsons and Rostow were three of the most well known social evolutionists. Rostow developed five stages of development which all societies had and would go through, each of these stages had as a focal point the capital accumulation and entrepreneurship.

Dependency theorists do not agree with the social evolutionists because they believe that there are internal and external factors which influence the development of countries. However, there are differences of opinion within the dependency theory, some believe that the external factors are to blame while others believe that the internal structures are at fault for the state of underdevelopment. Allahaar points out

that dependency theorists which blame the internal structures consider development to be a phenomenon which occurs in the political and socioeconomic structures of particular countries, hence some countries move towards development while others towards underdevelopment.

Although the social evolutionists were popular there is also the dualists or diffusionist theorists. They believe that development and underdevelopment are completely separate issues. They conclude that if regions are not developed it is because there are flaws in the internal structures of this periphery. Internal structures are the: political, economic, social and class systems of a periphery. Meanwhile, the external structures are the international monetary systems and international political pressures. However, dependency theorists base their theory on the relationship which exists between the centre and the periphery. As Allahaar states: "dependency thinkers reverse the dualist position to see the modern sectors as the main obstacles to development in the periphery" (Allahaar, 1989:90).

As one can see there were several theories developed to analyze the state of the underdeveloped countries. The dependency theory, however, is much more complex than the ones discussed above. It is more complex because of the extreme trends which are included. For example, there are the Marxists who believe in economic dependence only, others believe that the only cause is found in the external structures, while others believe the problem is an internal one.

Roxborough explains the complexity of the dependency theory by stating that it is a paradigm, not one single theory. Many criticize the dependency theory because it does not examine the development of Third World countries independently of the development of the North. Dependency theorists disagreed with this, they see the world as a "single system" (Roxborough, 1983:42). They believe that one must look at how the underdeveloped countries were "inserted" into the world system, and to research how their historical positions and development were different from the North. Dependency theory was in fact created in response to imperialistic theories.

Roxborough explains:

If an analysis of the relations between developed and underdeveloped societies that focused on the processes occurring in the developed half of the equation produced a theory of imperialism then if attention was systematically focused on the other half of the equation, the underdeveloped societies, a theory of dependency would be produced. (Roxborough, 1983:43)

Therefore, according to Roxborough, dependency theories try to explain the economic and social structures which are found in the dependent or "imperialised" countries.

The definitions of the term dependency will enable the reader to gain a clearer sense of the variances found in this paradigm. Dos Santos defines dependency as follows:

a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economies conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected. [...] Dependency conditions a certain internal structure which redefines it as a function of the structural possibilities of the distinct national economies. (Roxborough, 1983:66)

Roxborough argues that Dos Santos put forward a good definition of dependency because it takes into consideration both the internal and the external factors of dependency.

Many criticize the dependency theorists because they do not consider interdependent relationships. However, Dos Santos does recognize the existence of interdependent relationships, but states that the relationship is dependent when "some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion" (Allahar, 1989:89).

Before venturing any further into the definitions of dependency and related terms, it is interesting to know the origin of this theory. Thomas Hall describes the emergence of the dependency theory as follows: "dependency theory was developed by scholars native to semi-peripheral area. It did not become "respectable" until it was "denied" and taken to the core, where it was transformed into world-system theory and was reexported to the periphery" (Hall, 1989:351). Anton Allahar lists some of the first theorists who belonged to the "school of structural dependency theory": Andre Gunder Frank in the 1960s, Theotonio Dos Santos, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Enzo Faletto, Celso Furtado, Ronald H. Chilcote, and Joel Edelstein (Allahar, 1989:82).

Dependency theorists use the terms "centre" and "periphery" to describe the developed and the underdeveloped, or to be more precise the "controller" and the "dependent". Allahar quotes Chirot when describing the various terms employed to characterize the "centre" and the "periphery". He quotes:

The most developed countries belong to the "core" of the system, the "metropole" or the "centre". The least developed, on the other hand, are "satellites" that were forcibly brought into the "orbit" of world capitalism, and they belong to the "periphery" or the "hinterland" of that system. Finally, those countries occupying an intermediate position are variously called "semicore" or "semiperipheral".
(Allahar, 1989:85)

One needs to understand how underdevelopment is viewed by dependency theorists, since the causes of underdevelopment vary from theory to theory. It is also imperative to understand this term because according to Rosemary and Ray Bromley, there is a direct relationship between the level of "underdevelopment" and dependency in countries. The more a country relies on foreign investment, political decisions, resources and technology the fewer important changes a country can make without the approval of outsiders, hence the increase in underdevelopment. Because this direct relationship between underdevelopment and dependency exists, Rosemary and Ray Bromley conclude that the level of development of a particular country lies in "the way which the country has been incorporated into the world economic and political system" (Bromley, 1988:15). Before entering into the discussion of the implications of the statement made above by the Bromley's, the definitions for development and underdevelopment will be provided. To begin, the emergence of the terms used to

describe underdevelopment is discussed. Following this is a statement from an expert from an underdeveloped country which expresses his preference of terms.

The terms "civilized" or "advanced" countries were exchanged for "developed" or "more developed" countries when the colonized countries began to regain their freedom. Hence Rosemary and Ray Bromley point out that the terms "primitive" and "backward" countries were replaced by "underdeveloped" and "less developed". However, many felt that these terms were still disrespectful, hence the terms "newly-emerged countries", "developing countries", "Third World countries" and "The South" emerged (Bromley, 1988:16).

As seen above, there are many terms used to identify the "underdeveloped" countries. Francisco Sagasti, an expert from Peru featured in CIDA's Series Path of Development *Behind the Image*, names a few examples: underdeveloped, developing, third world, primitive, backward and South. Sagasti elaborates by stating that the terms developing, primitive, backward are offensive because they suggest that these countries are following the same path of development than the "developed" countries. Third World, South, and underdeveloped are not offensive because they suggest that these countries are labelled this way because there is a First World, a North, and developed countries. Therefore the appropriate terms are: South, underdeveloped and Third World.

Even though there are many trends which are found in the dependency paradigm, Allahar states that all theorists agree that underdevelopment "is not the original state or stage in which all countries once found themselves" (Allahar, 1989:85). Dependency theorists believe that underdevelopment is a state which came after the contact with the imperialist nations.

Rosemary and Ray Bromley define development as "any process of gradual, long-term change in the conditions affecting human life" (Bromley, 1988:6). Furthermore, they state that change is stopped because of the lack of resources, of conflicting interests between the classes, and the history which lingers on to influence the present. The importance of class and history analysis will be discussed later, however, the distinction between undeveloped and underdeveloped is explained by the Bromley's.

Rosemary and Ray Bromley make a clear separation of the terms "underdeveloped" and "undeveloped". Development in undeveloped countries would occur when the self-reliance was maintained while developing. Undeveloped countries have access to development perhaps more easily because they have self-reliance, they are not controlled by outside economic and political powers. These countries have not been colonized. Underdeveloped countries on the other hand are dependent, they have no self-reliance, they need foreign investment and technology. Therefore according to Rosemary and Ray Bromley countries which are undeveloped can have access to development, and these regions have fewer problems with social and economic

inequalities, hence a stronger balance.

For the Bromley's self-reliance is the key indicator which determines whether a country or region is underdeveloped or undeveloped. This point will be of some consequence when discussing the Cree's self-reliance. To return to the topic at hand, Rosemary and Ray Bromley name the key indicators which will determine the degree of underdevelopment of a particular country.

The Bromley's state that the simplest way to determine if a region is underdeveloped is to examine its gross national product. To quote these authors: "Underdevelopment is seen as extreme poverty and the almost total absence of growth. The poorest countries are therefore the most underdeveloped, and within individual countries the poorest regions are the most underdeveloped" (Bromley, 1988:13). This definition permits the readers to determine the underdeveloped regions in a particular country.

To continue the earlier point, that the dependency theory is in fact a paradigm with several tendencies, one of the important trends, marxism, will be examined; to illustrate the different tendency the marxist definition of underdevelopment follows. Sacouman, a marxist theorist using the centre and periphery theory to explain underdevelopment defines underdevelopment as follows: "Underdevelopment [...] is a structural product of the global process of capital accumulation as it expands or contracts within specified

areas" (Sacouman, 1981:142).

There are several areas of emphasis within the centre and periphery theory. The Marxists choose to emphasize the "dynamics of the capitalist-working class, capitalist-petty producer, and capitalist-semi-proletarian relations of production" (Sacouman, 1981:140). For example, when these theorists discuss the Maritimes, they would define the underdevelopment of certain areas with the existence of the "following set of interrelated structural features:

dependence within regions on primary production, the products of which are often exported to the capital centres for further processing; the creation and maintenance of large pools of cheap, surplus labour power, to be utilized, like any other commodity, as export material when demanded; and the export of surplus value to the capital centres.
(Sacouman, 1981:142)

Within these trends found in the paradigm of dependency, there also emerges particular notions. For example, Dos Santos developed three stages of dependency. The division of these stages which is of a chronological nature, was reported in Magnus Blomstrom and Bjorn Hettne's book *Development Theory in Transition*. Dos Santos explains that the first state of dependency is "colonial dependence", second "financial-industrial dependence", and third "technological-industrial dependence" (Blomstrom and Hettne, 1984:65). The colonial dependence took place before the 19th century, and was characterized by the "colonial monopolies of land". The second stage of dependence took place in the 19th and early 20th century, it was during this stage of financial-industrial dependence that the role of exporter of raw materials was

attributed to the South. The final state of technological-industrial dependence took place after World War II. This third state is characterized by the creation of multinational corporations in the peripheral countries, Dos Santos calls this the "New Dependence".

This concludes the first section of this chapter. The emergence of the dependency theory was described along with a list of theorists. Dependency and underdevelopment were found to share a direct relationship. Self-reliance and wealth were key indicators when establishing the level of underdevelopment and dependency.

The following section will describe the importance of examining the internal as well as the external structures in a country. Historical, economic, and political dependence will also be examined. Finally, the relationship of control between the North and the South will be analyzed in this second section.

The Forms of Dependency

The centre and periphery theory in general states that the reason that one region is developed is because another is underdeveloped. James Sacouman states that "regionally uneven capitalist development at the short-end of the stick has always and everywhere meant underdevelopment" (Sacouman, 1981:135). Before this theory

became popular in the late 1960s, theorists were concluding that the reason some regions were underdeveloped was because of the psychological state of the inhabitants. For example, in Canada, the stereotype of the Maritimer was examined in order to explain this regions' underdevelopment. The typical Maritimer was said to "lack entrepreneurial drive, to account for the economy's relative lack of growth in the twentieth century; social-cultural backwardness, to account for rural poverty; and popular political conservatism, to blame the failure of social democracy in the region on the inherently tradition-bound Maritimer" (Sacouman, 1981:136). However, the Maritimes are now considered a peripheral region of Canada, and its inhabitants are no longer accused of "backwardness". First Nations Citizens have also been accused of laziness and "backwardness". Therefore, it would be logical to say that dependency does not only exist between countries but also takes place within countries amongst regions. Each country has a region which is dependent on another, in most cases the large urban centres dominate over the rural areas. "Eduardo Galeano talks about a division of labour between and within nations whereby some specialize in winning and others in losing. Each country, he says, and each region of a given country, can be seen as an endless chain of dependency that has been endlessly extended. The chain has many more than two links" (Allahar, 1989:86).

One of the key elements of dependency theory is that the world is one system. There are several dependency relationships which occur within specific countries amongst regions, but when discussing countries it is important to remember that they

are a part of a world system. Samir Amin describes this relationship in his book entitled, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, as follows:

... capitalism has become a world system, and not just a juxtaposition of 'national capitalism'. The social contradictions characteristic of capitalism are thus on a world scale, that is, the contradiction is not between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat of each country considered in isolation, but between the world bourgeoisie and the world proletariat. (Roxborough, 1983:47)

It has been established that the central and peripheral countries are evolving in a world system. Now comes the debate of which has more influence over the development of a country, the internal or the external structures. Roxborough distinguishes external dependency or "dependency as a relationship" by emphasizing that the dependency is between two systems with clear boundaries. Here the dependency is created by the interchanges between the North and the South. However, internal dependency is predominant for many. This is caused when dependency is viewed "as a conditioning factor which alters the internal functioning and articulation of the elements of the dependent social formation" (Roxborough, 1983:44). Roxborough explains that the clear distinction between these two lines of thought lie in that "the second approach in the internal dynamics of the dependent social formation are fundamentally different from the internal dynamics of the social formations of advanced capitalism" (Roxborough, 1983:44). Some chose to elucidate that the dependency is purely economical, for this dependency is synonymous with lack of autonomy. Other dependency theorist are critical of this approach because they fail to study the relationships between the classes, which in fact form and maintain the structures which create the dependency. Marxists believe that structures are controlled

by the bourgeoisie, and it is these structures which are responsible for the distribution and redistribution of the commodities.

The social evolutionists actually believe in endogenous factors alone. But some dependency theorists are at the opposite of the scale. They believe that all change in peripheral countries is caused by exogenous factors. They conclude that there are no elements within these regions which would create any change, that all change is created by the outside. Arguably, independently these two extremes are wrong. Although it may be difficult to obtain, the most appropriate theory is one which considers both endogenous and exogenous factors for the occurring changes.

The examination of the internal structures is as important as the study of the external structures. One can understand this point when examining the political situation of the dependent countries or regions.

Allahar points out the importance of examining the internal structures within the dependent countries. The state of dependence is perpetuated, for one reason, "because political leaders in the dependent countries are generally reduced to being mere pawns of international capitalism" (Allahar, 1989:90-91). They realize that their class interests are best met when they are cooperating with the centre.

When examining the internal political structures one can understand how the dominant countries still have a hold over the peripheral countries or regions.

At the present time, when most countries have become "independent" of their "mother countries", the centre still controls the peripheral regions. They do this by controlling the political leaders. They hold, what Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, call "demonstration elections". The centre creates "client states with puppet governments whose financial and military strings are pulled in Washington or London" (Allahar, 1989:92).

Roxborough explains that the relationship which exists between the North and the South has always been controlled by the North. The centre has changed the relationships with the peripheral countries several time throughout history to suit their needs. "Therefore, a first step in any analysis must be a periodisation of the stages of development of the centre. Only then can a typology of Third World countries be added to the schema" (Roxborough, 1983:53). Roxborough states that once the classes have been examined in a particular country it is important to determine the nature of the relationships with the political structures. Roxborough points out that there does not exist a general theory which can be applied to all peripheral regions, but in fact these relationships are determined by examining the historical events of each region separately.

It is important to understand the emergence of the peripheral regions, and this can be found in a common history of imperialism and colonialism. However one should not assume that social evolutionism will someday eliminate all peripheral regions. The first assumption made by evolutionists is that all Third World countries are/were feudal. Although there may be some resemblance, most of the structures are very different. Therefore the external and internal conflicts are very disparate. Second, these regions began changing once they came into contact with the West which was already changing at a rapid rate. The periphery has been changing in response to the West ever since. Thirdly, one can not assume that the same evolution will take place for the simple reason that there is a lack of wealth and resources. These regions once had wealth if one considers the ancient civilisations of India and Latin America, but this wealth disappeared after the West's expansion. Finally, there is diffusion whereby one society will change when coming into contact with another. These regions are expected to make the transition centuries later after having been introduced into the world system as peripheral countries.

In order to truly understand the country's situation one must examine all three structures, the political, the historical, the socioeconomic. When taking a closer look at the socioeconomic structures one will inevitably discuss the emergence of the classes and the class conflicts.

Pablo Gonzalez Casanova and Harold Wolpe discuss the importance of examining the colonialist and imperialist hold over particular countries when studying the dependency of countries. They state that "those structures, both historical and contemporary, include such things as:

slavery, and the pattern of race relations that emerged, the monocrop plantation economy with the emphasis on the wholesale export of raw or semifinished products, foreign multinational corporations, and branch plant industries that drain the wealth and resources of the peripheral countries back to the metropolis, and the political arrangements that favour the (class) interests of those who are in control of such corporations.

(Allahar, 1989:86)

They continue by saying that when multinational corporations enter into the peripheral economic system, underdevelopment, rather than development, is promoted.

The most common way for the North to maintain the dependency is by establishing multinationals (MNC's) in the South. Allahar explains that "acting through their respective MNC's, the various fractions of the international commercial, manufacturing, industrial, and financial bourgeoisie come to yield a great deal of power in the countries of the periphery" (Allahar, 1989:93). Many believed that development could take place by setting in motion the MNC's in the peripheral regions, but in fact this had the reverse effect. Allahar explains that the MNC's "denationalized" the economy, hence increasing "social inequalities". Allahar describes this process as follows:

The constant draining away of national wealth, the monopolization of the best lands by foreign corporations, the recruitment of trained experts from abroad, and the underdevelopment locally of health or educational facilities all accentuate social and economic disparities between the mass

of the workers and peasants, and the tiny core of privileged classes that benefit from the imperialist connection.
(Allahar, 1989:95)

When using the centre and periphery theory it is important to understand how these regions were formed. Ian Roxborough argues that these regions were created when societies changed from feudalism to capitalism. There were three major changes which took place with this transition: the conflicts between the landowners and the peasants, urbanization, and the evolution of a centralized state. Roxborough continues by explaining that for this chain of events to take place there had to be a rapid increase in the capital. Two methods were employed to increase the capital, "the first was colonial blunder; the sacking of the wealth of the peripheral areas of the world" (Roxborough, 1983:10). The second was the confiscation of the land held by peasants and the church. These methods of "freeing" the capital also created a landless class.

Samir Amin argues that capitalism was spread in the peripheral countries by creating a "merchant" capitalist class. This was a relatively small class which exported materials to the merchant classes in the centre. The profits went to a small percentage of the peripheral population. Furthermore, this merchant class did not ensure any kind of distribution, nor did they set up appropriate social structures.

The notion of class is important to most dependency theorists. They argue that there is a large difference between the classes of the centre and the classes found in the periphery. A large part of the differences between the classes is that the classes found in the periphery are more complex and much weaker. Their weakness and complexity comes from the fact that their ruling classes are incomplete. A large part of their ruling classes are found in countries of the centre. Quite often the battles which occur between classes are in fact between citizens of more than one country. For example, workers who are citizens of peripheral countries in direct conflict with multi-national corporations who are owned by citizens of a country in the centre. This reverts back to Samir Amin's notion of a single world structure, although Roxborough prefers to consider only the ruling class as one belonging to this world system, and further believes that all other classes are formed at a national level. Another reason for the complexity of the class structures in the peripheral countries is the fact that there are two internal struggles within these countries. The conflict between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and the struggle for the countries' release from the external hold. Citizens are fighting to stop the process of dependency and at the same time fighting amongst themselves. These conflicts are separate and yet related. Each country is different hence which conflict has more importance depends on the country. These conflicts are interwoven, and therefore contribute to the complexity of the structures of the classes in the periphery.

In Marxist terms the periphery represent the cheap labour and the raw materials of the centre. In the past, the centre would take hold of these resources by conquering these territories. Establishing themselves as mother countries, they assured themselves an endless supply. "In this way the politically and economically powerful classes in the mother countries benefited at the expense largely of the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies" (Allahar, 1989:92).

The peripheral countries or regions are primarily viewed as exporters of raw materials. Whether these products are agricultural or mineral, these regions are stripped for others to benefit. The raw materials are exported to where they are processed into finished products. They are then returned to their point of origin with an inflated price tag. The profits are not inherent in the raw materials but are found in the finished products. Thus the capital is accumulated in the centre. The centre not only benefits from the profits, but also from the jobs which are created by the manufacturing industry. The workers of the centre are employed and therefore have more money to spend, hence creating a service industry. Allahar states that dependency theorists see this economic "rape" of the country's wealth as directly related to its continued dependence and backwardness (Allahar, 1989:90). The peripheral regions become dependent because they neglect their internal markets, all of their structures are developed for exportation. Part of their dependence stems from the fact that they have tailored "their economies to meet the needs of the advanced ones" (Allahar, 1989:90).

In conclusion to this second section, the importance of examining the internal as well as the external structures was established. The possible dominance of outside powers by political means was confirmed, followed by the importance of studying the emergence of the peripheral regions. The historical studies clarify the creation of the classes and the division of labour. Finally it was determined that the peripheral regions were once mere exporters of raw materials to the centres. When studying the emergence of the peripheral countries they were all exporters of raw materials. Most of these peripheral countries are still underdeveloped regardless of their industrialisation. However, most peripheral regions within countries today are mainly exporters of raw materials.

Applying the Dependency Theory in Canada

This final section will put forward an example of Kari Levitt and Niosi who applied the dependency theory to Canada. Levitt and Niosi draw the following conclusion from this statement: that Canada is in fact the "world's richest underdevelopment country". In the previous section, Allahar stated that there was a direct relationship between underdevelopment and the presence of MNC's. Levitt and Niosi both describe the role of foreign capital in Canada, the American companies establish branch plants in Canada which in fact only serve to drain the capital out of the dependent country. Jorge Niosi describes the process of control with regards to Canadian technology:

"Canada, after a century of pursuing a liberal policy towards foreign direct investment and the transfer of technology, now finds itself (although this has begun to change) with half of its technology under outside control - one of the highest percentages of foreign control in the world" (Allahar, 1989:97).

Wallace Clement, Ralph Matthews and Henry Veltmeyer were a few of the theorists who used the dependency theory to explain the regional differences within Canada. They all agreed that Canada's dependency stemmed from its historical background, when it was dependent on its mother country, and whereby its political and economic structures became British. They claim that as Canada began to detach itself from Britain and began trading more with its neighbour, Canada became more dependent on the United States. Hence, because of this increase in dependence the regional disparities were accentuated. Clement believes this occurred because the "regional economies are tied to national economies and national ones to international ones" thus creating a chain (Allahar, 1989:98).

As discussed earlier, the South had the raw materials and the North had the industries to create the final products. Because of this division the North was the only one to profit from the raw resources. The South lost the employment created by the manufacturing, lost the profits, neglected to develop their internal trading structures, etc... Because Canada was divided into the industrial and the hinterland, Clement found that this process occurred in Canada as well. The industrial Canada can be

found between Windsor and Montreal. Even though there are other industrial pockets across the country there are some regions which are clearly "underdeveloped", for example, the Atlantic provinces, and the northern parts of the country. These regions have wealth, but it is a wealth made up of natural resources and not financial institutions or production plants. Therefore, the wages and employment rates remain low in these regions whose only source of income is from raw materials. Matthews describes the consequences of this underdevelopment: "social development is neglected; schools, hospitals, and housing are substandard; and the general life chances of the population are not as promising as those of Canadians who live, for example, in the "golden triangle" (Toronto- Montreal-Ottawa)" (Allahar, 1989:99). A typical example of a periphery is a single industry town, whereby the population is entirely dependent on the operation of this industry, and not one job would be spared if this one industry closed its doors.

If the starting point to the underdevelopment of Canada is colonialism, then one may ask how come Canada is different from other countries who were colonized, for example, in Africa, in Latin America and so on. Allahar attributes this to the fact that Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, were colonized differently. They were not simply stripped of their resources, the colonizers wanted to establish themselves in their colonies. They were interested in "homesteading and farming". They saw these territories as a future home, not just as a source of raw materials.

Canada is an underdeveloped country according to many dependency theorists. But it is an exception along with Australia and New Zealand. Even though Canada depends on external funds and technology which makes it underdeveloped, it is not underdeveloped like the countries of the South. The standard of living, as well as the economic, social and political structures make Canada different. The reason for this, as discussed previously, is that Canada, Australia and New Zealand were marked as "settling" colonies not areas to be used to simply extract raw materials. However, the important point to remember is that there are elements which create dependency, such as: political, economical, social and technological factors. Also it is important to remember that there are underdeveloped regions within Canada. The question which remains to be studied is whether the Cree nation is underdeveloped.

Dependency theorists recognize that dependency and underdevelopment are directly related, furthermore, that underdevelopment is fatalistic for the dependent. Therefore, the question most asked when studying a theory is the end result. What does this theory propose as a solution to this problem?

One of the two solutions to the existence of the centre and periphery, according to Roxborough, is revolution. Roxborough states that dependency theorists argue that one of the alternatives to dependency is revolution. Change is needed in order to stop the dependency but these "much-needed reforms are impossible without a restructuring of the mode of articulation of the economy with the world economy" (Roxborough,

1983:69). However, many dependency theorists agree that revolutions would be impossible because they would be opposed by the upper-class in the periphery and by all members of the centre, hence revolution is the one solution to be considered at a later time.

However, there are other theorists like Samir Amin who believe in something other than revolution. Amin believes in delinking which in fact mean self-reliance. This solution does not mean complete detachment from the centre. It only means control by the periphery over their political, social and economic structures. Delinking is recommended by Samir Amin as a possible solution to the international problem of Third World countries. Delinking is not a complete cut from the central economic system but it is in fact an "awareness" of self-development. Samir Amin explains that: "The meaning is as follows: pursuit of a system of rational criteria for economic options founded on law of value on a national basis with popular relevance, independent of such criteria of economic rationality as flow from the dominance of the capitalist law of value operating on a world scale" (Amin, 1991:2). Delinking does not mean a complete break from the centre, this is impossible for Third World countries, and Samir Amin acknowledges this point. However, the periphery must seize the chance of becoming more autonomous whenever the opportunity presents itself. A Third World country can only gain autonomy through self-development, as opposed to development for the centre. The economic decisions which are to be taken must come from the people of the periphery and not the economists in the centre. The economic

decisions must make sense and improve the survival of the people in these underdeveloped regions.

As mentioned earlier, delinking does not mean a complete alienation from the centre, however it means an awareness of the one's needs. By gaining control over their political, social and economic situation, the peripheries will, over time gain self-sufficiency. There still is a contact which exists between the underdeveloped countries and the centre, but the trade which will occur will hopefully be more fair. For example, technology is something which cannot be exchanged on an equal level, but Samir Amin, indicates the healthy attitude which peripheries must acquire.

Delinking does not imply rejection of all foreign technology, simply for being foreign, in the name of some culturalist nationalism. But it certainly does imply an awareness that technology is not neutral, either in terms of social relations of production, or in terms of models of living and consumption, priority given to the involvement of the whole country, the entire people, in the process of change dictates a mix of modern technologies (possibly imported) and renovation and improvement of traditional technologies.

(Amin, 1991:4)

The possibilities of applying these two solutions to the Cree of James Bay will be examined in the conclusion of this research. A choice between revolution and delinking is what the dependency theory suggests.

The dependency theory is in fact part of a paradigm. For the purpose of this research the difference between underdeveloped and undeveloped regions will be considered, as well as the internal and external factors which influence the degree of

dependency. The following chapters will apply this theory to the Cree of James Bay; in an attempt to treat the Cree as an underdeveloped nation within a nation. The next chapter will examine the emergence of the Cree as a periphery throughout history.

Chapter 2

Becoming a Periphery:

The James Bay Cree from 1600-1920

Having described the dependency theory, this chapter will describe the emergence of the James Bay area as a periphery, and its residents, the Cree, as dependents. In the previous chapter the importance of understanding the emergence of a particular periphery was stressed. Roxborough identified the existence of a general theory which can be applied to all peripheral regions, but in fact these relationships are determined by examining the historical events of each region separately. It is important to understand the emergence of the peripheral regions, and this can be found in a common history of imperialism and colonialism, but one should not assume that social evolutionism will someday eliminate all peripheral regions. Therefore this chapter will examine the history of the James Bay Cree with relationship to the history of imperialism and colonialism.

The Core, industrial Canada, can be found between Windsor and Montreal. Even though there are other industrial pockets throughout the country there are some regions which are clearly "underdeveloped", the Atlantic Provinces, and the northern

parts of the country. These regions have wealth, but it is a wealth made up of natural resources and not financial institutions or production plants. Therefore, the wages and employment rates remain low in these regions whose only source of income is from raw materials. This chapter will begin with the basic assumption that James Bay, being a part of Canada's north, is a peripheral area. It will discuss how this region became an area whose only source of income is from raw materials, and controlled by the centre.

In the chapter on dependency, Allāhar attributes the fact that Canada, Australia and New Zealand, although they were all colonised, are different today from the Third World countries, to the fact that they were colonized differently. He argues that they were not simply stripped of their resources, the colonizers wanted to establish themselves in their colonies. They were interested in "homesteading and farming". They saw these territories as future homes not as pure resources. It will be demonstrated that the colonizers had no intention of settling in the north and hence stripped this region of its natural resources.

The first chapter of this paper described Dos Santos' three stages of dependency. The first, "colonial dependence", took place before the 19th century, and was characterized by the "colonial monopolies of land". "Financial-industrial dependence", the second stage, the role of exporter of raw materials was attributed to the "North", and took place in the 19th and early 20th century. The final stage is the

"technological-industrial dependence" which took place after World War II. This third stage which will be discussed in the next two chapters was characterized by the creation of multi-national corporations in the peripheral countries, Dos Santos calls this the "New Dependence".

This chapter will be divided into two sections, the first will describe the James Bay Cree before the arrival of the colonizers. The second section will combine Dos Santos first and second stages of dependency; characterised by the events which took place between 1600-1920. These dates were chosen because they cover the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) and "to all intents and purposes the [HBC] was left in effective control of [this] region until the end of World War I" (Knight, 1968:19). This chapter is descriptive in nature, determining the major changes which were imposed on the Cree in those 320 years. The following chapter will combine the remaining 70 years in an analysis of the political and socio-economic dependence of the Cree.

Pre-Encounter

Allahar, was already quoted as saying that, all theorists agree that underdevelopment "is not the original state or stage in which all countries once found themselves" (Allahar, 1989:85). Dependency theorists believe that underdevelopment is a state which came after the contact with the imperialist nations. These peripheral

regions began changing once they came into contact with the colonizers who were already changing at a rapid rate, the periphery has been changing in response to the colonizers ever since. This section is a brief description of how the Cree were before they encountered the colonizers. There are two parts to this section, the first will describe the physical and general facts regarding the Cree. While the second part will describe their social organisation under the heading of hunting. Here one will notice that all aspects of their lives, such as: social organization, religion, housing, and nutrition will be covered.

The origin of the natives on this continent dates back to 12,000 and 30,000 years ago (Janigan, 1992:22-23). Since archaeologists have not found any fossil from the pre-modern area, they maintain that the natives crossed the then frozen Bering Strait from Asia to the Eastern Hemisphere. "By the 16th century, an estimated 350,000 natives roamed most of Canada's landmass" (Janigan, 1992:22-23).

Some may find it confusing that there is a nation called the Lubicon Cree in western Canada. In fact this is because the Crees were spread out across the northern part of Canada, they went from Western Quebec all the way to British Columbia. Because of this great distance many of the bands developed their own dialects. The Cree and the Montagnais languages are very similar, while the Ojibwa and Algonkin are more closely related. "Linguists working in James Bay today are in agreement that all Indians of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula speak the same language, Montagnais,

which they divide into three major dialects" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:13).

There were no sources which reported the names and areas occupied by bands in James Bay before the 17th century. Even though this section is reserved for the 16th century, French records dating from the first half of the 17th century reported that there were "four groups that are now regarded as Cree: the Mistassins in the Mistassini Lake area, the Escurieux along the Prince Rupert, the Nisibourounik to the west of the mouths of the Nottaway and Rupert rivers on James Bay, and the Pitchibarenik near the mouth of the Eastmain River" (Wright, 1979:79). Francis and Morantz report that the early name of Cree was "Kilistinins". They also report that in the 1660 an Indian traveller mentioned that there were in fact nine bands of Cree which inhabited the James Bay area. These band names will not be mentioned again in this research. Instead the Cree will be identified by the forts or lakes by which they live. This is done because all old and recent sources do not distinguish these bands by these names. Moreover, "the name[s] disappear[ed] from the records as the English speak only of "Indians"" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:12). The first map in the appendix provides a clear picture of where these lakes and forts are located.

A specialist, Kenneth Hare, describes the vegetation in the James Bay and, the Ungava and Labrador peninsula. He distinguished four basic types of vegetation. The first is located north of the 59 degrees, about 350 miles north of Fort George. The Tundra is a treeless region, whereby the vegetation is limited to small shrubs, lichens

and mosses. The second region, located between the 59 and the 55 degrees, is called the forest-tundra. The vegetation between the Great Whale River and north of Fort George is still treeless, as in the first area, but it has small scattered pockets of trees located in the low grounds. The third area, North of Rupert House and south of Eastmain, is composed of forests land, whereby there are trees scattered all over the area with mosses and lichens covering the land in between. The vegetation south of the 52 degrees, is described as a forest area where the sunlight does not reach the ground (Richardson, 1991:128-129).

The Cree in James Bay hunted many animals throughout the year, but they had a distinctive pattern for each year. Every September and October they would hunt the Canada Geese and other birds stopped in their feeding grounds on their way south. The Cree would then return to their settlement in October to prepare their journey to their trapline. They would remain on their trapline until March hunting beaver and large game. After having returned to their settlement, they would prepare to meet the birds on their migration north, they would hunt until the end of May. The Crees would then return to their settlement, and fish during the months of July and August, when it would be time to prepare for the trek to rendez-vous with the Canada geese. And so the cycle continued, there were some variances between the bands, depending on their geographic location, this example is of the Rupert House Cree. But all bands without exception had cycles, whereby all would go to their trapline between October and March where they would hunt beaver and large game, and all would fish during

the summer months (Richardson, 1991:34).

Francis and Morantz describe the social organization of the James Bay Cree, by centring their description on the local group. The local group was composed of one Cree heading a group of six to nine hunters and their families. The traplines of these hunters were located near the settlement of the local group. The average family size was five individuals, therefore the local groups varied in size between thirty and fifty people. When time came to go to their traplines, the local group would separate into smaller groups composed of two to three families, therefore the hunting groups varied between ten to fifteen men, women and children. The hunting group would build teepees as shelters for the winter. One teepee would house the entire hunting group. These were made of canvas and four long wood poles, the ground would be covered by moss gathered by the women, and there would be a "chimney" to let the smoke from the fire outside. Women and children were responsible for the cooking, and collecting firewood, as well as checking the traps set near the camp. Men often left the camp all day or overnight when in search of large game. "The territories averaged approximately 712.4 square miles. They ranged in size from approximately 225 square miles to approximately 3,000 square miles" (Tanner, 1979:192). The concept of land ownership was quite different from the European definition. There was the notion of longevity, occupancy and heredity, but the central theme is the animals. If there were no animals they would not claim the land. Yet the meat from the animals on these territories was shared by all. The boundaries were defined so that the resources would

not be depleted due to the presence of several hunting groups on the territories. The boundaries of the traplines were also there as a warning to other Crees of the location of the traps, as a safety measure. There were no maps, yet every hunter would be well aware of the traplines surrounding his own.

For each hunting camp there would be a leader. This leader would most likely be the owner of the trapline. This position is one of "prestige", but it is also associated with religion. Adrian Tanner describes the leader as follows: "He [could not] openly show authority. But at the religious and judicial level, he exercise[d] power over animals and ha[d] a property relationship with the land by the group" (Tanner, 1979:187). One of the religious duties of the leader was to conduct ceremonies, for example rights of passage, and the praying to the animals. The leader had to thank the animals for allowing themselves to get caught, hence demonstrating respect for the animals.

Tanner associates the Cree religion with the productivity of the group. On one hand the hunter reached his peak of productivity in his twenties and thirties, but the religious maturity was possessed by the elders. Since each camp required both the hunter and the religious figure, this would equate the productivity level of both the young and the old men. Therefore, providing a logical reason for the equal distribution of the food.

There were several ways which a hunter could relinquish his trapline to a younger hunter. The first and most obvious was for the hunter to present his land to his son, son-in-law, or other kin. But a hunter who was about to retire may have handed his trapline over to a fellow hunter who perhaps had been a guest hunter on his trapline several times before. Or another option was to relinquish the land to an individual member of an adjacent trapline.

This first section described the general life which the James Bay Cree lead before the "encounter". There was self-sufficiency amongst these people. There were some years when the animals were scarce, and in these years a few Crees would die of starvation. But one must consider the life in Europe in the 16th century and prior to put these few deaths into perspective. During the 16th century and prior, the Cree were in fact self-sustaining and they were not dependent upon anyone, whether it be for food, for decisions, or for credit. The following section will in fact describe the first 320 years where the white and the Crees co-inhabited the same "province". The conclusion will stress the differences between these two eras, consequently showing the emergence of the north as a peripheral region which is dependent on the centre.

When Whites Met Natives

The following section will examine the events which took place after the Europeans arrived in Canada. Denys Delâge makes an interesting point in his book, *Le Pays Renversé*, where he writes about the history of the three colonial empires, Holland, England and France. This brief history explains how each country became a colonizer in a different way and for different reasons. Delâge states that during the first half of the 17th century Holland was the centre in Europe, while England and then France were the semi-core; Spain and Portugal were the semi-peripheral regions. Holland had a large fleet and shipyards, with which they controlled the North sea and the British Isles fishing coast. During the 16th century they were the largest suppliers of fish to England. Because of this power Holland was able to push the English and the French south to Newfoundland and take over the Labrador coast for their fishing. The English were the first to have a settlement on Newfoundland, mainly due to their need for salt to keep the fish from wasting. Because they had to import the salt at a great cost they developed other storing methods for which they needed installations. The French and the Spaniards had the salt, hence, they would fish and immediately sail back to their countries with the fish nicely stored. The English naval force being greater than the French's, pushed the French deep into the St-Lawrence where they discovered something they had not started off looking for, the "fur trade". They began their trade in Nova Scotia and then at Tadoussac, but it was not until 1605 that they established their first trading post in the Bay of Fundy. Once again the English pushed

the French further into the St-Lawrence river, where they began building at Quebec in 1608. Holland interested in France's new business bought royalties in the French companies. Holland sent an Englishman, Henry Hudson, to explore what it now known as the Hudson river. Holland thrived because it had the fastest boats and controled the fish markets of Europe. But the important point to note was that the Dutch did not immigrate to Canada, because of their good economic position in Europe. They were the "core", they had religious tolerance, and a prosperous agriculture. The English immigrated in large numbers due to several problems in the country. For example, the farmers were having their land taken away, so they immigrated where there was free land. The French also immigrated to the new country because they were overpopulated. This short introduction into the European countries in the 16th century helps to explain the pockets of settlements which grew from this international situation at the time (Del  ge, 1991:41-45).

As noted above Henry Hudson sailed his ship the "Discovery" up the Hudson river in 1611. Where the first recorded encounter between a white man and a James Bay Cree took place. But because the Hudson Bay was not a passage to the far east this region was ignored. There were a few Europeans who entered the region without settling. They found that the Cree already knew about trading, that in fact they had been trading through the Montagnais acting as middle men with the Europeans at the mouth of the Saguenay at Tadoussac. Radisson and Des Groseilliers were the first to look for backing to exploit the fur trade in the James Bay area. Although they were

two Frenchmen, they found their backing from English merchants. They named the Rupert River after the king's cousin, Prince Rupert, who later on became the first governor of the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC).

The Hudson's Bay Company's first post was Rupert House which was established in 1668. In the spring of 1669, the pelts of 300 Cree hunters were brought back to London. At this point the fruitfulness of the Hudson Bay was confirmed, and in May 1670 "the English king granted to a group of English merchants and aristocrats calling itself the Hudson's Bay Company exclusive trading rights in the approximately 3 million square miles of North America draining into the great bay" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:23). The rate of development in the area can be seen in the number of forts constructions in a decade. Charles Fort, although raised in 1670, was not occupied year round until 1672. On the Moose River, Moose Fort was built in 1673. And on the Albany River, a fort bearing the same name was established in 1679.

In the first chapter of this paper, Dos Santos' dependency is described as follows: "a situation in which a certain group of countries have their economies conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected" (Roxborough, 1983:66). Now that the evolution of the HBC has been outlined a discussion of the unequal trade which took place between the HBC and the Cree will be examined. Denys Delâge states the consequences of an unequal exchange between the Cree and the Europeans:

le développement du commerce des fourrures intègre rapidement les Amérindiens dans une économie de marché. A partir de ce moment, ils sont prisonniers d'une mécanique implacable qui les conduira à leur appauvrissement et à leur dépendance, tandis que leur travail permettra aux marchands de se constituer des fortunes et de mettre sur pied une machine militaire qui se retournera contre eux.
(Delâge, 1991:89)

Therefore, Delâge states that the unequal exchange leads to dependency and poverty for the Cree, and wealth and power for the Europeans. Delâge explains that not all exchange is unequal, it becomes unequal when it takes place between a "modern" society and a "primitive" society. Accumulation is what leads to an unequal exchange, when one party is seeking profit. Unequal exchange is also present when the productivity levels are different. For example, if it takes much longer for a native to obtain a beaver pelt than it takes for Europeans to produce some flour. Delâge ends this section of his book by stating that this theory on unequal exchange would be incomplete if a list of the principle implications which unequal exchange has meant for natives was not listed. Delâge notes nine effects of unequal exchange, these are translated and summarised as follows: the trade could not take place in a compatible form because the fur trade took place between one economy which was based on the accumulation of capital and the other on a "primitive" economy. The second point made was that as trade progressed, bonds were created between the communities, and the "primitive" trader learned of the real prices of his merchandise, and therefore became less willing to accept the Europeans' low prices. Third, the insertion into the new economic system brought about new divisions of labour, bringing specialisation as well as a hierarchical system between and within bands. Fourth, as the trading

progressed there developed a larger diversity of supplies from Europe which were traded, hence there was a dependence which was created for these supplies. Fifth, these once independent regions slowly became the peripheral regions of the centre, Europe. Sixth, the periphery recognised that their productive systems are not as "productive" as those of the centre, hence the peripheral areas are always trying to possess the "modern" techniques of production. Seventh, the natural resources are depleted because the periphery always needed to produce more in order to receive the products produced in the centre. Eighth, the natural resources become more valuable to members of the periphery, multiplying the wars between the peoples of the periphery. Finally, as the wealth of the Europe grew and as the poverty of the natives increased, the centre feared attacks from the periphery, hence the need for armies (Delâge, 1991:92).

On the other hand, Francis and Morantz, argue that there was no unequal trade which took place in James Bay. They argue that each trading post had a list of trade "prices" which were issued by the HBC, everything from a blanket which equalled six beaver pelts, to a four feet gun which was worth twelve beaver pelts. Other examples of these "prices" are: 1 yard of cloth was worth 2 beaver pelts, 2 beaver pelts could also be traded for a "plain" hat, and of course the alcohol, 1 gallon of brandy could be received by exchanging 4 pelts of beaver. (Francis and Morantz, 1983:49). These "prices" were quite steep considering the average hunter would have 20 pelts to trade per season. But even though these prices were fixed by the HBC, the company

representatives said that they tried to trade for as little as the Cree would accept. And if they became aware of this list, the trade masters were even reported "cheating the scale" so that natives thought they were getting more. The HBC trade masters describe the natives as unwilling to accept any change, so that when the HBC wanted to give better deals to the natives to meet the prices of the competition the natives were reported unwilling to accept these price changes even if they were in their favour.

Francis and Morantz argue that there was no unequal trade, furthermore, that the natives did not become dependent on the HBC. They maintain that there was a mutual dependency, whereby the Europeans needed the meat, the snowshoes, the canoes and sleds as much as the hunters needed the flour and the guns.

The aforementioned describes the economy of the natives as being conditioned by outside sources. The Europeans introduced the Cree into a world capitalist economy when they were not even at a feudal stage, not that this was the direction in which they were heading. Once in this world economy the natives were "swallowed" up and forced to take on the role of a periphery sustaining the core.

Samir Amin argues that capitalism was spread in the peripheral countries by creating a "merchant" capitalist class. This was a relatively small class which exported materials to the merchant classes in the centre, therefore, the profits went to a small percentage of the peripheral population. Furthermore, this merchant class did not

ensure any kind of distribution, nor did they set up appropriate social structures. A large part of the differences between the classes is that the classes found in the periphery are more complex and much weaker. Their weakness and complexity comes from the fact that their ruling classes are incomplete. A large part of their ruling classes are found in countries of the centre.

The HBC created a "merchant" class similar to the one described by Samir Amin and others. In the late 18th century postmasters appointed several "Indian lieutenants". These were natives rewarded for bringing in hunters to a particular post for trading. These men were rewarded for spreading the trading system to their peoples. The lieutenants would receive gifts such as: "brandy, tobacco, and, to distinguish them as leaders, an outfit of quasi-military clothing" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:42). They were given gifts in relation to the amount of pelts they would bring. The leaders were appointed for life, and each trading post had ten or twelve lieutenants, also called captains at time. The HBC chose their leaders if they had influence over "their people", enough influence to recruit hunters. Some shared the liquor which they received with their hunters. But most of them formed a class of their own. They were middlemen, men who specialized in trading and did not hunt. At the trading posts before the trading would commence they performed small ceremonies, with political undertones. And like the class which Samir Amin describes they were fragile, once the HBC decided that their leaders were too expensive, the "formal captaincy" was abolished (Francis and Morantz, 1983:45).

Whenever discussing the Third World one always considers the national debt of each of the peripheral countries. The national debt plays a large role in determining the level of dependence of these countries. The HBC made the natives dependent on particular trading posts by extending credit to them. This practice began in the first half of the 18th century. As the natives would leave the posts in the fall, they would be given quantities of supplies for the bush which would be deducted from their spring furs. The amount of credit was determined by their previous season's catch. The HBC did this to keep the natives trading with them instead of the inland competition. Most were given a credit of ten to twelve beaver pelts. The HBC found that they could manipulate the natives into trading with them by giving them the credit, but they were always careful not to give too much so that the hunter would not move to the competition once his debt accumulated, or that the hunter would not die with a large debt which the Company would lose. Decades later the HBC introduced new regulations assigning natives to a particular post so that they could not avoid paying their debts, and thus, limiting the hunters' movements from that day onward. As Rolf Knight summarises: "In addition to a feeling of dependence by the local people, there is a very real dependence upon the credit allowed by the manager to individual trappers" (Knight, 1968:36).

Pablo Gonzalez Casanova and Harold Wolpe discuss the importance of examining the colonialist and imperialist hold over particular countries when studying the dependency of countries, such as the political arrangements which favour the financial

institutions of the centre (Roxborough, 1983:90). In 1828 the HBC began assigning not only trading posts as previously seen, but also assigning land to hunting families. This arrangement only benefitted the Company and consequently rearranged the social organisation of the natives. The HBC's division of land had little regard for the previous traplines, nor for non-monogamous families. In fact, as many as one sixth of the families were polygamous at the time. The HBC redistributed the land to monogamous families, creating a number of dependent women and children who had been the second and third wives.

Many historical sources write about the beaver conservations which were set up by the HBC, once again ignoring the native patterns of conservation. The hunters would let their trapline rest for a year or more, acting as a guest hunter on another man's trapline. This was done to replenish the land. But these methods were not good enough for the HBC and so beaver conservations were introduced.

The HBC feared that the beaver would become extinct, so they introduced regulations which would discourage the natives from killing the cubs. The HBC banned steal traps, except in the fox country. Moreover, they refused to trade any pelts which were attained in the summer months. There were economic reasons to this ban, both the beaver cub pelts and the beavers killed in the summer season were not valuable to the European traders. But as mentioned before the trappers would not kill beavers in the summer and would "rotate" the use of their land. They did accept

the HBC's new policies for the simple fact that they had always believed in these practices, but not for economic reasons, but for their respect for the beaver. In 1827 the HBC, still afraid that the native would kill the beavers in the summer seasons, reduced the prices of the fishing supplies by one third (Francis and Morantz, 1983:129).

The first beaver preserve was on Charlton Island in 1836. Beavers were placed on the island which was off-limits to all hunters. Two families resided on the island to make sure that there were no poachers or natural predators like the otter and lynx (Francis and Morantz, 1983:129). Limited hunting was allowed once the beaver population reached a certain number. James Bay's second preserve was established in 1842 on Ministikawatin Island.

In 1841 the HBC introduced new restrictions on the trapping of beavers. This three year plan forbade natives to trade more than one half of what they had traded in the 1838-1839 season. "To offset this restriction the Indians were offered premiums for trapping marten instead of beaver" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:130). Three years later, as promised, natives were allowed to trap as many in season beavers as they wished.

By the mid-18th century the HBC was offering full-time employment for the "mixed bloods" and natives. They would act as servants, and supply men. But the HBC soon found that there was a draw back in recruiting these reliable men, in that their families would become dependent on the post. The wives and children would set up camp outside the fort, but whenever they could not capture enough fish or small game to sustain themselves, they would become dependent on their husbands. Since their husbands worked for the posts these women and children would become dependent on the company. The HBC implemented regulations in an attempt to limit the number of dependents. To begin, they forbade men to marry without the consent of the postmaster. In 1827, a man could not marry without leaving one tenth of his earnings to the HBC, in case of his death or retirement. A decade later, a man could be fired if he refused the right to the Company to send his sons of fifteen years to distant posts as apprentices. Finally, in 1870 the HBC decided that these dependents were much too costly and opted to return to their practice of recruiting their servants from Europe.

James Bay natives were controlled by political arrangements which primarily benefited the HBC. They were assigned land which was already organised, their family structures were altered and their hunting habits controlled for the economic benefit of the HBC. By assigning the families to the land and trading posts they were able to control the credit of each hunter. Moreover, by restricting the trapping of cub and summer beavers they did not have to trade these "worthless" pelts for the "good"

supplies. Finally, the HBC even sought to control the marriages of natives at the posts, this once again would benefit them economically by creating fewer dependents for the post.

Allahar was quoted saying that part of the peripheries dependence stems from the fact that they have tailored "their economies to meet the needs of the advanced ones" (Allahar, 1989:90). In the examples mentioned above it is clear that the James Bay natives did tailor their economies. They altered their hunting patterns to suit the HBC, many also gave up hunting altogether to take up year round employment with the Company. Many others took seasonal employment with the HBC as "delivery" personnel.

This section would be incomplete if there was no mention of the competition of the HBC and its implications. The English or the HBC had little competition from the French until 1682. Before then only a few natives would trust the middlemen to trade their furs with the French in the south. The Compagnie du Nord was formed in 1682 by a group of merchants, they "received a charter from the king of France enabling it to trade into Hudson Bay" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:27). From then on the French and the English battled for the trade. They captured each others forts, and maintained a price war. The French in the south were complaining that the natives were simply bringing their furs to the captured posts. Natives were reported to prefer trading with the French because they were more familiar with the land and better at surviving the

winter, but ultimately the best trades, service and treatment determined with whom the hunters would trade. The French diminished their presence in the James Bay area, although they did remain, after "1713 when according to the terms of the Treaty of Utrecht the French recognized the Hudson's Bay Company's claim to all of the bay" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:32).

The conflict between the French and the English influenced natives. For example, the hunters of Eastmain House began complaining about "French" Indians. Francis and Morantz argue that this competition was good for the hunters because it allowed them to "manipulate" the trading prices. This is one of the points which is a part of their argument that the James Bay natives were in no way dependent on the HBC, because they controlled the prices, and because they were trading their technology with the white technology as opposed to replacing the old with the new. However, the Compagnie du Nord was disorganised and did not pose a real threat to the English. But in 1904 the Revillon Frere, a trading company established by a few Frenchmen, arrived in James Bay. They, on the other hand, were very organised. They established trading posts down river from the HBC allowing them to intercept the pelts before the English. This organised competition meant better goods, with a greater variety, and an increase in the local wages for the James Bay natives. Their reign ended when the great depression of the 1930's broke them, resulting in their holdings being officially transferred to the HBC in 1936.

Even though the impact of the education system and the influence of the catholic and protestant religions will not be discussed until the next chapter, a brief history of their first settlements follows.

The first schoolmaster arrived in the James Bay area in 1808. James Clouston was responsible for the education of the whites' and the "mixed bloods" children. At this point the HBC recognized the usefulness of having clergymen posted in the area, to assimilate natives. The missionary, George Barnley, arrived in James Bay in the mid 1840's. He and his wife were recalled to England after his attempts at introducing reading, writing, and religion failed. Two missionaries were sent by England, John Horden and E. A. Watkins, in 1851. The first mission house was built by Watkins in 1855, and used as a schoolhouse and church. Despite this effort he was removed a year later after having very little success with the natives. John Horden, on the other hand, was much more successful in the south of James Bay. He and James Evans built a schoolhouse in 1854 and in the 1860's a church was built. "The Anglican religion was firmly established in James Bay, and when the diocese of Moosonee was created in 1872, he was made first bishop" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:163). The Anglicans were responsible for the education of the children from 1880's to the late 1940's.

The Catholics were allowed to organize their first mission in 1863, where there were no protestants operating. They did not want the presence of the two religions to confuse any natives. The HBC, although they had originally wanted the missionaries,

found that the missions were costing them money. They did not expect that the missionaries would bound the natives by marriage, and that these unions would create dependents for the HBC. The Catholic religion did not allow polygamous unions, therefore, when they married people they left the "other" women and children dependent on the HBC. "However, by 1879 differences seem to have been resolved and company officials seem to have accepted the benefits of a missionary presence" (Francis and Morantz, 1983:164).

A new faith was not all that the missionaries brought along with them to James Bay. Denys Delâge speaks of this as unequal trade, but this time it is not supplies for furs, but the transfer of germs. In this case natives had nothing to give and all to take. They were not immune to the children's diseases. Many were killed by diseases such as: yellow fever, cholera, chicken pox and mumps. Delâge explains that these diseases did not exist in North America because the migration from the Bering Strait was gradual and that it took place in an arctic climate where germs do not reproduce very easily. The viruses traveled quickly and soon reached those who had not encountered any Europeans, through the trades with the middlemen. Half of the native population was reduced by this phenomena, and some bands were only left with one tenth of their population, either directly or indirectly. By indirectly it is meant that the population in an area would be weakened by the sickness, and when it had finally left, they had had no time to hunt and therefore become malnourished and hence more susceptible to other viruses. The diseases also posed a threat to the native

culture by killing the most productive generation and those which held the secrets of the oral traditions. Natives began to accuse the whitemen of witchcraft. Missionaries were the most suspected because they would hurry to baptise children and they would die. The number of deaths was greater among the natives converted to Christianity than for those hunters remaining at large. As soon as they would enter a new settlement one of the childhood diseases would spread. The animals brought from Europe would spread the diseases to other animals through the food chain, and ultimately through to the natives.

The following chapter will discuss the influences of the missionaries, in particular how the schooling system manipulated the James Bay natives. But for now it is important to remember that the missions came on the demand of the HBC and that they were largely responsible for bringing epidemics into the area. To conclude this section some of the government policies which were implemented between 1600 and 1920 will be briefly examined.

Wallace Clement, Ralph Matthews and Henry Veltmeyer all agreed that Canada's dependence stemmed from its historical background, when it was dependent on its mother country, and whereby its political and economic structures became British. They claim that as Canada began to detach itself from Britain and began trading more with its neighbour, it became more dependent on the United States. Hence, because of this increased dependence the regional disparities were accentuated. Clement

believes this occurred because the "regional economies are tied to national economies and national ones to international ones" thus creating a chain (Allahar, 1989:98).

Although Canada did not begin to change the country on which they relied until later, the war of 1812, marked a period of considerable change for natives. After this war Canada was no longer threatened by the United States, bringing a large migration of British in search of the promised agricultural land. "From 1814 to 1851, the population of Upper Canada skyrocketed to 952,000 from 95,000" (Janigan, 1992:23). The natives were no longer a majority, and were no longer needed for military or economic purposes. They quickly loss their power while the Canadian government proceeded in its attempt to assimilate them. The next century and a half was the dawn of many new laws created by the government in the hope of assimilation. For example, in 1857 the "then-Province of Canada offered the vote and 20 hectares of land to those who were educated, debt-free and of good moral character", in exchange native had to give up their status (Janigan, 1992:23). "In 1869, federal bureaucrats were empowered to depose traditional Indian leaders for "dishonesty, intemperance or immorality"" (Janigan, 1992:23). That same statute stipulated that Indian women who married non-Indians lost their status (Janigan, 1992:23). The federal representatives replaced the traditional leaders with elected band councils. Those natives who had agricultural products to sell needed permits to do so; they also needed permits to leave the reserves in western Canada. Natives were not allowed to wear native dress off the reserves. "Under the terms of the first Indian Act, which took

effect in 1876, Indians lost their status if they became doctors, lawyers, or ministers" (Janigan, 1992:23). From 1894 natives were forced to send their children to schools run by missionaries, (the effect this law had on natives will be discussed in the next chapter). "Finally, because of Royal Proclamation of 1763 stipulated that Indians could cede title to their lands only to the Crown, Indians could not mortgage their reserve lands to obtain capital for economic projects" (Janigan, 1992:23).

These are a few of the laws which were institutionalised and which made the natives dependent on the centre. The next chapter will examine these more carefully along with their affects on the James Bay Cree. The slow increase in dependency was examined through each phase covered, from the creation of the HBC to the influence of the Mission and the government. When combining all of these influential factors one comes to understand the reasons why the Cree of James Bay speak English in a province where the majority is francophone. Their "early involvement with the English Hudson's Bay Company, the Anglican Church, the Federal Government, and English language education, has resulted in a position of social isolation within Roman Catholic, French-speaking Quebec society" (Tanner, 1979:204). They are even more distanced from their provincial government than are their counterparts - there is a religion and a language which divides them. And contrary to what many believe, they are bilingual, they speak Cree and English.

In Marxist terms the periphery represents the cheap labour and the raw materials of the centre. In the past, the centre would take hold of these resources by conquering these territories. Establishing themselves as mother countries, they assured themselves an endless supply of resources. The peripheral countries or regions are primarily viewed as exporters of raw materials. Whether these products are agricultural or mineral, these regions are stripped for the benefit of others. In the Case of the James Bay area there is no doubt that the land was stripped of its animals to benefit the Europeans, but in this case the land was not the only thing which was stripped. The Cree were stripped of their status, of their organisational process, of their language, only to name a few. The perfect example of the systematic stripping of the James Bay area, the James Bay Hydro Electric Project, will be discussed later in this research.

The changes the James Bay Cree experienced between the first section of this chapter and the second were, in fact, tremendous. Changes began when the Hudson's Bay Company established trading posts in the area. From then on the lives of the Cree would never be the same. Their hunting patterns were altered by the HBC's policies, such as: the beaver preserves and the allocation of land and posts to families. They began relying more and more on the posts and hunting less and less. But the emergence of the fur trade in eastern Canada also changed the existing relationships which the natives had with other nations. The Iroquois, who wanted more pelts to trade, made war with the surrounding nations, many of whom were pushed north into the James Bay area. When the first white traders arrived in the region, they found

that most natives were scared of attacks from the Iroquois. Despite that many will say that these nations fought amongst themselves for more "ridiculous" reasons, the fact remains that they were not fighting to the point of extinction. They would only fight when the conditions were good. If food was lacking in one year it was not unheard of that they would "suspend" the war. Moreover, once the Europeans arrived with their new economic system, nations would fight others who were weak from epidemics. Therefore, worst of all they would often fight wars which were not their own. They would sign trade agreements with the English or the French, pledging their military support at the same time.

Many argue that these changes are part of a natural evolution - that natives of Canada could not continue to live in teepees year round, while sustaining themselves by hunting. Nevertheless, one could certainly argue that the changes would not have occurred as quickly, even though, sooner or later they would have come into contact with the outside world. Here again it does not mean that these nations would have adopted a capitalist system with European values. The real problem with these changes is that they made the James Bay area a periphery, and by doing so made its residents dependent on the centre.

The actions of the HBC, the missionaries and the government have, in fact, made the Cree dependent on the centre. They were made dependent by removing their self-sufficiency. As the HBC found themselves with more dependents after each

policy they would make, so did the federal government. The peripheral areas and countries are created by the core, they are not created by the members of the periphery nor are they a natural process of development. As mentioned earlier there are internal as well as external factors, but the internal factors did not begin to take action until the core began creating the periphery.

The relationship between the James Bay area and the core is a dependent one. Dos Santos defines a dependent relationship as follows: "some countries (the dominant ones) can expand and can be self-sustaining, while other countries (the dependent ones) can do this only as a reflection of that expansion" (Allahar, 1989:89). An example of this was described in this chapter, when the HBC ascribed parcels of land to each family and a post for each of these hunting families, they took away some of the independence which the hunters possessed. From this point on the HBC made it very difficult for the hunters to seek better deals elsewhere. They could only expand as far as the HBC would let them.

Others may argue that the James Bay area is not one which is underdeveloped, hence a periphery, but merely an undeveloped region of Canada. Rosemary and Ray Bromley outline the distinction of the terms "underdeveloped" and "undeveloped". Development in undeveloped countries would occur when the self-reliance was maintained while developing. Undeveloped countries have access to development perhaps more easily because they have self-reliance, they are not controlled by outside

economic and political powers. These undeveloped countries have not been colonized. By this definition nothing would be further from the truth to say that the James Bay area is "undeveloped". This region has become a periphery in the true sense of the word, as nothing but a source for raw materials ready to be extracted for the sole benefit of the centre.

The next chapter will continue where this one leaves off, but it will proceed in a different fashion. It will not discuss events in a chronological fashion but discuss the different forms of dependence which have emerged from the events of the 320 years which were described above. The political and economic dependence will be discussed as well as the many social problems which now plague the Cree. The long term effects of the actions taken by the HBC, the missionaries, and the government will be examined.

Chapter 3

Effects of Dependency: On First Nations in Canada

The previous chapters of this research have already established that Wallace Clement believed in the existence of underdeveloped regions within Canada. Clement found Canada was divided into the industrial core, and the hinterland. Industrial Canada can be found between Windsor and Montreal. Even though there are other industrial pockets throughout the country, there are some regions which are clearly "underdeveloped": the Atlantic provinces, and the northern parts of the country. These regions have wealth, but it is a wealth made up of natural resources and not financial institutions or production plants. Wages and employment rates therefore remain low in these regions, whose only source of income is from raw materials. Ralph Matthews was quoted previously in this research when he described the consequences of this underdevelopment: "Social development is neglected; schools, hospitals, and housing are substandard; and the general life chances of the population are not as promising as those of Canadians who live, for example, in the "golden triangle" (Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa)" (Allahar, 1989:99).

This chapter will discuss the consequences for First Nations Citizens in Canada of being underdeveloped. The first chapter of this research described the dependency theory which is applied. The second chapter discussed how the Cree of James Bay came to be a periphery. Now this chapter will demonstrate the consequences of underdevelopment for the Cree of James Bay and all First Nations Citizens in Canada.

The consequences of underdevelopment will be grouped into three sections. The first part, entitled "Being Marginal", will examine income, housing conditions, and levels of employment. The second section, entitled "Undeveloped vs Underdeveloped: Definition of Quality of Life", will take a close look at the levels of violence, suicide rates, substance abuse and health problems. "Internal vs External Factors" is the final section of this chapter. Here external influences will be described when examining the dominant laws, politics and the educational system.

This chapter will provide statistics and examples from First Nations Citizens across the country, including the Cree of James Bay. This is done in the hopes that one will realize that the situation experienced by the Cree is not unique to them. The historical description which was provided in the previous chapter could very well apply to other First Nations bands, except for some specific details. The next chapter of this research will return to the specific example of the James Bay Cree, by referring to the James Bay Hydroelectric Project.

It is important to note that even though no direct comparisons between First Nations bands will be made, there is a general trend across the country. Bands which are closer to the industrial areas will be less marginalized. They do not experience the economic and social isolation which plague the bands located in the hinterlands. First Nations bands in the south have better employment opportunities, economic development, education and health facilities than bands in the north.

The Mohawks at Kanasatake, for example, can work and go to school while still residing on the reserve. They obtain better prices for construction and household products, because there is no additional costs of transportation to isolated communities including the goods they consume. Therefore when regarding provincial statistics it is important to remember that the First Nations bands in the north have numbers which are less favourable.

In the same light, First Nations women are the most disadvantaged. When studying the statistics comparing registered Indian women and men with all other Canadian women and men, registered Indian women are always the worst off. Their employment levels, income and education are much lower. There is not a section which is dedicated to the situation of the First Nations women, however reference to their condition will be examined whenever appropriate. This is just a reminder that when looking at statistics across Canada one should consider gender, regional differences in terms of provinces, as well as the geographical relationship with the

south.

Geoffrey York summarizes the changes which the Shamattawa Cree of northeastern Manitoba have undergone since World War II, where the previous chapter left off. Their situation is identical to that of the James Bay Cree. York reviews these changes as follows:

The [Shamattawa Cree] continued their nomadic life of hunting and trapping until the 1940s. Then, as they were gradually drawn into the bureaucratic world of compulsory education and welfare payments, they were required to settle at a fixed location. A federal school was built, and the children were required to attend. To avoid the breakup of their families, and to ensure they received their social assistance cheques, the Shamattawa Cree were forced to settle at the site where they live today. Soon, as fur prices in Europe dropped drastically, their trapping fell into decline and they became dependent on government assistance. Their traditional culture was broken and replaced by a new one. (York, 1990:4-5)

Therefore, most First Nations Citizens in the north were forced to give up their nomadic lifestyle and to settle, in order to receive government transfer payments, upon which they became dependent once their furs had lost most of its exchange value.

Not only were First Nations Citizens made dependent through social assistance but also because "many of the efforts at development of Indian human and natural resources have been consistently biased in favour of Canada's more industrially advanced sector" (Chance, 1970:7-8). This idea was given recognition in the 1967 Canadian Government Special Planning Secretariat report, *Profile of Poverty in Canada*, which states: "These people (Indians) were useful to the whites as the labour

force of the fur industry, but they were not given the opportunity to compete with whites on their own terms... for the odds were too heavy. What were these multiple interlocking constraints limiting Indian development, and how have they affected their present economic, social, and political conditions?" (Chance, 1970:7-8) This last question is the backbone of each of the following sections. The first section will observe the affects on economic conditions, the second on the social conditions, and the last section on the political system which the First Nations Citizens are now facing after centuries of domination.

Being Marginal

This section examines the present economic conditions of the First Nations Citizens of Canada. Their housing conditions and employment levels will be discussed in order to provide a global picture. These are indicators which have a profound influence over the social conditions of these peoples, and therefore should not be overlooked. Geoffrey York states that the social problems which plague the First Nations Citizens are part of a bigger problem:

While better health programs can help alleviate the problems on the reserves, they cannot eliminate them. Sickness and violence on Indian reserves are just symptoms of the larger problems of poverty and underdevelopment. The *Indian Act*, with its restrictions

on native autonomy, and the reserve system, with its patchwork of tiny reserves on infertile land, have locked Indians into a cycle of unemployment, overcrowding, poor health, and dependence on welfare.
(York, 1990:79)

As are all residents of underdeveloped regions, the First Nations Citizens of Canada are marginalized. Their income, employment and housing conditions will be compared to that of "non-Native" Canadians.

According to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), income is in fact a means and not an end. Income can buy medical supplies or illegal drugs. It largely depends on the society which is using the money and not the amount of funds available. The residents of a country with modest income can have a good quality of life, while, a wealthy country can have deplorable living conditions. The UNDP also adds that the rate of growth is not indicated by income levels alone. One must also consider if the income is invested back into the country. (UNDP, 1991:10-11) When examining these numbers which represent the income of First Nations Citizens in Canada, one must remember that there is too little for them to reinvest in their community; furthermore, the power to make budgetary decisions is not theirs.

First Nations Citizens living on-reserves are the most marginalized. In 1986 they reported earning half of what the general population (non-Native) earned. But this should be expected, since the majority of the Canadian population resides near the industrial centres. However, if the geographical location was the only factor involved

in determining the average individual income, then the registered Indians residing on-reserve should have the same income as the general population living near reserves.

But this is not the case. In the 1986 census, the general population living near reserves reported approximately 30 percent more in average individual income than the registered Indians residing on-reserve. The registered Indians living off-reserves also reported 30 percent less individual income than the general population. (See Table 1) This indicates that distance from the centre is not the only factor involved, that education and racism are indicators which should also be considered. These will be examined in the third sections of this chapter.

Table 1. AVERAGE INDIVIDUAL INCOME OF REGISTERED INDIAN AND GENERAL POPULATION

Province	Average Individual Income				
	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	9,900.00	13,400.00	10,700.00	17,100.00	13,700.00
Canada	9,300.00	11,000.00	9,900.00	18,200.00	14,700.00

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Populations 15 years and over who received income during 1986.

***General population: Total population 15 yrs of age and over less registered Indians.

****QASR, 1989:29.

Seeing that registered Indians residing on-reserve have less income, it would be interesting to know just how many live off-reserves in Canada. Over 80 percent of registered Indians in Quebec lived on-reserves in 1986. At the same time, just under 40 percent lived off-reserves in Canada. (See Table 2)

**Table 2. PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED INDIAN POPULATION
ON AND OFF-RESERVE**

Province	Place of Residence of Population	
	On Reserve	Off Reserve
Quebec	81.5%	18.5%
Canada	62.4%	37.6%

*INAC customised data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Reported place of residence as of June 3, 1986.

***QASR, 1989:11.

James Frideres states that natives are dependent on the centre because "their reserves are treated as geographical and social hinterlands for White exploitation. White-controlled businesses exploit nonrenewable primary resources such as oil, minerals, water, and forest products, and ship them to urban industrial centres for processing" (Frideres, 1988:370). Because of this exploitation, First Nations Citizens remain exporters of natural resources, which has always meant dependence and exploitation for every country focusing on primary level exports.

Norman Chance argues that the "economically deprived Indian" has no choice but to rely on "supplementary welfare checks and government rations [which] give him almost no room to manoeuvre" (Chance, 1970:15). Because "without land, money, education, language skills and other attributes that might assist him in maintaining some control over his environment, he is largely forced by the dictates of his economic condition to accept whatever subsistence income is available, whether it be hunting, trapping, or low paying wage labour" (Chance, 1970:15). One way of determining the degree of dependence of First Nations Citizens is to examine the origin of their major

sources of income. In 1986, 50 percent of the registered Indians residing on-reserves reported that their major source of income was government transfer payments, while only 20 percent of the general population reported the same. Only 55 percent of registered Indians residents off-reserves reported employment income as their major source of income compared to 70 percent of the general population. (See Table 3)

Table 3. PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED INDIAN AND GENERAL POPULATIONS WITH INCOME WHOSE MAJOR SOURCE OF INCOME IS FROM EMPLOYMENT OR GOVERNMENT TRANSFER PAYMENTS

Province Employment

	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	42.0%	56.9%	48.1%	67.1%	56.8%
Canada	48.1%	55.6%	50.9%	71.0%	62.7%

Province Government Transfer Payments

	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	53.9%	37.2%	50.4%	24.2%	36.6%
Canada	48.4%	40.9%	45.6%	19.4%	28.2%

*INAC customised data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Major Source of Income: that income component which constitutes the largest proportion of the total income of an individual.

***Employment: includes wages, salaries and self-employment.

****Government Transfer Payments: refers to income from all cash transfer payments from all levels of government e.g. family allowances, unemployment insurance, and cash welfare.

*****General population: total population 15 years of age and over less registered Indians.

*****QASR, 1989:27.

As mentioned earlier it is important to realize that even though these statistics are grim, many First Nations Citizens are even more marginalized. In 1986, registered Indian women earned 2/3 of the income earned by registered Indian men (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:30). Geographical location in relation to the centre has

a great influence on the wages of First Nations Citizens. In 1981, the registered Indians residing on-reserves earned an average individual income of \$8,700.00 (Frideres, 1988:164), meanwhile the Mistassini Cree only earned \$2,556.00. Off-reserve registered Indians in Quebec earned 3 times more than the Waswanipi Cree in 1981 (Frideres, 1988:164). Meanwhile the general population in Quebec earned \$12,500.00, which was 3 times more than the earnings of the Eastmain Cree (Frideres, 1988:164). The Rupert House Cree reported receiving 44 percent of their total income from government transfer payments; in the same year the national average for registered Indians was 17 percent (Frideres, 1988:163). In 1981, the non-native population in Canada reported receiving 8 percent of their income from government transfer payments, that is, almost 5 times less than the Eastmain Cree (Frideres, 1988:163). (See Table 4)

Table 4. INCOME

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Wages and Other Remuneration	935233	843664	1871150	2678894	704843
Transfer Payments	576516	520722	1479771	372867	141273
Total Income	1511749	1364386	3350921	6401861	2119116
Transfer P. % of Total Income	38.14	38.17	44.16	5.82	6.67
Average Income Per Person	3,827.00	4,147.00	3,542.00	3,195.00	2,556.00
Average Income Per Household	18,214.00	18,690.00	18,720.00	20,006.00	16,054.00

*In 1981

**Transfer Payments: Family Allowances, Unemployment Insurance,
Social Aid, Old Age Security, I.S.P. for Hunters

***Denis Beaulieu, 1984:36.

It is also important to realize that the amounts shown above do not have the same buying power as in the South. In isolated communities the price of goods is much higher. Like the James Bay Cree, the Shamattawa Cree see the cost of transportation increase the price of their goods. For example, in 1990, "a litre of milk [cost] \$2.08 - more than double the price in Winnipeg. A loaf of bread [went] for \$1.79, and a 284-millilitre can of soup [was] \$1.24" (York, 1990:2-3). Gasoline was \$1.80 per litre and a plain windbreaker for a young boy was \$73.98 (York, 1990:3). Another reason for these high prices is the monopoly held by the Hudson's Bay stores. They are the dominant chain of stores supplying the isolated communities of the north.

It is important to recognise the financial position of the First Nations Citizens since this position has great impact on social conditions. For example, "there is a proven link between level of income and health status. A look at historical incomes in constant dollars shows that the average incomes of status Indians are decreasing. This fact has serious implications for the general health status and nutrition of status Indians in Canada" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:30).

There is a direct link with the low incomes of First Nations Citizens and their high level of unemployment. In 1986, the Census demonstrated that the general population of Canada was twice as likely to be employed as were the registered Indians living on-reserves. In the same year registered Indians residing off-reserves in Canada were 1/3 more likely to be employed. In Quebec registered Indians living off-reserves were

in fact 4 percentage points less likely to be employed than were the rest of the population residing near reserves. (See Table 5)

Table 5. EMPLOYMENT RATES FOR THE REGISTERED INDIAN AND GENERAL POPULATION

Province	Employment Rate				
	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	25.2%	41.1%	28.4%	51.4%	44.0%
Canada	28.2%	36.8%	31.4%	59.8%	51.8%

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Populations 15 years of age and over.

***General population: Total population 15 years of age and over less registered Indians.

****QASR, 1989:21.

The following statistics include the Crees who are hunters and trappers hence, a significant number of the Cree labor force are hunters and trappers. One should keep this in mind when looking at the following statistics which compare the Cree and other Canadian work force. In 1981, only 22 percent of the Waswanipi Cree participated in the labour force, meanwhile 52 percent of the general population of Quebec participated in the labour force (Frideres, 1988:169). In the same year, 31 percent of registered Indians in Quebec were employed while only 26 percent of the Rupert House Cree participated in the labour force (Frideres, 1988:169). (See Table 6)

"Unemployment rates for Indians are presently about 2.5 to 3 times higher than the national rate" (Frideres, 1988:168).

Table 6. NATIVE LABOUR FORCE

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Governments-Federal	0 0.0	2 1.3	3 0.8	0 0.0	0 0.0
Prov.	19 10.7	8 5.3	1 0.3	1 0.3	5 0.6
Organizations-Reg.	40 22.6	27 17.9	39 9.8	34 9.1	72 9.2
Local	17 9.6	8 5.3	6 1.5	1 0.3	16 2.0
EnterPriso-Native	1 0.6	4 2.6	38 9.5	46 12.3	150 19.1
Non-Nat.	8 4.5	7 4.6	15 3.8	0 0.0	16 2.0
Hunters/Trappers	54 30.5	74 49.0	159 39.9	185 49.3	442 56.4
No. of Unemployed	38 21.5	21 13.9	137 34.4	108 28.8	83 10.6
Total	177 100.	151 100.	398 100.	375 100.	784 100.

*in 1982

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:38.

The James Bay Cree are more fortunate than the First Nations Citizens residing in urban areas, because they can supplement their employment income by hunting and trapping. The next chapter will discuss this right which they have over the hunting grounds of the James Bay area. It is also important to remember the types of jobs the 38 percent of employed registered Indians in Canada hold (Frideres, 1988:169). They have part-time employment which is seasonal, hence, no job security, and "in seasonal jobs, Natives are often discriminated against. [...] Highly skilled Indian men employed by mining-exploration companies as line-cutters and stakes never receiving the same pay or good working conditions that Whites received" (Frideres, 1988:168-169).

The level of employment has a direct influence over the quality of life of First Nations Citizens. "The unemployment rate at Shamattawa exceeds 80 percent. Of the band's population of about seven hundred people, more than one-third are essentially homeless - sharing the overcrowded homes of friends or relatives, or living in shacks or decaying houses that desperately need replacement" (York, 1990:2). Their limited income forces them to heat their homes with wood stoves "constructed from old oil drums" (York, 1990:2). These methods of heating combined with poor housing, and overcrowding increase the risks of fires.

Statistics Canada defines a crowded dwelling as a home which has more than one occupant per room. "By that standard, 36 percent of all households on Indian reserves are overcrowded, according to the Ekos study. By comparison, only 2 percent of the Canadian population lives in overcrowded conditions" (York, 1990:72). In 1986, 37 percent of the registered Indians living on-reserves in Quebec reported occupying crowded dwellings, compared to 4 percent of the non-registered population residing near reserves. Registered Indians not living on-reserve in Canada were approximately 18 times more likely to live in crowded dwellings. (See Table 7) Some may argue that First Nations Citizens choose to live this way, that it is part of their culture to live with their extended families and friends. However, it is not their culture but their poor income which determines if they will have a heating system in their homes.

**Table 7. PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED PRIVATE DWELLINGS
WHICH HAVE MORE THAN ONE PERSON PER ROOM**

Province	% of Dwellings which Have More than One Person Per Room				
	Registered Indian Dwellings			General Dwel.	Dwel. Near Res
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	36.7%	6.9%	26.1%	1.5%	3.9%
Canada	28.9%	11.3%	20.3%	1.7%	2.6%

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**For statistical purposes, a dwelling which has more than one person per room is said to be crowded.

***General Dwelling: Total dwellings less the dwellings of the registered Indians.

****C/SR, 1989:29.

In 1986, 38 percent of registered Indian dwellings located on-reserve in Canada reported not having a central heating system. A central heating system is defined by Statistics Canada as a steam or hot water furnace, forced air or installed electric heating system. Dwellings occupied by registered Indians off-reserve in Canada were almost twice as likely to report having a home without a central heating system, while registered Indians in Quebec were more than 3 times as likely to report living in a home without a central heating system as the general population. (See Table 8) Geoffrey York reports that "the housing on many reserves is barely above the level of shelter in a Third World village" (York, 1990:73).

Table 8. PERCENTAGE OF OCCUPIED PRIVATE DWELLINGS
WITHOUT A CENTRAL HEATING SYSTEM

Province	% of Dwellings Without a Central Heating System				
	Registered Indian Dwellings			General Dwel.	Dwel. Near Res
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	17.5%	8.6%	14.3%	5.3%	15.9%
Canada	37.5%	9.5%	23.8%	5.3%	13.9%

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Central Heating System: steam or hot water furnace, forced air or installed electric heating system.

***General Dwellings: Total dwellings less the dwellings of the registered Indians.

****QASR, 1989:31.

The situation of overcrowding is also present in the James Bay Cree communities. For example, there were an average of 6 Cree per room in Mistassini in 1982. These homes are very overcrowded when one considers that the average size home on-reserves has of 2 to 3 rooms at most. (See Table 9) "Meanwhile, the federal government has argued that it has no legal obligation to provide housing on reserves. It claims that neither the *Indian Act* nor the nineteenth-century treaties make any mention of an Indian right to housing" (York, 1990:74).

Table 9. DEMOGRAPHY

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Cree Residents	395	329	946	829	2004
Persons/Household	4.76	4.51	5.28	4.17	6.26

*in 1982

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:36.

When there is overcrowding or inadequate housing and heating systems many fires break out, and where there are substandard fire-fighting facilities these fires often lead to death. Geoffrey York summarizes the problem as follows:

Even without the crude heating system, the small wood-frame houses on Indian reserves are firetraps. When a fire begins, they are often destroyed within a few minutes. Deaths are inevitable because on many reserves there is no basic fire fighting equipment. In Manitoba, for instance, only sixteen of the province's sixty Indian bands have enough equipment and trained staff to fight fires properly.
(York, 1990:73)

Of the five communities listed in the table below only 3 had fire hydrants. And only Great Whale is equipped with a fire truck. Many non-native villages in the north have a similar shortage in municipal services, however never as severe. Second, one must consider that the James Bay Cree were never given many choices. Even those who made the choice to move off-reserve are living in crowded dwellings without a central heating system. (See Table 10)

Table 10. MUNICIPAL SERVICES

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Drinking Water					
Source	River	Wells	River	Wells	Lake
Purification Plant	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Treatment	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Water Dist. System	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Water Truck	1	none	2	none	none
Laundromat	yes	none	yes	none	none
Waste Management					
Sewer System	none	yes	yes	yes	yes
Septic Tanks	none	none	none	none	none
Compactor Trucks	2	1	none	1	none
Fire Protection					
Fire Hydrants	none	none	20	9	16
Fire Truck	1	none	none	none	none

*in 1984

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:41.

The link between income, employment and housing conditions has been established. It has also been demonstrated that First Nations Citizens on and off-reserves are marginalised. They are in an unfavourable position compared to other Canadians in every regard. Some argue that the answer to the problem is economic growth, however, as Frideres argues there is a great difference between economic growth and economic development. Frideres defines the terms as follows: "economic growth refers to an increase in the productive capacity of an area's economy, while economic development reflects a change in the structure of an area's economy, such as movement from primary extractive or agricultural industries to secondary or processing industries" (Frideres, 1988:370). Many First Nations bands in the prairie provinces, have experienced economic growth from oil revenues but they have not had economic

development. Their main source of income is through the sale of raw materials. Once these non renewable sources have been depleted, nothing will remain and income levels will return once again to what they were. In communities which have only experienced economic growth, social problems which plague First Nations Citizens have remained. The royalties from oil do not provide employment, education and social services unless these funds are used for economic development. The next section will discuss the related problems of violence, suicide, substance abuse and health.

Undeveloped vs Underdeveloped: Definition of Quality of Life.

When examining the forces which cause dependence it is important to understand the differences between undeveloped and underdeveloped nations. When basic infrastructures are in place, when a nation only requires economic growth to reach development status, then this nation is undeveloped not underdeveloped. In undeveloped nations people are conscious of the means to attain good health care, good housing, and they understand the source of their social problems. What's more they have the power to reach these basics of life with a few extra funds from their secondary and tertiary industries. Underdevelopment is the opposite. Underdeveloped nations also have major social problems which plague them, but they have only limited funds available from the sale of raw resources and no power to

create change. Underdeveloped nations have not experienced economic development, only sporadic economic growth. It is important to remember that there is an external force which is limiting the development of these underdeveloped nations, unlike the case of undeveloped nations. The last section of this chapter will examine these external forces, and the social problems of violence, suicide, health and substance abuse will be discussed.

Statistics Canada reported that as of 1986, death rates, on and off-reserves, by accidents had decreased but were "still far higher than average: up to age 65, Indian women [were] about 4 times as likely as Canadian women to die from accidents or violence" (INAC, 1990:14). Violence is a serious problem for First Nations bands, yet Geoffrey York reported that in a floor hockey game among teenagers which lasted for three hours without a referee that he witnessed no "elbowing or slashing or fighting" (York, 1990:3). And yet these teenagers live on a reserve which has been labelled as "the most dangerous community in the province" by southern Manitoba newspapers (York, 1990:3). York stated that this game which he witnessed was much less violent than matches played in high-schools in the south. "The people of Shamattawa are not violent people. By instinct and by disposition, they are peaceful. And yet there are horrifying crimes of violence on the reserve" (York, 1990:3-4).

Susan Hare, President of the Ontario Native Women's Association (ONWA), opened the preface to the report *A Proposal for Change to Aboriginal Family Violence* by stating that: "It is not possible to find a First Nations or Metis woman in Ontario whose life has not been affected in some way by family violence" (ONWA, 1989:ii). "The reasons behind the high incidence of family violence are intimately connected with the poor social, political and economic" conditions (ONWA, 1989:ii). Often the violence leads to death, and it is usually the death of the women in domestic violence. The Ontario Native Women's Association reported that 84 percent of the respondents to their study noticed family violence in their community. Furthermore 24 percent reported personally knowing of family violence which had led to death (ONWA, 1989:3). The Ontario Native Women's Association reported that:

the types of injuries sustained as a result of family violence in Aboriginal communities were characterized as quite severe. 81 percent reported that the victim suffered bruises; 71 percent mentioned cuts and bleeding, 47 percent broken bones, another 47 percent for wounds, 80 percent said mental and emotional breakdowns were the result and 7 percent mentioned unwanted pregnancy, disfigurement, and disablement as injuries sustained by violence.
(ONWA, 1989:21).

Shelters for First Nations women are not only limited in numbers but in cultural sensitivity. The Ontario Native Women's Association states that these victims of family violence must seek shelter in "non-aboriginal" shelters. Most of these shelters are in urban centres far away from the victim's community and family support. "Moreover, the Aboriginal victim of family violence may even experience racism and further victimization at the shelter" (ONWA, 1989:34).

The social problems which the First Nations citizens have are all related. Alcohol was said always to be involved in domestic fights by 44 percent of the respondents to the Ontario Native Women's Association's survey, while 37 percent claimed that it was often present in incidents of family violence (ONWA, 1989:22). In total 78 percent of the respondents said that alcoholism was a main cause of domestic violence. When asked which were the other contributing factors respondents listed the following: "jealousy (67%), unemployment (65%), poor communications (57%), depression (52%), people not knowing how to get along (25%), exposure to violence when children (22%), problems with other family members (20%), and (8%) mentioned such other causes as low self-identity, drugs and nerves" (ONWA, 1989:22). The stresses of overcrowded dwellings, low levels of income and unemployment add to the levels of violence. Some are reported committing crimes just so that they can be arrested to go to jail, where they are fed three times a day, clothed and sheltered.

Much of the family violence, alcoholism and suicides originated from the abuse inflicted on students in the residential schools. As Mandy Brown, a social worker on the Lytton reserve, states, like any disease these are problems which are transmitted from generation to generation. Brown was repeatedly trying to treat the community members for these problems without any success. She finally noticed through the family trees of her victims that there was one connecting factor: the St. George's School, an Indian residential school near the reserve. Finally in December 1987 the former dormitory supervisor, Derek Clarke, "pleaded guilty to eleven counts of buggery

and six counts of indecent assault" (York, 1990:28). "In his sentencing judgement, Judge William Blair said Clarke was responsible for at least 140 sexual incidents and perhaps as many as 700 incidents or more" (York, 1990:28-29). In this instance an entire community was deeply affected by the sexual abuse incurred at the residential school, however, this is not a scenario which is unique to the Lytton reserve; the same thing has happened in residential schools across the country. Every year a new "skeleton" surfaces. These incidents are not only responsible for much of the family violence but also for the high rates of suicide in First Nations communities. As mentioned earlier "Indian women are about 4 times as likely as Canadian women to die from accidents or violence" (INAC, 1990:14) however "almost 1/5 of these accidents are in fact suicides" (INAC, 1990:14). The "suicide rate among Indian women is more than double the national average, and shows no signs of decreasing" (INAC, 1990:16).

When discussing these social conditions it is important to remember that there are basic human rights which in this instance are not met. A long and healthy life is one of these basic rights, and it is not met. "Indians currently live about 10 years less than non-Indians" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:10). The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) claims that a long and healthy life is not the only factor which constitutes human rights. They also claim fundamental right to knowledge and the right to access proper resources in order to live a comfortable level of life. In the UNDP's definition of human development it states that the right to "political, economic or social liberty, is as important as creativity, productivity, self-respect and

the garanty of human rights" (UNDP, 1990:10). It has already been demonstrated that the quality of life of First Nations Citizens is not what it should be due to the high levels of violence in these communities.

Next the large discrepancies between the health and substance abuse of First Nations Citizens as compared to those of other Canadians will be discussed. This examination will demonstrate that the most basic human rights to a certain quality of life are not met for First Nations Citizens. The final section of this chapter will examine the latter part of the UNDP's definition which refers to the levels of political, economical and social freedoms, the levels of self-respect and the right to acquire the necessary knowledge to obtain a comfortable living standard.

The health of First Nations Citizens will be examined in this section of this chapter because, like violence, suicide, and substance abuse, it is greatly influenced by the levels of income, housing conditions and unemployment rates. Geoffrey York summarizes the major health problem of First Nations Citizens as follows:

Canada's native people are still dying from Third World diseases such as tuberculosis, gastroenteritis, and pneumonia - illnesses that rarely cause death among non-native Canadians. Tuberculosis, for instance, is widespread in Africa and other parts of the Third World, but it is almost never encountered among non-native Canadians. Yet tuberculosis is still a deadly reality on Indian reserves, occurring ten times as often among natives as among non-natives.
(York, 1990:75).

Non-native Canadians rarely die of or even contract tuberculosis because it is a disease

which is linked to housing conditions. "The statistics suggest that the comparison to the Third World is still valid. In the African country of Tanzania, the TB rate is 50 to 100 per 100,000 people. On Indian reserves in the Prairies, the rate from 1970 to 1981 was 161 per 100,000" (York, 1990:75). Many other diseases afflict First Nations Citizens too, "a study in 1980 found that the number of deaths caused by cirrhosis of the liver at Shubenacadie was fourteen times the national average" (York, 1990:68). First Nations women are more likely than other Canadian women to form diseases related to the circularity system (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:18). The various illnesses which First Nations Citizens are prone to indicate other social problems. As tuberculosis indicated poor housing conditions, the high level of stillbirth for First Nations women, which has not decreased in the last 10 years, reflects on the "mother's health, nutrition, lifestyle (smoking/drug use), which may indicate a need for improved nutrition and health promotion programs for mothers" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:8).

Once the related problems are discovered it is easier to practise preventive medicine, ie. improve the housing. In order to develop successful programs it is important to know the group for which one is forming these programs. For example, the age structure of a group can indicate the various needs of the community. "Three times more of the Canadian population than the Indian population is aged 65 and over (12% vs 4%). On the other hand, over one and a half times more of the Indian population is under 15 (33% vs 21%)" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:6).

Hence, First Nations Citizens are going to suffer more from childhood diseases while other Canadians will have diseases which manifest themselves in later years, for example, circulatory problems and cancers. First Nations women "are aging into their child-bearing ages while Canadian women are aging into retirement. As a result, Indian women will need health services aimed at mothers and children while Canadian women will need services associated with old age" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:6).

One of the problems which arises from the health services and the implementation of new programs is that "the health services are provided largely by white nurses and doctors who usually do not know the local native language or the traditions of native healing. Their communication with their patients is hampered by the cultural gap" (York, 1990:78). Geoffrey York points out that health programs will never "alleviate the problems on reserves" because "sickness and violence [...] are just symptoms of the larger problems of poverty and underdevelopment" (York, 1990:79).

In the next section and chapters the links between the problems of violence, suicide, health and substance abuse will be linked to "the *Indian Act*, with its restrictions on native autonomy, and the reserve system, with its patchwork of tiny reserves on infertile land, [which] have locked Indians into a cycle of unemployment, overcrowding, poor health, and dependence on welfare" (York, 1990:79).

The James Bay Cree suffer from the same illnesses described above. The health care system of the Cree consists of limited nursing stations which have "few preventative medicine programs or community health programs" (INAC, *Supplementary I*, 1981:1). There are no doctors stationed in any of the five communities surveyed. Those in need of critical care must be transported to the nearest hospital or "wait for long periods of time for a doctor to come" (INAC, *Supplementary I*, 1981:1). Prior to the James Bay agreement health services were "organized and administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare of the Federal Government and were based on a series of nursing stations" (INAC, *Supplementary I*, 1981:2). (See Table 11) The question of health services was an important part of the discussion in the James Bay agreement. The outcome of these talks will be examined in the next chapter along with mercury poisoning an illness brought on the Cree by the flooding of the rivers in the James Bay area. During the late 1960s and early 1970s the Government of the Province of Quebec "was asserting its jurisdiction over the vast territory which had been transferred to it by the Federal Government in 1912" (INAC, *Supplementary I*, 1981:2). The Province funded the construction of the Hospital of Fort George where there would be practising doctors. This hospital, built in the early 1970s, "was administered by an independent corporation whose members included representatives of the Fort George Band" (INAC, *Supplementary I*, 1981:2).

Table 11. HEALTH SERVICES

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Local Facilities					
Hospital Centre	none	none	none	none	none
Nursing Station	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
No. of Beds	2	2	2	2	2
Personnel					
Physicians	none	none	none	none	none
Nurses	2	2	4	2	4
InterPreters	1	1	2	none	1
Other	none	none	none	none	none
Residents per					
No. of Beds/100	0.51	0.61	0.21	0.24	0.10
Nurses/100	0.51	0.61	0.42	0.24	0.20

*in 1984

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:40.

Substance abuse, especially alcoholism, is a problem often associated with First Nations Citizens. There are high levels of alcoholism in these communities. "Many native leaders regard alcohol as their number one problem. Recent studies have estimated that alcohol is abused by about 45 percent of New Brunswick Indians, about 38 percent of Saskatchewan Indians, and 50 to 60 percent of northern Manitoba natives" (York, 1990:192).

The problem with alcohol did not become obvious until after World War II when the federal government began establishing military bases in remote areas of the country, most often near reserves. Until this time First Nations Citizens had remained isolated, though their contact with "whites" was increasing dramatically. The federal government introduced social programs, such as housing projects, and welfare

programs during this time. This increased the flow of money into native hands, allowing them to purchase goods outside the reserve for the first time. "When new legislation in the 1950s and 1960s allowed Indians to purchase liquor, much of the newly available cash was spent on alcohol" (York, 1990:192).

At the same time, the exploitation of the resources in the hinterland increased dramatically, taking much of the independence away from First Nations. Residential schools were beginning to have their affect on the communities and the culture. A loss of identity and the sense of being caught between two cultures was transmitted. "The government's new social programs helped create a state of dependence in the native communities. The Indian population was growing rapidly - too rapidly for most reserves, which were small and had a fixed size. The traditional self-sufficient economy of hunting and trapping fell into decline as a result" of the expanding industries and white settlements (York, 1990:192). Indians lost their pride when they could not support their families without a welfare cheque" (York, 1990:192).

The list of causes which pushed First Nations towards alcoholism is endless and continues to grow, for example, as many Indians may have started drinking after World War II for the reasons listed above. Some are drinking today because drinking has been passed on from one generation to the next. Geoffrey York quotes the statement of Bea Shawanda of the National Native Association of Treatment Directors: "What we are talking about is the grief over a significant loss - the loss of our languages, our

culture.[...] We are acting out that grief through the violence and the alcoholism" (York, 1990:193).

Binge drinking is very common among First Nations Citizens. "A survey of Saskatchewan Indians in 1984 showed that 72 percent consumed five or more drinks each time they drank. Among the Indians of northern Manitoba, the average episode of non-stop drinking lasts for three to seven days" (York, 1990:195). Drinking is also related to the accidental death rates of First Nations Citizens. Geoffrey York summarises the extent of this link:

Each year, more than 20,000 potential years of life are lost as a result of the effects of alcohol among Canadian Indians. About three-quarters of all deaths caused by accidents, violence, or poisoning among aboriginal people are linked to alcohol. The vast majority of Indian suicides, homicides, fire fatalities, and other unnatural deaths occur while alcohol is being consumed.
(York, 1990:195)

Many of the childbirth defects are caused by the consumption of alcohol by pregnant women. "A medical researcher in British Columbia found that 25 percent of all children at one Indian reserve had birth defects as a result of "fetal alcohol syndrome", a condition in which the infants suffer mental retardation or facial abnormalities as a result of heavy alcohol consumption by the mother" (York, 1990:195). The far reaching affects of alcohol abuse are as enormous as the causes of alcoholism in the First Nations communities.

Another problem which the First Nations bands face is gasoline sniffing. There are many problems which accompany this substance abuse, the most severe of which is finding ways to control the sniffing. Many reserves set up road blocks and search incoming airplanes in order to confiscate all forms of alcohol. Unfortunately, gasoline is a necessity, for boats, trucks, and skidoos. "Children and teenagers sniff [gasoline] to gain a quick escape, a cheap and immediate high - a few minutes of euphoria in a land of poverty and misery" (York, 1990:8). Medical experts claim "that gasoline sniffing is one of the most dangerous addictions in the world". They have concluded that "a single inhalation can be enough to hook a child". The effects are the same as LSD, "procuring euphoria and a state of altered consciousness. Gasoline sniffers often become convinced that they are invincible" (York, 1990:9). Geoffrey York summarizes the effects of gasoline sniffing on the youths:

Once inhaled, gasoline harms the kidneys and liver, and inflicts permanent damage on the nervous system and the brain, especially those parts of the brain that control visual coordination, motor skills, and memory. It impairs the cognitive abilities that would normally permit children to learn. In the early stages of its use as an inhalant, gasoline reduces inhibitions and thus can help to trigger violence. Chronic sniffers become dull and clumsy, shake uncontrollably, and sometimes have difficulty walking. They often become anaemic and suffer weakness in their arms and legs. The emotional and psychological consequences of gasoline sniffing are just as severe: it produces feelings of paranoia, isolation, and indifference toward oneself and others. (York, 1990:9)

Gasoline Sniffing is a serious problem which was first noticed in the early 1970s, but the problem has increased. Around 1975, "a survey of Cree and Inuit youths at Great Whale River in northern Quebec revealed that 62 percent had sniffed gasoline at least once in the previous six months" (York, 1990:10). In 1986 it was discovered that 70

percent of the children belonging to 25 northern Manitoba bands had sniffed gasoline. (York, 1990:10) "About 1,400 of these children were in "serious trouble" and needed treatment for their addiction" (York, 1990:10). Researchers "found at least four reserves" in northern Manitoba "where parents were sniffing with their children" (York, 1990:11). Some were said to use gasoline to calm their infants. As mentioned earlier one of the effects of gasoline sniffing is extreme violence. The police and court officials claim that 60 to 70 percent of juvenile crimes involved gasoline sniffing (York, 1990:11).

The problem is so serious that there is a name which has been given the death which it can cause: "sudden sniffing death syndrome". Death occurs when "the heartbeat of a sniffer becomes irregular because of the chemicals in the inhalants. Then, when he tries to run or fight, adrenalin rushes through his body and his heartbeat becomes even more irregular and uncontrollable. His heart fails and he dies" (York, 1990:11). Many precautions have been taken to try to stop this addiction. The Hudson Bay store stopped selling glue, wood filler, nail-polish remover, felt-tip markers, typewriter correction fluid and aerosol sprays. They have also stopped selling "potatoes, raisins, yeast, and anything else that can be fermented into alcohol" (York, 1990:11). But as mentioned earlier, they can not stop selling gasoline. Some bands have imposed curfews and "gas patrols". They take down the names of children who are caught and provide a copy to the nursing station and the band council. "In reality, the gas patrol is virtually helpless, since gasoline sniffing is not illegal. The police

cannot arrest the sniffers. And the doctors know, from experience, that compulsory medical treatment cannot cure the plague" (York, 1990:12)

Some children start sniffing as early as four years old when they see their brothers and sisters sniffing the gasoline. "George Redhead is the supervisor of the gas patrol and the coordinator of the Leonard Miles Memorial Centre. For years, he has been doing his best to fight the surge in gas sniffing. He tries to introduce recreational programs and social activities to keep the children out of trouble. The number of sniffers fluctuates, but the problem never disappears" (York, 1990:13). It is a common belief that if you keep children busy enough with activities they will not find the time into get themselves in trouble. Perhaps one of the reasons why children get into trouble is the lack of facilities to keep busy. Of the five communities surveyed in the James Bay area not one had a community centre, a library or an arena, only one had a playground, two had a gymnasium, and three had a skating rink and a ball field. (See Table 12)

Table 12. RECREATION AND LEISURE

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
Gymnasium	yes	yes	none	none	none
Community Centre	none	none	none	none	none
Library	none	none	none	none	none
Arena	none	none	none	none	none
Skating Rink	none	none	yes	yes	yes
Playground	none	none	none	yes	none
Ball Field	none	none	yes	yes	yes

*in 1984

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:42.

Gasoline sniffing is a serious problem for First Nations Citizens, and according to Dr. Juis Fornazzari, "a neurologist at the Addiction Research Foundation in Toronto and an expert on inhalant abuse", it is a problem which only afflicts the members of minority groups (York, 1990:14). Many minorities have been found to be inhalant abusers: the First Nations Citizens of Australia and the United States, Hispanics, children of migrant workers and illegal aliens. "And in almost every case, there is one unifying factor: the young addicts are poverty-stricken members of a community that has been overwhelmed by a more powerful outside culture. They are victims of cultural invasion or dislocation" (York, 1990:16). The dominant culture has destroyed the traditional economy and social organisation. "In each case, members of the minority group are stripped of their identity and their traditional way of life, and they descend into a pattern of self-destructive behaviour. Inhalants are simply the cheapest and most accessible of the weapons of self-destruction" (York, 1990:16). As discussed earlier the solution is not in stopping the sale of inhalants nor to send all of the children to detoxifications centres but to create employment and economic opportunities. In other words to have economic development, not just economic growth. Dr. Tenenbein, a physician, believes that the root of the problem lies in "the social upset, discord and disharmony. Dependency on welfare [has] given the people of Shamattawa a total lack of self-worth," he says. What could be more depressing than to wait for the government cheque?" (York, 1990:18).

Basic human rights are not met for most First Nations Citizens. Quality of life and good health are absent. Some will argue that alcoholism and violence are present in the "white" communities as well, but the fact remains that in all instances it has been shown that First Nations people are plagued much more severely than the rest of the Canadian population. They are underdeveloped because their basic human rights are not met and because they lack many of the basic institutions to render their society healthy. In all cases one of the common factors behind the sicknesses is the lack of economic development. Some groups receive royalties from the exploitation of their natural resources, while many have only their welfare cheques. This basic existence is not enough to create economic development, nor human development, which requires political, social and economic freedom along with the right to creative production and self-respect.

The next section will examine some of the obstacles to economic and human development, two of the fundamental needs to creating a healthy society, free of violence, suicide, sickness and substance abuse.

Internal vs External Factors

The theory of dependency has some extreme versions, one of which is the internal and external factor influencing the living conditions of underdeveloped peoples. Some believe that the fault lies either entirely with the external or the internal structures. The tendency chosen for this research claims that it is the fault of both forces. Economic and human development is determined by the actions of both the internal and external actors.

However, this research will not examine the internal factors. The statement that there are internal influences will be sufficient. I have done this because of my lack of understanding of the culture and the direction in which most First Nations wish to head. The second reason is the lack of responsiveness by many First Nations Citizens to "non-native" suggestions; again there is no blame, simply a lack of understanding.

The Ontario Native Women's Association summarizes the thoughts of many First Nations People regarding individuals who have tried to alleviate the health problems of their people, as follows: "while these studies [written by white people] are well-intentioned, the difficulty is that only an Aboriginal woman can knowledgeably speak on our needs, our cultural perspective, and our hopes for change" (ONWA, 1989:7).

Some representatives give this message to "non-natives" in a much harsher tone. Therefore, in the hopes of not sounding as though I am avoiding the topic of internal causes, I will leave these for others more capable of analyzing these factors. The final section of this chapter will concentrate on the external factors which are causing the lack of economic and human development in First Nations Communities.

This section will be divided into three parts, the first part will discuss the laws which have been written which hamper the development of First Nations Citizens, the second part will examine the political institutions which stand in the way of a healthy society and the last part the effects of a poor education system whose only goal is to assimilate.

It has often been argued that there are in fact two justice systems in this country, one for the dominant group and the other for First Nations Citizens. The most famous example is that of Donald Marshall. It is the story of the son of the Grand Chief of the Micmac Nation in Nova Scotia who was sent to prison for eleven years for a murder he did not commit. But there are several more examples of this, many which do not only relate to individuals but to the creation of laws.

Some of the individual cases may be found in the incredible statistics on incarcerated First Nations Citizens. "Aboriginal people constitute 10 [percent] of the overall prison population in Canada, and in some provinces more that 32 [percent] of

the prison population, while we make up only 2 [percent] of the overall population of the country" (ONWA, 1989:51). The Ontario Native Women's association claim that First Nations Citizens do not respect the police, which are most often "non-native" and the laws which have been imposed upon them. The members of their community who command the most respect are not the police officers but the "Elders and Spiritual leaders - our Grandmothers, our hereditary chiefs, our clanmothers" (ONWA, 1989:50). Statistics demonstrate that there is a change in the police force, and that members of the judicial system have recognized the importance of having native police officers on reserves. Out of the five communities in the James Bay area only Great Whale had non-native officers, and only Great Whale had more non-native officers than native. In Great Whale, native officers were out-numbered three to one. (See Table 13)

Table 13. JUSTICE

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
No. of Policemen					
Natives	1	1	2	2	4
Non-Natives	3	0	0	0	0
Police Station with two cells	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Judicial District of Abitibi	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes

*In 1984

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:42.

There are reasons why the First Nations' incarceration rate is so high, but first more examples of the composition of the inmate population across the country. "In Newfoundland and New Brunswick, the native incarceration rate is four to six times worse than the provincial average. In British Columbia and Alberta, natives represent 20 to 30 percent of the prison population, even though they represent just 5 percent of the total population" (York 1990:146). These numbers are bad and are growing worse: "within a few years, natives will represent 80 percent of the prison population in Saskatchewan" (York, 1990:146). In fact "there is a provincial correctional centre, where 75 percent of the inmates are native. And there is a women's jail, where 85 percent of the inmates are native" (York, 1990:146). Some of the reasons for the high level of imprisonment of First Nations Citizens have already been discussed. Some commit crimes in order to get arrested so that they can improve their living conditions. Many others are incarcerated for violent crimes which they committed while under the influence of alcohol or other narcotics. Others are simply arrested for failing to show up in court because they can not afford to pay their transportation, which often means a plane trip for the most isolated communities. Others go to jail because they can not pay the fines determined by the courts. "At one provincial jail in Manitoba, up to 60 percent of the native inmates in 1987 were serving jail terms because they were unable to pay fines" (York, 1990:145). Many have also been incarcerated due to problems which are imbedded in the society, the same problems which led to violence, suicide, and substance abuse. These are problems which can only be solved with human and economic development, with the co-operation of both internal and external institutions.

The laws concerning First Nations Citizens have also helped convince many that there are two justice systems in Canada. The Royal Proclamation written in 1763 "stipulated that Indians could cede title to their lands only to the Crown, Indians could not mortgage their reserve lands to obtain capital for economic projects" (Janigan, 1992:23). Many First Nations Citizens are outraged by the fact that the land they once occupied alone is now not theirs to do what they please with. Not only can they not choose where they will live, having had whites assign them to land, or mortgage the land under Section 29 of the *Indian Act*, but they can be moved at any time, again and again. "Under Section 35 of the *Indian Act*, the federal government has the authority to transfer land on an Indian reserve to a province or municipal government or to a corporation, without obtaining the consent of the Indians who live there" (York, 1990:58). There are numerous examples of First Nations bands who have been transferred several times in order to push the development of the dominant group. Each displacement brought on worse living conditions, more loss of culture and an increase in social problems.

There are many more laws which when enforced act as external forces slowing down the human and economic development of First Nations Citizens. The right to vote in federal elections, one of the most basic human rights, was not granted to First Nations Citizens until 1960. "New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island did not give Indians the franchise until 1963, and Alberta and Quebec refused to let Indians vote until 1965 and 1969, respectively" (York, 1990:59).

As with Sections 35 and 29, many other sections of the *Indian Act* restrained the development of First Nations Citizens. "Section 73 allows the federal government to pass regulations to limit hunting and fishing on the reserves, and Section 88 allows provincial governments to put reserves under the jurisdiction of provincial game conservation laws" (York, 1990:59). These Sections were merely continuing the tradition of the Beaver Conservations established back in the 1800s. The *Income Tax Act* and the *Indian Act* acted as external sources hampering the economic development of First Nations Citizens. Fields and Stanbury find that:

If Indians choose to undertake economic development of their reserves utilizing the form of a limited company, then they lose the benefit of exemption from taxation as individuals or as a band. Income earned by a corporation wholly owned by Indians is subject to taxation the same as any corporation - even if the income is derived solely from activities on a reserve.

(Frideres, 1988:371)

The *Income Tax Act* and the *Indian Act* seem to offer no leeway to the entrepreneurial spirit on reserves. Frideres summarizes the laws affecting First Nations Citizens as follows: "The combined effect of the paternalistic restrictions in the *Indian Act* has crippled the economies of most reserves. In 1981, a federal memorandum admitted that the government's policies had created dependent and alienated Indian societies which demonstrate many of the characteristics of underdeveloped nations of Africa, Asia, and Latin America" (York, 1990:59-60).

Another reason why many believe there are two justice systems in Canada is the fact that judges from the dominant group can overturn the *Bill of Human Rights*. One of the first cases to argue against the legislation using the *Bill of Rights* was "The Drybones Case". The lawyers in this case argued that Section 94(b) of the *Indian Act* violated the human rights of First Nations Citizens as stipulated by the *Bill of Rights*. This Section, "which expressed in plain and unequivocal words" that "an Indian who is intoxicated off a reserve is guilty of an offence" (Brecher, 1989:98). The lawyers argued that Section 94(b) of the *Indian Act* "clearly discriminated against a minority by making its members subject to an offence that applied to no other group" (Brecher, 1989:98). It had been determined in a previous case that the *Bill of Rights* could be used only when the legislation needed to be interpreted, and that Section 94(b) needed no interpretation, "the majority ruled that the *Bill of Human Rights* does grant to courts the power to invalidate federal legislation, even when it existed before the bill and was clearly drafted that it required no judicial interpretation" (Brecher, 1989:98-99). Section 94(b) would later be revised. Many believe that this case would give power to the *Bill of Human Rights* over all legislatures, thereby protecting the human rights of Canadians.

However, this euphoria was short lived. Shortly thereafter "the federal responsibility and power to govern aboriginal people again raised a serious human rights issue [...] forcing the SCC [Superior Court of Canada] into retreat" (Brecher, 1989:99). The case dealt with Section 12(1)(b) of the *Indian Act* which stated that any

Indian women who married a non-Indian would automatically lose her Indian status and so would her children. Lavell and Bedard argued that this Section violated the human rights of Ms. Lovelace who was discriminated against on the basis of sex. The Supreme Court of Canada argued that Section 12(1)(b) did not create inequality for women and went back to the previous ruling that "argued that the clarity of the legislation prohibited its being interpreted in any other way, and that the *Bill of Rights* could apply only when legislative provisions were sufficiently vague to require judicial interpretation" (Brecher, 1989:98). Some argued that the previous case did not involve "the internal regulation of lands reserved for Indians" as this case did (Brecher, 1989:98). "It is therefore, not difficult to view the judgement as a Court bias favouring administrative convenience for government authorities over the basic rights of individuals (Brecher, 1989:99).

The Canadian court had just ruled that Ms. Sandra Lovelace could not return to her reserve after having terminated her marriage to a non-Indian. Left with no other alternative she brought her case to the International Human Rights Committee. Ms. Lovelace's lawyers argued on the ground of Section 27 which "guarantees minorities the right, in community with other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language" (Brecher, 1989:104). The International Committee found that Canada was violating the human rights of Ms. Lovelace. Her lawyers were certain that Canada would change its legislation rapidly following the ruling from this international court, but this was not

the case. Ms. Lovelace "initiated her complaint in 1977, the Committee issued its report in 1981" (Brecher, 1989:104-105). She finally married an Indian man thereby returning her to Indian Status, and allowing her to return to the reserve. It was not until 1986 that the *Indian Act* was amended with Bill C-31, returning the birthright of women like Ms. Lovelace and their children.

Between 1957 and 1977, Section 12(1)(b) removed the Indian Status of 13,000 women and their children, now parents themselves (Frideres, 1988:146). Frideres explains who was included in the Bill-C31:

This included women who were deleted from the register upon marriage to a non-Indian (Sections 12(1)(b) and 14); individuals deleted at the age of majority because their mothers and paternal grandmothers were not Canadian Indian by birth (Sections 12(i)(a)(iv); individuals deleted due to husbands'/fathers' enfranchisement (Sections 10 and 109); and any illegitimate children of Indian women who were deleted from the register upon proof of non-Indian paternity (subsection 12(2)). (Frideres, 1988:146)

"Only the first generation of those listed above are eligible for registration" (Frideres, 1988:146). These people have until the year 2003 to reach maturity and apply. If these applicants have children at the time of reinstatement they can not pass on their status, however, once registered they can transmit their status to their children born after they were reinstated.

The *Indian Act* and other laws acted as external causes which inhibited the human and economic development of First Nations Citizens. The lack of control over their land has meant displacement and hardship for these people. The *Indian Act* which

removed the Indian Status for so many has meant an extensive loss of culture because they could not live in their communities. In 1986, "90 percent of all Bill C-31 registrants lived off-reserve" (INAC, *Health of Indian Women*, 1990:4).

When examining the internal political structures one can understand how the dominant countries still have a hold over the peripheral countries or regions. In present times, when most countries have become "independent" of their mother countries, the centre still controls the peripheral regions. They do this by controlling the political leaders. They hold, what Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky, call "demonstration elections". The centre creates "client states with puppet governments whose financial and military strings are pulled in Washington or London" (Allahar, 1989:92).

The "whites", acting as the centre in the case of Canada, have hampered the development of First Nations Citizens by controlling their political structures. In the late 1800s the Canadian government began "arbitrarily replacing traditional leaders with elected band councils" (Janigan, 1992:23). The centre removed the existing political structures which were already quite sophisticated. "For example, the Six Nations Confederacy of the Iroquois had a well-established system of chief selection as well as a set of procedures that were used to replace representatives from various nations in the confederacy" (Frideres, 1988:345). The centre attempted "to fix something which was not broken", but the fact is that to "whites" the system did look

dysfunctional. It was so much easier to standardize all the peripheral governments to one model, diminishing the task of dealing with different nations each with their own cultures. James Frideres describes the relationship of the *Indian Act* to the new political structures:

The government system now operating for most bands is that which is prescribed under the terms of the *Indian Act*. The *Indian Act* imposed a band council system of local government. Under these terms, Indians form a council of chief and council members, who are usually elected by the membership to carry out various administrative duties. The actual duties and responsibilities of the council are also specified in the *Indian Act*.

(Frideres, 1988:345).

The "whites" were seeking assimilation and civilization. They forced municipal-like political structures onto First Nations bands, creating a loss of culture and power. Their power is limited by Section 82 "which gives the Indian Affairs minister the authority to disallow bylaws passed by the council" (York, 1990:59). For example, the federal government intervened, in 1979, when the Membertou band in Sydney "passed a bylaw to enforce speed limits on the reserve" because the bylaw exceeded "the scope of the powers enumerated in Section 81 of the *Indian Act*" (York, 1990:59).

The centre solicited the help of Indian agents to enforce the *Indian Act*. Indian agents had the power to "prosecute Indians on the reserves and to preside over band council meetings until the late 1960s (York, 1990:60). They issued passes needed by First Nations Citizens to leave their allocated reserves and to sell their crops. They prohibited "spiritual ceremonies such as the potlach and Sun Dance" (York, 1990:60). The power of the Indian agents was transferred to the federal bureaucrats in the late

1960s. They are the ones controlling the money which reaches the reserves from the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, "thereby controlling the quality of life of the people who live" in the periphery (York, 1990:60). This money is spent on government transfer payments rather than on economic development, and since band councils have no say in the form of funding they receive, First Nations remain dependent on the centre.

Not only does the political structure directly influence economic development, but political and leadership organisation are also influenced by the lack of economic development. Boldt explains this intricate relationship as follows:

Most striking is the statistic relative to leaders who derive their influence from the economic sector. Not a single Indian leader could be classified as exercising his influence in the economic sector. This provides evidence of the degree to which Indians generally have been excluded from the Canadian economic sector and hence the power structure. (Frideres, 1988:370)

This lack of control over policy and economy are some of the external factors which contribute to the social problems which the First Nations face. The Ontario Native Women's Association claims that "the violent reaction in the family is a reaction against an entire system of domination, lack of respect and bureaucratic control" (ONWA, 1989:9).

Norman Chance states that the "political constraints impinging on the Cree Indians [of James Bay] are [...] damaging to their overall development" (Chance, 1970:13). The more isolated the reserves, the longer the traditional political structures remained.

But as early as the 1970s the traditional political leaders were becoming inadequate due to the increase in the "Indian-white relations". These were replaced "by those whose major sources of power reside in their ability to communicate with whites, and , not infrequently, their willingness to implement white directives" (Chance, 1970:13). But the fact remains that even the new leaders do not get to participate in the policy making process, they most often simply reinforce the policies which have already been set by the central governments.

The dominant group changed the political structures of the minorities in order to render them less effective and powerless. This external force has contributed to the position First Nations Citizens find themselves in today. But the laws and the political structures are not the only external forces, the educational system has been greatly responsible for the social problems of the First Nations.

The fact is that First Nations Citizens have a much lower level of education than "non-Indians". Statistics Canada defines people who are functionally illiterate as those having less than grade 9 education. According to this definition over 50 percent of the registered Indian population on-reserves in Quebec was functionally illiterate in 1986, while less than 24 percent of non-Indians had less than grade 9 education. Even for registered Indians residing off-reserves the tendencies were similar. In 1986, a little less than a quarter of this population was deemed functionally illiterate, while only 17 percent of the non-Indian population in Canada had less than a grade 9 education.

While over half of registered Indians living off-reserve were functionally illiterate, only 35 percent of the non-Indians living near reserves could be grouped into the same category. Some may point out that the rates are high for registered Indians simply because their population is so young, hence have not reached grade 9, however, these percentages are only composed of people who are 15 years of age or older. (See Table 14)

Table 14. PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED INDIAN POPULATION AND GENERAL POPULATIONS WITH LESS THAN GRADE 9 EDUCATION

Province	Percentage of Pop. with Less than Grade 9 Education				
	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	50.7%	28.4%	46.2%	23.8%	34.5%
Canada	44.7%	24.4%	37.2%	17.1%	25.8%

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Populations 15 years of age and over.

***For statistical purposes, less than grade 9 education is used as a proxy of functional illiteracy.

****General population: Total population 15 years of age and over less the registered Indians.

*****QASR, 1989:17.

On the other hand First Nations Citizens are as much as at a disadvantage when it comes to calculating the percentage of the population with at least a high school education. Less than 20 percent of registered Indians residing on-reserves were reported having at least a high school education in 1986, while over 56 percent of the non-Indians of Quebec claimed the same. The population residing near reserves both in Canada and Quebec were twice as likely to have obtained their high school diploma than were registered Indians living on-reserve in 1986. As usual, even registered

Indians living off-reserve were less likely to have high school graduates in their community than did non-Indians in Quebec and in Canada: 45 percent compared to 56 percent in Quebec, and 38 percent and 56 percent in Canada. (See Table 15).

Table 15. PERCENTAGE OF REGISTERED INDIAN POPULATION AND GENERAL POPULATIONS WITH AT LEAST HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

Province	Percentage of Pop. with at Least High School Education				
	Registered Indian Pop.			General Pop.	Pop. Near Res.
	On Res.	Off Res.	Total		
Quebec	19.7%	45.3%	24.9%	56.4%	39.7%
Canada	21.7%	37.5%	27.6%	55.8%	41.9%

*INAC customized data based on 1986 Census of Canada.

**Populations 15 years of age and over.

***General population: Total population 15 years of age and over less registered Indians.

****QASR, 1986:19.

Many circumstances help to explain this low education rate and high rates of high school drop-outs. Many can be attributed to the fact that First Nations Citizens are a minority and like all minority groups their level of education is much lower. Many argue that this is caused by biased institutions which have low expectancy rates for these children. They are expected to graduate from high school if they apply themselves, while children belonging to the dominant group are expected to continue towards a post-secondary education. However there are circumstances which are particular to First Nations children, the first being Indians status, and the second being the residential schools. Those wishing a post-secondary education were strongly advised to give up their Indian status. This occurred at the same time that a Bill amending the *Indian Act* was passed stating that Indian children had to go to school,

that is, it was no longer a voluntary act. "Duncan Campbell Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, summarized the intent of the amendments:

Our object is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic, and there is no Indian question, and no Indian department, and that is the whole object of this Bill.

(York, 1990:23).

"Indian residential schools, founded and operated by Protestant and Catholic missionaries, were the dominant institution in Indian communities across Canada from the late nineteenth century until the 1960s" (York, 1990:22). First Nations Citizens in western Canada were forced to send their children to "schools run by missionaries" as early as 1894. Until 1945 First Nations children were taken from their communities and educated in residential schools far away from their families. It was not until this date that children were allowed to "travel off the reserve to receive an education" (Frideres, 1988:174). At this time the legislation forcing children to attend schools was much stronger for First Nations students than for children of the dominant group.

Many people argue that this was in fact cultural genocide. These children were taken away from their communities and families, often by force, and placed in isolated residential schools. These schools were more often than not administrated by a practising religious group. This meant that the students were forced to practice a religion which was not their own. They were forbidden to speak "Indian" or to practice any small ceremonial gestures. The horror stories of child abuse and sexual assault in

these residential schools are still rearing their ugly heads. These children were in fact caught between two cultures: "whites" tried to assimilate them into a society which was not ready to receive them, while taking away all the skills necessary to function in their own society. The students never had the informal education which they require to learn the Indian language, "religion", hunting and gathering. There are two entire generations which have been lost. But this effects more than two generations; it has also effected their children and grandchildren. The children of these lost generations were victims of abuse because of the residential schools. Their parents became abusers and abused them. Their parents had lost much of their culture, therefore the little informal education they could receive did not come from their broken homes but from their grandparents. Residential schools began vanishing in the 1960s. The loss of culture which occurred in those decades is in fact enormous. At least four generations of First Nations Citizens went through this educational system. The effects of residential schools was so severe that the term "residential-school syndrome" was coined by psychologists. "They compare it to the grief cycle that a person undergoes after the loss of a close relative. But instead of losing a parent or a spouse, the Indians have lost a culture. Something they were born with, a part of their soul, was wiped out by the missionaries and the teachers" (York, 1990:37).

Minority groups are often deprived of their basic human rights. One of these basic rights is education. When the educational system is poor it becomes harmful to the minority group. Education is a very powerful tool which can be used by the dominant

group to control the minority. When the program is not administered fairly it widens the gap between the minority and the dominant groups. Douglas Ray and Vincent D'Oyley stress these points:

Education was seen as a right, with many references to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Paradoxically, it was also recognized that many systems of education have further advantaged the comparatively well educated but neglected the needs of those less educated; thereby deepening the social, economic, and political rifts of society.
(Ray and al., 1983:5)

The point being that it is not enough for the Canadian government to say it is funding some schools and hence have fulfilled its obligations. The schools must provide a good education, that is, one which is not as harmful as the one offered by the residential schools in the past. Many believe that it is to the advantage of the Canadian government to provide a harmful educational system to First Nations Citizens, one which will eliminate their culture, create dependence and furthermore will not produce leaders capable of interacting with the external political structures.

In Canada the schools are beneficial if they are socializing the students well by teaching them to be self-sufficient and functional in the dominant cultural system. It is important to be able to survive in this system because it is the only place where individuals are allowed to be self-sufficient. The formal educational system is harmful when it takes away the identity of children by weakening the knowledge of their past and culture. These pupils then are no longer stable and productive in either cultural system because they need those ties, which provide them with a sense of personal identity.

The concepts of education seen as "propaganda" and "teaching knowledge" are not opposites. They are more one in the same than opposites. This is because what would be a beneficial education for one individual could be very harmful for the very next individual. The educational system will prove to be beneficial for the individual who is a member of the dominant cultural system. Therefore, the argument which many provide, stating it is native children and not the educational system which is wrong since they are offering the same service to non-Indians and First Nations students, is invalid.

Schools for First Nations children are harmful because they are not integrating these children into the dominant cultural system. Schools that native children attend are not tools helping them to be "functional". Worse, they are alienating First Nations students from their own culture. The education system alienates the students in the following ways. The children are put in residential schools away from their families and "informal education". Here they are forbidden to speak their native language and observe their native rituals. The students are often bussed to school, where they spend 4 hours a day on a bus, which prevents them from participating in extra-curricular activities. And they are almost always taught by "white" teachers who know little of their heritage: they are not taught subjects objectively. Again, these children are taught a different religion, in a different language, subjected to a different set of expectations. This harm is not felt by the student who is a member of the dominant group because it is his/her language, religion, and set of expectations.

This section will demonstrate, by using one particular band, how harmful the present educational system is for native children. The harm arises when the teachers of these First Nations students are "white" and know nothing of the myths which their pupils have been taught to live by in their informal education. These few pages contain a descriptive analysis of two methods of socialization employed by the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia. These children are educated to understand the important connotations of the menstrual cycle, and regurgitation, myths which teachers know nothing about.

There are many taboos affecting the Kwakiutl woman when she is menstruating. Franz Boaz lists them as follows: she can not go near sick men or newborn children for she will only make them weaker. She can not eat fresh fish, nor can she hunt or fish, not even walk near a river or ocean otherwise the fish will stop flowing. This, they say, is because the animals are repelled by the menstrual blood. She is allowed to pick berries and dig roots. A young girl who is menstruating for the first time is segregated from men, and goes through a purifying process. She symbolizes the wounded who could bleed to death and when recovering becomes a "life giver" (Boaz, *Kwakiutl Ethnography*, "1966":135-140).

These myths which the Kwakiutl believe in are functional for their way of life. These taboos would not make sense to the "white European", but, for a band which survives on hunting and gathering, they do. For example, perhaps these taboos

forbidding women to hunt and fish were instilled a long time ago to create a natural form of division of labour. The point being that these taboos are logical and operational in the Kwakiutl society.

When stopping to observe these "rules" for the menstruating woman one can easily recognize that the concepts taught to "white" society are very different from those taught to the Kwakiutl. Therefore, how could a "white" teacher who has not been socialized in the same manner deal with a young girl menstruating for the first time? Or, what consequences would arise from a "white" teacher taking his/her class by a river for a session on nature? And, how would a "white" teacher conduct a class on sex education?

The Kwakiutl are educated to believe that vomiting is a form of recycling, and a bridge between one world and another. It plays an important part in their ceremonies. For example, the Hamatsa (Cannibal which also carries the same name as the ceremony), regurgitates all of the flesh which he has eaten because he has been given the power to transform the human flesh into a "creative" substance. For the Kwakiutl the inner being is the connection of two worlds. This explains why everything which is swallowed changes form, and emerges either as feces or vomit. The act of vomiting is thus "structurally equivalent to the act of bridging the gaps between the parts of the universe" (Walens, 1981:62). The act of vomiting is a "homology of death, a magical act, a religious, transcendental, creative act, not merely a physical act" (Walens,

1981:62).

Again, these myths which the Kwakiutl believe in are functional for their way of life. These myths about regurgitation are important to a hunting and gathering band. They associate vomiting with the animals, they observe that the wolves and owls do it as well. Perhaps the myths of vomiting are closely associated with their respect for nature, thus maybe a natural system which prevents them from "over-using" their environment. Once more, these myths would have no place in a "white European" circle, but, they are important to the Kwakiutl.

The Kwakiutl children are socialized in a formal environment. In their schools, they are taught by a "white" teacher. This person is more often than not unfamiliar with all of the particular Nation's myths (Parnell, 1976:38-40). The education could be labelled as a bad form of socialization, because often the teaching staff believes that their convictions are the correct ones and try to persuade its student population that their beliefs are wrong (Parnell, 1976:38-40).

Furthermore the formal and informal educational systems often clash, adding to the confusion of the pupils. Rohner describes an interesting anecdote which relates to informal education. A woman sees children fighting and crying over a tricycle. She acts according to the following belief: "Gertie rewarded the actions of the aggressor-owner. As far as Gertie is concerned, the owner of the tricycle has the right to play

with it and he is not expected to share his toys" (Rohner, 1971:128). But when these children enter the formal educational system they are punished for not sharing their toys with other students. This is only one example of the conflict which exists between the formal and informal education for the Kwakiutl. Rohner does elaborate on these inherent contradictions:

The fact that the life of the children is structured to a very limited extent within the village constitutes another basic discontinuity between the social and cultural background of the children and the expectations of the school. Whereas parents are permissive toward the behaviour of their children, school life is authoritarian and formal. This conflicting situation often imposes as much hardship on the teacher as on the pupils.
(Rohner, 1971:129)

There is more than one example of First Nations culture coming into conflict with the formal educational system. Cree children are taught not to make eye contact and that silence is a sign of thoughtfulness and reflection. But "white" teachers demand that students speak up and look them in the eye when they do so. "The children are taught one thing at home, and when they go to school they're taught that it's wrong, Lillian Potts [a councillor and former chief of the Montana band at Hobbema] says. It's a culture shock. The ones who succeed are those who are more adaptable to the dominant society" (York, 1990:51).

The educational system of the natives is a propaganda system for the dominant group because all cultural aspects of the formal education system belong to the dominant group. This in turn denies the cultures of the minority groups and traps

them between two cultural systems. This makes the members of minority groups incapable of producing and of breaking the cycle of poverty. The inadequacy in the members of the minority groups created by the "European" education system, benefits the members of the dominant group. This is why harmful education is often referred to as a propaganda system.

These were in fact extreme examples, nevertheless, the authorities have recognised the need to have First Nations teachers teach First Nations students. The statistics from the year 1982-1983 demonstrate the fulfilment of this need. However, non-native teachers outnumber the Cree on-staff teachers by more than 2 to 1 in Mistassini. The trend is changing but it is taking a long time because there are not enough First Nations Citizens who have completed their post-secondary education, thus enabling them to receive their teaching certificate.

Furthermore, the importance of replacing residential schools by schools in the First Nations communities has been recognised however not all communities have their own schools. Of the five communities surveyed in the James Bay area only one did not have one French and one English elementary school. As of 1982-1983 Great Whale had only an English elementary school. Of the five communities only Mistassini and Great Whale did not have French high schools. Even though all five communities had English secondary schools, not one offered the senior years, secondary 4 and 5. Great Whale offered only secondary 1 in English while Rupert House offered secondary 1

to 3. The other three communities offered only secondary 1 and 2. (See Table 16) Therefore, the problem has not been resolved. Students wishing to complete their high school in English must face long bus rides to the nearest community. But which came first, the high drop-out rates or the lack of availability of senior years? "There is a disastrously high dropout rate among the Hobbema children - beginning as early as Grade 4. By the senior years of high school, the dropout rate is 90 percent" (York, 1990:51).

Even today the educational system is not what it should be for First Nations children. They are still caught between two ideologies, one which pushes them into a system which is unwilling to accept them and the other into a way of life for which they have no training. Ten months in a classroom does not prepare children for ten months on the traplines. Therefore, the external factor of education is making the Cree of James Bay and other First Nations Citizens dependent on the centre, rendering them unable to support themselves in the city or in the bush.

Table 16. EDUCATION

	Great Whale	Eastmain	Rupert House	Waswanipi	Mistassini
School					
Elementary - Eng.	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
Elementary - French	no	yes	yes	yes	yes
School					
Secondary - French	no	yes	yes	yes	no
Secondary - English	(1)	(1,2)	(1,2,3)	(1,2)	(1,2)
Teachers On-Staff					
On-Staff - Crees	5	6	12	5	10
On-Staff - Non-Nat.	8	7	18	12	24
Teachers Supply					
On-Staff - Crees	5	11	11	22	24
On-Staff - Non-Nat.	1	1	2	2	3
Pupils Enrolled					
Kindergarten	17	15	57	40	91
Elementary	95	73	247	156	386
Secondary	28	18	75	19	49
Total	140	106	379	215	526
On Staff Teachers per Pupils	10.8	8.2	12.6	12.6	15.5

*In 1982-1983

**Denis Beaulieu, 1984:40.

In conclusion the first section of this chapter demonstrated that First Nations Citizens are in fact dependent on the centre. Their income is much less than "non-Indians", and their employment rates are also much lower. Many are dependent on government transfer cheques which provide their major source of income. They are so limited in their economic power that they can not even provide housing which is not crowded and equipped with a central heating system. The statistics demonstrate that it was not just the isolation factor which influenced these indicators, since "non-Indians"

residing near reserves had a higher income, higher employment rate and better housing conditions. The same tendency was noticed for First Nations Citizens living off-reserve and among the general "non-native" population.

The second section of the chapter determined that violence, suicide, health and substance abuse are directly influenced by income, housing and employment of First Nations. Statistics demonstrated every time that the levels of violence, suicide, health problems and substance abuse are much higher for First Nations Citizens. The James Bay Cree and other bands were said to be underdeveloped rather than undeveloped because the human and economic development did not exist, therefore, explaining their dependence on the centre. If these social problems were not solely caused by the indicators discussed in the section above, then there must be something else influencing these conditions.

The final section of this chapter then made the distinction between external and internal factors which influenced the conditions of First Nations Citizens. It was made clear that both the internal and the external factors influenced the indicators listed above. However, it was stated early on that the internal factors would not be discussed because of the sensitivity of the subject. Three main points were discussed: the laws, the political and the educational influence of the dominant culture over human and economic development of First Nations Citizens. The dominant group in this country was found guilty of using many different tactics to assimilate First Nations Citizens,

with the intention that one day "Native" issues would disappear. Each attempt did not make these issues go away but rather created dependents on the welfare state. Although open racism by the general public was not discussed, it is an important factor which should not be forgotten, since it is often the general public which employs and teaches First Nations Citizens, hence they suffer very much from the racism expressed by both the general public and by the institutions. The laws of this country prevent First Nations Citizens from developing economically. The laws take their Indian status away from native people. The political institutions take their political powers away from them. And finally the educational system literally crippled generations of First Nations people, rendering them incapable of functioning in either society, and severely damaging the transmission of their culture.

Instead of eliminating the "Indian" issue, the political institutions gave the "native" movement a new push. "The modern native movement emerged in 1969, when the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau unveiled proposals to abrogate the treaties, repeal the *Indian Act* and transfer responsibility for Indian programs to the provinces" (Janigan, 1992:23). Many have wondered what exactly First Nations people want? If we take the last issue of schools, Thomas Berger states that they want their children to study mathematics, natural sciences and the other subjects needed for them to be able to function in the dominant society, but they want their children to be able to attend schools where they will not only learn to understand the dominant group but where they will also learn to know themselves (Berger, 1985:258). And what do First

Nations Citizens want in general? Thomas Berger states that they want to be integrated as a group, rather than individually, into the political, economic, social and cultural institutions. They do not want to be assimilated, but simply integrated into the dominant society (Berger, 1985:63). The demands and desires of First Nations people will be discussed in the conclusion of this research which will examine the solutions to being marginal, underdeveloped, and being in large part controlled by external forces.

The next chapter, "The Centre Exploiting the Hinterland", will return to concentrating on the James Bay Cree. By using the example of one project, a global view of the domination by the centre will be provided. The James Bay Project is the perfect example of how external forces prevent human and economic development.

Chapter 4

The Centre Exploiting the Hinterland: The James Bay Hydroelectric Project

The James Bay Project is a great example of how a centre can dominate a periphery. In this case, the centre has not only dominated the environment of the Cree, but also their lives. Many of the social problems crippling the Cree, discussed in chapter 3 of this research, can be directly linked to the James Bay Project. This chapter will examine the emergence of the Project, the battles fought, and the outcome of James Bay. The information is divided into two sections, each containing four subsections. The first section, entitled *Battles Fought and Lost*, will begin with a physical description of the Project, followed by a look at the political motivation of the centre, the opposition which the Project met, and finally the signing of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. The second section of this chapter, *Damage Done*, will begin with a look at the environmental damages, the displacement of towns, the social problems of the Cree, and finally the broken promises of the Quebec government.

Sean McCutcheon is the author which is most often cited in this final chapter. The reasons are that McCutcheon's book *Electric Rivers The Story of the James Bay Project* is more technical than the other sources consulted. His book is more neutral than other sources, leading me to believe that the data is more impartial. McCutcheon's book also covered all political actions of the provincial and federal governments surrounding the James Bay Project, something which other sources lacked.

Many of the James Bay Cree call the area they live in a garden. Job Bearskin, a Cree hunter, speaks fondly of this land: "this whole place is like a garden, because many things grow here, and the Indians are one of the things that grow here." (Richardson, 1991:151). Bearskin speaks of the great balance between his people and the animals, and the fact that sharing the gifts of nature has always been at the centre of their ways. This chapter will examine what happened to "Job's Garden", the balance between man and animal, and to the sharing.

Battles Fought and Lost

The James Bay Project is a hydroelectric development of gigantic magnitude. It is located in northern Quebec and produces electricity by damming the rivers which flow into James Bay (See Table 2 - Annexes). In fact, "the James Bay project, the most expensive energy project in the history of North America, calls for the diversion or

alteration of 20 northern rivers though the construction of 36 dams and more than 1,000 dikes" (Dwyer, 1992:29-30). The area of land is difficult to visualise. This is why many describe the area in terms of other countries or areas with which they are familiar. For example, Augusta Dwyer states that "when and if completed, after the year 2000, the project will have flooded 23,000 square kilometres of land, irrevocably damaged a wilderness approximately the size of Newfoundland island and Labrador combined [...]" (Dwyer, 1992:30).

The James Bay development is made up of three projects, the first project, La Grande, was divided into two phases. La Grande Phase I was completed in 1985. It "dammed five rivers and diverted them into the La Grande River [...]" (Dwyer, 1992:32). La Grande "from its headwaters in the highland of the Quebec-Labrador Peninsula, [...] flows some 800 kilometres westward, down to James Bay" (McCutcheon, 1991:2). However, La Grande is no longer a river but a series of reservoirs and hydroelectric installations. La Grande-2 dam, better known as LG-2, "is as high as a 50-story building" (McCutcheon, 1991:2). The reservoir at LG-2 took well over a year to fill. Thirteen years after the construction of La Grande Phase I, "more than 10,000 square kilometres of natural waterways and land have been flooded" (McCutcheon, 1991:3). There are approximately 206 dykes and 9 dams which make up the La Grande Phase I, whose 3 powerhouses generate 10,282 megawatts (Dwyer, 1992:52).

Construction on La Grande Phase II began in 1986. Its estimated time of completion is 1996. The main river involved in this phase is the Eastmain. Upon completion there will be approximately 125 dykes and 6 dams. The 4 existing powerhouses and the 2 future ones will create an output of 4,509 megawatts (Dwyer, 1992:32).

The second project is the Great Whale. It involves the Great Whale River, just north of La Grande. Its scheduled start date was 1992, and contractors estimate it to be completed in the year 2000. This complex "involves the diversion and development of the last of the wild rivers flowing into James Bay and southern Hudson Bay and is the centre of the current controversy" (Dwyer, 1992:32). The 3 powerhouses are expected to generate 3,060 megawatts of power. These powerhouses would be supported by approximately 133 dykes and 5 dams (Dwyer, 1992:32).

"The third and final stage, the Nottaway-Broadback-Rupert (NBR) Project, would see work of a similarly lofty scale in the drainage basin of three great rivers flowing into the foot of James Bay" (Dwyer, 1992:32). Construction is scheduled to commence in 1995 with no completion date having been estimated. There are approximately 579 dykes and 16 dams which are scheduled for construction. The minimum of 11 powerhouses would generate 9,100 megawatts of power upon completion (Dwyer, 1992:32).

Augusta Dwyer states that once complete, the entire James Bay Project will have "pepper[ed] about 350,000 square kilometres of wilderness - a little more than 20 percent of Canada's largest province - with roads, airports, dams, dykes, reservoirs, powerhouses, and transmission towers" (Dwyer, 1992:32). Furthermore, "the entire James Bay project will generate, at peak output some 27,000 megawatts of power, equivalent to the output of 35 or more nuclear power plants. Hydro-Quebec, which now generates a quarter of all the hydroelectricity in North America, will have increased that fraction to two-thirds" (McCutcheon, 1991:4).

But how do the reservoirs, powerhouses, dams and dykes work? Electricity is created when the fast flow of water makes the turbines in the powerhouses turn. The stronger the flow of the water, the more power created, therefore, powerhouses are often built downstream from waterfalls or where the river drops. At this point dams will be built to further increase the height from which the water will fall, hence increasing the force of the water. Each powerhouse is equipped with valves which allow for spillwaters, to prevent the dams from being destroyed by the overflow of the reservoir. "Dams and Dikes differ only in function. A dam plugs a river in a massive manifestation of human domination of nature. A dike limits the spread of water raised by a dam" (McCutcheon, 1991:65). The reservoirs are then formed behind the dams, since the dams "plugs a river", the water will spread. The reservoirs are always upstream from the powerhouses, they are there to increase the fall of the water, but they are also constructed upstream to divert rivers and create water supplies which

help regulate the production of electricity in time of high demand. Some reservoirs are so large that they can actually accumulate water from one wet year to be used in a dry year.

One way of explaining the size of the James Bay Project is to look at the costs. In this case it was determined, that ultimately, bigger was cheaper. However, as many Crees have mentioned, the cost of the land was not taken into account. This land was viewed as free, therefore only the costs of the installations and infrastructures are included in the price tag of several billion dollars.

Once the government decided on the construction of La Grande Phase I, it began to build a road to the work site. They went far north to La Grande because the river beds of the rivers in the south could not support the dikes. Therefore, in June of 1971, the bulldozers moved at a rate of more than one kilometre a day. They began at Matagami the most northern point where the road system stopped. They simply tore down the trees and levelled the land, creating a crude road with compact snow as a surface, with the frozen ice acting as bridges. "When the road reached the La Grande-2 site in 1973, trucks began rolling north with bulldozers, fuel, food, and building supplies" (McCutcheon, 1991:70). By 1977 the north-south road was paved and there was an "east-west axis, a gravel road which reached the Caniapiscau work site, 725 kilometres to the east[...]" (McCutcheon, 1991:73).

The complex was indeed the "largest construction site in the world: 1,000 kilometres from east to west, 200 kilometres from the north to the south" (McCutcheon, 1991:73). "At the peak of construction, in 1978 and 1979, there were some 20,000 people on the James Bay work sites, and more than 2,000 to the south, building power lines (McCutcheon, 1991:76). All the installations were built to accommodate this large work force. There were sports facilities, cinemas, banks, and bars. Once the project was completed, construction crews left behind them "some 1,600 kilometres of roads, five airports, thousands of kilometres of high-voltage power lines, and hundred of millions of cubic meters of dirt, piled into synthetic mountains, the collective product of politicians' schemes, engineers' calculations, and labourers' sweat" (McCutcheon, 1991:78). There are few power lines belonging to Hydro-Quebec, but since the total length of these lines is so long "Hydro-Quebec's high-voltage transmission network exceeds that of any other utility in the world. The cost of this first phase of La Grande is located between 16 and 20 billion dollars. The estimate of at the beginning of the project was 6 billion dollars. This price tag does include the thousands of kilometres of high voltage line, however, the price of the land is not included.

The James Bay Project has been described from the first to its final stages. Listing the numbers of square kilometres of roads, powerlines and flooded land gives one a sense of the enormity of the project. But the purpose of this exercise is to demonstrate the dominance of the centre on the periphery. The centre has the power to create this much change and destruction on the Cree. The following section will

discuss the political attitudes of the Quebec government which developed this grandiose plan.

Robin Philpot put forth the argument that the underlying conflict is between the French and the English rather than the Cree and the Quebec government. These are in fact two nations who are fighting for more control over their destiny. These are two nations which were meant to be assimilated, but who resisted, to the great chagrin of the federal government. It has been a sore point, because the Cree who encountered the English first, speak English rather than French. The Quebec government was insulted when the Cree fought them on Bills 178 and 101, which determine the language which Quebec residents are to use in school and at work. Both the James Bay Development Corporation and the James Bay Energy Corporation were represented by French speaking lawyers; on the other hand the lawyers and specialists representing the James Bay Cree in court were English. Perhaps more important, the Cree were traditionally backed by the largest of the English powers, the federal government. One can not reduce this conflict to a simple ongoing fight between the French and the English; the idea of centre and periphery is also very present in this battle.

Sean McCutcheon put forth the argument, in his book *Electric Rivers*, that the Hydro-Quebec's Hydroelectric Project was created in response to the domination by English Canada. In the 1930s Quebec realised that it was one of the only places in the

world where the electricity was privately owned. Once politicians examined the names of the owners and management of these companies they realised that they were all Englishmen. Therefore, two stages of nationalisation were introduced by the Quebec government, "in April 1944 it bought, for a handsome sum, Montreal light, Heat and Power Consolidated and its power-generating subsidiaries, and gave them to a new, publicly-owned utility known as Hydro-Quebec" (McCutcheon, 1991:16). The second stage of nationalisation took place during the Quiet Revolution. Rene Levesque had been elected in the 1962 election which he turned "into a virtual referendum on his proposal to nationalize the remaining private electric utilities in Quebec. He won" (McCutcheon, 1991:17). He borrowed 600 million dollars to buy the remaining privately owned electric companies (McCutcheon, 1991:17).

In 1970 Robert Bourassa was elected as premier of Quebec. At this point his ideas on James Bay were already quite clear. In his mind Quebec did not want independence but simply to be strong. He believed the way to achieve more autonomy was through economic means. "If we want to be a proud, strong people", Bourassa said, "it's not with independence we will achieve that goal, it's with economic strength. Where Quebec could increase its economic strength? it's with its natural resources, which are almost illimitable. Where we could have those resources? It was in the North" (McCutcheon, 1991:30). It is not surprising that the leader of the centre would declare the exploitation of the periphery as a means to gain economic strength.

The October Crisis began October 5, 1970, when James Cross was kidnapped by the Front de Libération du Québec (FLQ). Five days later Pierre Laporte was kidnapped. And by October 16, Bourassa asked Pierre Trudeau, the Prime Minister of Canada, to "invoke the War Measures Act, a law by which the federal government could assume sweeping and repressive power in order to put down insurrection" (McCutcheon, 1991:32). But after these events, according to Sean McCutcheon, Bourassa looked like a weakling turning to the federal government for help. Bourassa needed something to regain his popularity, therefore, a few months later, on April 30, 1971 he launched the James Bay Project.

The James Bay Development Corporation and the James Bay Energy Corporation were created by Bourassa in July 1971. These government owned and controlled corporations were created to bypass any opposition from Hydro-Quebec. "Hydro-Quebec, however, was not so easily circumvented. It took over the Energy Corporation, and thus became master of the James Bay project which, it had now decided, should be built" (McCutcheon, 1991:34-35).

Hydro-Quebec was over generous when creating estimates of the growth of demand in electricity in the decades to come. However, the people in charge of borrowing the estimated 6 billions dollars for La Grande were not as generous. They met with politicians and finally agreed to an estimate which was still higher than that of other utilities with similar growth markets. New York state lent an initial 600 million dollars

to Hydro-Quebec, the rest has been borrowed on Wall Street. All loans to Hydro-Quebec are guaranteed by the provincial government.

In 1983, Hydro-Quebec reported having a surplus of energy which they could not sell, therefore, they postponed La Grande Phase II until they had increased their sales.

Within the next three years, they signed contracts with at least four utility companies in New England. The United States signed with Hydro-Quebec because it was the cheapest seller: the cost was equivalent to just "80 percent of the cost of the electricity generated at oil or coal-fired plants in the United States" (McCutcheon, 1991:84). But something began to happen to Hydro-Quebec. At first they exported electricity because they had a surplus, but now they wanted to create surpluses in order to export. Hydro-Quebec is selling its electricity to the Green Mountain Power Corporation, "a member of the Vermont Joint Owners Consortium, reported it was buying power from Quebec for 30 percent below its next-cheapest supply alternative" (McCutcheon, 1991:142). And yet Hydro-Quebec will borrow more money to pay for phase II of James Bay than any other company in Canada. Even though Hydro-Quebec produces power to export rather than to supply the energy needs of its population, creditors continue to lend money to Hydro-Quebec because its revenue of 6 billion dollars last year was enough to cover the overhead and the interest on its loans.

Quebec's philosophy throughout this debate has been to meet the needs of the majority regardless of the harm done to the minority. They have used the following argument as a means to justify the environmental damages, Bourassa states: "You don't have to be a Nobel prize winner to know that a hydro plant protects the environment better than a coal-fired or a nuclear plant. To be convinced of that, you just have to go to Three Mile Island or Chernobyl" (McCutcheon, 1991:147). Meanwhile, the federal government has refused to get involved when the only thing at stake is the James Bay environment and, the mental and physical health of the Cree. "Ottawa wants to avoid antagonizing Quebec, with which it is engaged in yet another round of negotiations as to how powers should be divided within Canada, and nothing would antagonize Quebec more than a confrontation over hydro-electric projects, the symbol and seat of economic power in the province" (McCutcheon, 1991:181).

As the instigator of the James Bay Project has said, the needs of the majority are more important. As it happens, the majority are in the centre not the periphery. One can not state that the conflict is simply between the French and the English on this issue, it is between two nations fighting for control, and between the centre and the periphery as well. As many First Nations Citizens have said, the only way to hurt a white man is through his wallet.

What were the Cree doing while the politicians were determining their fate? They were fighting a losing battle. It all began with newspaper articles published in the "south". Bourassa had just declared that "We must conquer the North" (McCutcheon, 1991:42). Crees learned through the one-day-old newspapers of Bourassa's plan to construct the James Bay Project. They were never consulted even though it would be their traplines which were going to be flooded. Phillip Awashish, "one of the first generation Cree to have completed secondary school", had a meeting in his home on June 1971, shortly after Bourassa launched the James Bay Project (McCutcheon, 1991:42). This meeting reunited, for the first time, representatives of the eight Cree communities of the region. Since they had no political structures of their own they united under the Indians of Quebec Association. After their meeting, the Crees drafted a resolution: "We, the representatives of the Cree bands that will be affected by the James Bay hydro project or any other project, oppose to these projects [sic] because we believe that only the beavers had the right to build dams in our territory..." (Mc Cutcheon, 1991:43).

It was also at this time that Trudeau was taking steps to shift the responsibility for First Nations Citizens to the provinces. Not wanting to get involved, the federal government simply gave the Indians of Quebec Association half a million dollars to fight the James Bay Project. Both Phillip Awashich and Billy Diamond, chief of Waskaganish, the village at the mouth of the Rupert River, began hiring experts, mainly recruited from McGill University. The Crees took the case to court not

because they were rejecting progress but because they wanted some control over the land on which they were dependent. James O'Reilly, one of the legal advisors of the Cree and Inuit, suggested that they petition the Supreme Court of Canada to stop construction at the James Bay site until further research was done, because the work was irreversible.

In November 1972 the hearings began with Judge Albert Malouf presiding. The case made by Hydro-Quebec, the James Bay Development Corporation, and the Energy Corporation did not begin until March 1973. The defence argued that the Cree were dependent on store-bought food, unemployment, government transfers, and welfare; therefore, had already given up their traditional way of life. In this argument Hydro-Quebec is actually confirming the fact that when the periphery depends on the centre it destroys the culture. They also stated that "halting the construction would inconvenience all the people of Quebec, who would need more electricity; since there were far more Quebecers than Natives, the interests of the majority should prevail over those of the minority" (McCutcheon, 1991:52). The defence claimed that the Cree had already given up their traditional way of life when they purchased "skidoos, and houses with electricity, refrigerators, radios, beds, dishes, and even telephones" (Richardson, 1991:313). An anthropologist for the defence told the court that a shock to a culture was always good since a culture should never be stagnant. The defence told the court that the average income of Fort George Crees was of \$10,167 during the previous year. Many accepted these figures which included all funding given by the

federal and provincial governments for infrastructures, for example, roads and municipal buildings. Experts for the defence claimed that only 1.85 percent of the James Bay area was to be flooded and that this flooding was in fact good for the land. According to Mr. Justice Turgeon, "there is no proof that the management of the James Bay territory will not render the ecological modifications beneficial as a whole" (Richardson, 1991:316).

On November 15, 1973, Justice Malouf rendered his verdict in favour of the Cree and Inuit. He ordered Hydro-Quebec, James Bay Development Corporation, the James Bay Energy Corporation and twenty-two independent contractors:

(a) to immediately cease, desist and refrain from carrying out works, operations, and projects in the territory described in the schedule of Bill 50, including the building of roads, dams, dykes, bridges and connected works.

(b) to cease, desist and refrain from interfering in any way with petitioners' rights, from trespassing in the said territory and from causing damage to the environment and the natural resources of the said territory.

(Richardson, 1991:296)

After his five months of deliberation, Justice Malouf recognized the fact that the Cree and the Inuit were in fact dependent on the land. Furthermore, that the condition of the land had direct effects on Cree and Inuit living conditions and culture. Despite the ruling, the James Bay Project continued to evolve under a sealed area. All helicopter pilots wanting to bring any media personnel into the sealed area, were threatened with having their licenses revoked. "The day after the Malouf judgement,

the corporation entered two appeals to the Quebec Court of Appeals. One was against the merits of the Malouf judgement, and one was an application that the effect of the Malouf judgement should be suspended pending hearing, at a later date, of the appeal" (Richardson, 1991:300). Exactly a week after Malouf's ruling the Quebec Court of Appeals overturned a decision which had taken seventy-eight days of hearings and five months of deliberation to reach. When it came time for the Crees and Inuit to appeal the latest decision by the Quebec Court of Appeals, they had to wait eight months as opposed to a week. Meanwhile, the construction of the James Bay Project continued.

Bourassa was anxious to settle out of court since the investors were worried about a possible impasse. The Premier made an offer of "among other things, payment of \$100-million" dollars (McCutcheon, 1991:55). The Cree families, having been flown out of the bush, voted "no" to the proposal in March 1974. "The Indian lands are not for sale, not for millions and millions of dollars," said Billy Diamond (McCutcheon, 1991:55). Meanwhile the Indians of Quebec Association was replaced by the Grand Council of the Cree (of Quebec), with Billy Diamond as the Grand Chief, and the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, with Charlie Watts as a leader and founder. While the negotiations were continuing between these associations and the provincial government, so was the construction of the hydroelectric project. The Cree and Inuit felt that the more the work progressed and the money poured into the Project, the fewer their chances to stop the James Bay Project from becoming a reality. They

decided to settle out of court, but only after Mr. Chrétien threatened to cut all funds to the Cree and Inuit if they did not settle, funds which were earmarked to appeal their land claims. Their demands were the following:

The Crees wanted, above all, to preserve their traditional life style. [...] and so they were bargaining for land to be set aside on which only Crees could hunt, trap, and fish. As well, they wanted as much autonomy as they could get. For instance, they wanted to take over the administration of the hospitals, schools, and other institutions serving their communities from distant, paternalistic, non-native bureaucrats. They wanted procedures to protect the environment, and a say in development in the James Bay region. And they wanted money in compensation for what they would give.
(McCutcheon, 1991:57)

Finally after a year and eight months or so of negotiations the 455 page document was signed. Other First Nations Citizens across the country accused the Cree and Inuit of selling-out.

In November of 1975 the James Bay Northern Quebec Agreement was signed offering, including the amendments, a total of 500 million dollars, 75 percent of which was to go to the Cree over a 20 year period (McCutcheon, 1991:59). Under the agreement, the land north of the 49th parallel, or two-thirds of the province, is divided into four categories. The first Category IA, consists of 1,274 square miles of land to be used by the Cree and 3,130 square miles by the Inuit. This land surrounds the existing communities, and is to be retained by the Quebec government but administered by the federal government. The land for the Inuit is "held by Inuit municipal corporations" (Richardson, 1991:323). Category IB is 884 square miles of

land "designated to be owned by the Cree communities. These lands are to be alienated only to the province, which can expropriate, but must pay compensation. Mineral rights are to be retained by the province, but their development is dependent on the consent of Cree authorities" (Richardson, 1991:323). The third section, Category II land, that is 28,130 square miles for the Cree and 35,000 square miles for the Inuit, is land on which only these First Nations may hunt. The province has the right to use this land in any manner without consent and without obligation of compensation. Non-Natives may enter this area for any other reason than for hunting. The final category, Category III, "the rest of the lands of northern Quebec - 350,000 square miles - are surrendered by the native people, and are available to the province for development" (Richardson, 1991:324) (See Table.17).

Table 15. LAND DIVISIONS UNDER THE JAMES BAY AND NORTHERN AGREEMENT

CATEGORY	KM2	HUNTING	TITLE OF THE LAND	ADMIN., MANAGEMENT, AND CONTROL	DEVELOPMENT, AND EXPROPRIATION
CATEGORY (1A)					
Cree	1,274	exclusive to First Nations	provincial Inuit Municipal corporation	Municipal* Government	.Mineral Rights are held by the Province
Inuit	3,130				.Province may develop land with compensation
CATEGORY (1B)					
	884	exclusive to First Nations	Cree communities alienable only to the province	Federal government	.Crees must approve development
CATEGORY (11)					
Cree	28,130	exclusive to First Nations	provincial government	provincial government	.Province may develop land without consent and without compensation**
Inuit	35,000				
CATEGORY (111)					
	350,000	open to "whites" under the provincial government	provincial government	provincial government	provincial government

* "In 1978, 420 Naskapi living near Schefferville were, in effect, written into the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, and in 1984 the Canadian government passed the Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act, establishing a municipal form of government covering the Category 1A lands. This Act replaces the Indian Act, and removes the Crees and Naskapi from the direct control of the federal Minister of Indian Affairs."

(Richardson, 1991:323-324)

** All non-natives are allowed on the Category 11 lands. They are permitted to do research, development and all other all other activities except for hunting.

*** Data compiled from Boyce Richardson's text.
(Richardson, 1991:323-324)

Over twelve committees, boards and corporations were funded to manage the responsibility allocated by the James Bay Agreement. Corporations were funded to control the economic development of the James Bay area, while boards and committees, many containing representatives of the federal government, "assumed control of school boards, health and social service boards, and municipal services, for which the federal and provincial governments would pay" (McCutcheon, 1991:59). Another important settlement which was made in the agreement was the *Hunters and Trappers Income Security Program*. This program enables the Cree and Inuit to continue to make a living in their traditional ways while receiving 11,000 dollars a year; the amount varies, among other things according to the number of days spent hunting and trapping. Hence, this program promotes the traditional way of life by allowing the Cree and Inuit to sustain themselves by hunting, regardless of the international fur industry.

The court appearances and negotiations surrounding the James Bay Project have "triggered a Quiet Revolution among the Natives in Northern Quebec - a period marked by rapid modernization, the creation of nation-building bureaucracies, national affirmation, and the politics of victimization" (McCutcheon, 1991:123). They have taken charge of the education of their children and their cultural survival by instating programs, such as: during the first three years of their education, children will be taught in their mother tongue. They have also understood that much of the strength lies in economic independence, therefore, they are investing in their own airlines and

construction companies. Furthermore, they have seen the damage done by La Grande and are now fighting the construction of Great Whale. Mathieu Coon-Come, elected Grand Chief in 1987, speaks for the Cree: "Why spend billions of dollars to destroy the environment and to destroy my people just to export electricity to the United States? Does this make any sense? We are fighting for our survival. Aboriginal nations have been pushed aside for too long. The problem with Bourassa's dream is that it is fast becoming an environmental and economic nightmare" (McCutcheon, 1991:153). As Quebecers were fighting for separatism during the Quiet Revolution, the Cree nation is fighting against James Bay II and III.

The Cree are working hard to get the Great Whale Project stopped. This time they may succeed. Their circumstances have changed in their favour in the past 20 years. Since 1975, the environmental movement has increased on a global level, raising the ecological consciousness of most. Quebecers are much more concerned about the provincial debt, and have seen that the final cost of Phase I was more than double the initial estimates. They have noticed that the promised jobs were only temporary ones. Quebecers have seen the value of their homes decreased, without compensation, due to the high-voltage power lines crossing to the United States. The government of the United States has noticed that its constituents resent the fact that importing electricity from Quebec takes jobs away from American competitors in this recession/depression. During the last decade the Cree have become accustomed to fighting the government, they have changed their direction in order to gain public support. They talk less of

cultural genocide and more of the environment and the global effects of the James Bay Project, as well as cost and efficiency. Their campaign had them canoe all the way to New York city for Earth-Day. The Cree have tried to get the utility companies to cancel their contracts with Hydro-Quebec. If Hydro-Quebec has nowhere to sell its surplus power it could not justify spending billions of dollars to create more. They have succeeded in getting companies in Vermont, New York and Maine to cancel their contracts. However, much of the battle is over the James Bay and Northern Agreement, Quebec states that the Cree and Inuit have given up all rights to the land when they signed the Agreement, but these First Nations still claim a right of say over the development of the area.

This concludes the first section of this chapter, where it has been demonstrated the manner in which the centre uses the raw resources of the hinterland for its own benefit. The Cree remain dependent on the centre since they can not exploit their own resources. They are given some compensation in terms of money, but none of the promised jobs with Hydro-Quebec, since they lack the qualifications and do not speak French. Perhaps the Cree would not oppose the James Bay Project so vigorously if only they had benefitted from the construction. As things stand they only have been "inconvenienced". The following section will examine what the James Bay Project has also created, besides producing electricity, such as: damage to the environment, displacement of towns, the creation of social problems, and a constant fight by the Cree to obtain what the provincial government promised in the James Bay and

Northern Agreement.

Damage Done

Some Cree have seen their traplines completely or partially flooded, while others now have major highways running through their hunting grounds. This has meant among other things a redistribution of the traplines among the hunting families, disrupting a division which had existed for centuries. But then again they had already gone through this change under the command of the Hudson's Bay Company. Many of their campsites and graves are now submerged. Rivers where fishermen would fish have become reservoirs, dried out, or have been diverted. The birds have disappeared after having their feeding grounds altered. The calving grounds of the beluga whales are affected with the sudden increase of fresh water into the salt water of the Hudson Strait. The changes to the environment surrounding the Cree are enormous.

The fish are effected in more ways than one. The construction of the James Bay Project has altered the temperature, dept, food supply, and spawning area of the rivers on which the fish depend. One of the best places to fish, the first rapids on La Grande River, has been replaced by LG-2. But perhaps the most important change in the fish population has been the high increase in mercury poisoning. This is important because mercury poisoning works its way up the food chain, therefore, even if the Cree

do not eat the fish in the reservoir which are deemed unsafe. They will also be affected if they eat any red meat from the surrounding area. The mercury has also spread through rain and snowfall. "Tests on Chisasibi residents in 1984 found high levels of mercury in 64 percent of the population, and some of the elders exhibited the shakiness, numb limbs and loss of peripheral vision of what they call nimassaksiwin, or fish disease" (Dwyer, 1992:38). Mercury poisoning is caused by the flooding of the land. Construction crews to not clear the land first "and, bacteria from the drowned, decomposing vegetation transform the insoluble mercury in the rocks into methylmercury" (Dwyer, 1992:38). "Though in a stable lake this mercury is broken down by other bacteria in a new reservoir it is produced more rapidly than breakdown can occur" (Richardson, 1991:345). When Hydro-Quebec began flooding the land, they were aware of mercury poisoning, but they said the methylmercury would return to normal levels after 6 years. They changed this estimate to 30 years after seeing that the levels were not decreasing, however, independent specialists report that it will take 100 years (Dwyer, 1982:38). "Methylmercury can irreversibly damage the nervous system and brain. [...] Women who ate mercury-contaminated seafood from industrially-polluted Minamata Bay in Japan gave birth to severely damaged children" (McCutcheon, 1991:110). Because of these severe physical effects, especially on elders, children, and expecting mothers, the Cree can no longer fish in reservoirs or downstream. Fish accounts for a quarter of their food supply. "The proportion of samples of Chisasibi Crees with unacceptable levels rose from about a third in 1977 to two-thirds in 1984" (McCutcheon, 1991:110). The Mercury Agreement was signed

between the Cree and Hydro-Quebec in 1986. The agreement states that 18.5 billion dollars are to be set aside for research and to indicate the lake and the kinds of fish which have the lowest levels of mercury. This program has helped decrease the levels of mercury found among the Cree (McCutcheon, 1991:111).

The caribou were also directly effected by the James Bay Project. First their calving grounds were flooded. Hydro-Quebec scientists were aware of this, but simply believed that the females would find new grounds. In 1984 the largest herd of caribou, the George River herd, was estimated at more than 600,000 head (McCutcheon, 1991:104). In September of 1984, after three years during which the Caniapiscau reservoir was filling, the caribou were making their annual crossing downstream, heading north for the winter. The heavy rains and the spillway from the reservoir caused the river to rise so high that almost all of the 10,000 caribou attempting the crossing drowned that year. But as Hydro-Quebec points out the deaths are minimal since there is not one species which is about to be extinct.

The erosion of the shorelines, the flooding of the wetlands, and the deaths in the uplands have forced Hydro-Quebec to spend money on the environment. To appease the people with an environmental conscience, the James Bay Corporation was one of the first Canadian companies, and the first in Quebec, do have an environmental department (McCutcheon, 1991:97). The James Bay Corporation was pressured into "rehabilitating" the environment of the Cree. They created fishing reservoirs, spawning

grounds in designated zones, built docks, and removed some of the dead wood. "They congratulate themselves on being model corporate citizens; no project of this magnitude, they claim, has ever been built with so much respect and care for the environment. During the decade 1974-1984, the Energy Corporation spent \$250 million [...] on environmental studies [...]" (McCutcheon, 1991:111-112).

The Cree have noticed that "there are fewer and fewer geese and ducks each year; the climate is changing; animals are confused because their migration routes have been disrupted; the La Grande is dead" (McCutcheon, 1991:112). However the damage would be even greater if Phase III of the James Bay Project were to proceed. The water flooded by the Nottaway, Broadback and Rupert Rivers would cover twice the area of La Grande. Because the NBR is south of Great Whale and La Grande, the forest and animal life is more abundant, hence, more animals lives would be directly effected. Since the forest is more dense, the levels of mercury would be even greater in these southern reservoirs than in the north. The drowning of more trees would also add to the global warming through the green house effect, because not only are these trees no longer creating oxygen but "when drowned trees rot under water, they release both carbon dioxide and methane, a potent greenhouse gas" (McCutcheon, 1991:164). However more important than all this damage which is now being reported is all of the unknown damage which still needs to be discovered.

In addition to the environmental damage of the James Bay construction, there has also been a lot of harm done to the inhabitants of the region. "The James Bay Project has disrupted the lives of Native peoples by physically changing their communities and the forests, rivers and lakes they use, and indirectly, by triggering political rearrangements between Native and Non-Native society" (McCutcheon, 1991:117). Part of this harm also comes from displacing and restructuring the villages. The Cree which have been most affected by the James Bay Project are those from Chisasibi, Great Whale and Mistassini. When the James Bay and Northern Agreement was signed, Mistassini being the only Cree village connected to the road system before La Grande was completed, was invaded by "Moonies, kitchenware salesmen, King Fu instructors, dope dealers, social scientists, journalists and others" (McCutcheon, 1991:117). The Cree of Mistassini felt used, whereas they never received any benefits from the long interviews which they granted to various media and experts. It has now evolved to the point where "only where we see that we can benefit directly, we'll agree to answer questions", Coon-Come told me. [...] If I wanted to learn about the social impacts of the James Bay Project, I should read what others had written" (McCutcheon, 1991:117). The next village to be invaded in the same manner was Great Whale. People began to pour into Great Whale once the construction of the Great Whale project was announced.

The village which was most affected by the James Bay Project was Chisasibi or Fort George. "Its people lost more of their hunting and trapping lands than did any other Cree community: six of the 40 traplines on which they hunted and trapped are inundated, and many others were partly flooded" (McCutcheon, 1991:117). The flooding has made the small game scarce, and poisoned the rivers and reservoirs with mercury. These Cree were fairly isolated on their island, Governor's Island, in the middle of La Grande, but when the flow of their river was increased ten times, their schools, churches, stores and homes were moved to the mainland. At this time there is even talk of relocating the Chisasibi even further inland because scientists had not predicted that the land would erode so quickly. The Chisasibi Cree accepted the Corporation's proposal of funding the construction of a new village on the mainland. A total of 110 million dollars were spent to reach this goal, the move was done in 1980 (Richardson, 1991:342).

"Nevertheless, the impact of the James Bay hydro-project on the people of Fort George-Chisasibi has been immense. The arrival in their region of up to twenty thousand workers to build the project, with all the amenities needed to sustain them, was a shock. From the beginning, liquor was a problem [...]" (Richardson, 1991:340). As the roads have brought "progress" to the north, the roads have also brought the problems of the south. As the price of commodities has decreased due to the more accessible transportation so has the cost of alcohol and drugs. "There was a sudden influx of money during the construction boom, as the new town was built. It is

connected by road to the La Grande-2 construction site. Though the authorities in both communities tried to limit contact, LG-2 has become a conveniently close source of alcohol and drugs" (McCutcheon, 1991:117-118). The other problems often associated with substance abuse have consequently appeared in Chisasibi and the other Cree communities, such as: family violence, "the incidence of teenage pregnancies and sexually transmitted diseases is high. The death rate among adolescents and young adults has increased sharply due to accidents, homicides, and suicides, most related to alcohol abuse" (McCutcheon, 1991:121). The rapid change in the northern villages has created social decay, and an increase in health problems. Although the levels of tuberculosis have decreased due to the new municipal services, many health problems still exist. Many of the children have cavities, there are high rates of diabetes, and many people suffer from obesity. These health problems did not exist before the 1980s. Many of these health conditions can be related to substance abuse and poor eating habits. However, the underlying cause lies in the change from a traditional way of life. The Cree were never fat even though they always ate a lot of animal fat, because their modes of transportation were their form of exercise. "They eat less fish than before, for fear of mercury poisoning, and more store-bought foods - those rich in fat, sugar, and carbohydrates, including junk food and candy, are popular" (McCutcheon, 1991:121). In other words, all of the social ills discussed in the previous chapter of this research can be found in these communities in northern Quebec.

Another new problem caused by the flooding created by the James Bay Project has been the fighting between the Cree for hunting land, when their traditional traplines were submerged. The Cree hunters are also fighting with non-Native hunters who have invaded their hunting grounds via the new roads. The traditional way of life is quickly disappearing, "Crees talk with respect about how experienced hunters, by reading subtle signs in nature, can predict such things as when the river ice is safe for travel, when the spring thaw will come, how good the summer fishing will be. But by making the flow regime artificial, the hydroelectric project make these skills obsolete" (McCutcheon, 1991:119).

Many of the young men have replaced their hunting traditions with alcohol. Some of the solutions to this problem must come from within the communities. Many efforts are being made. For example Chisasibi set up a road block in 1989, on the road leading into the village, where all alcohol is confiscated. Since then the Sûreté du Québec have notified the first women chief of Chisasibi, Violet Pachanos, that their actions are illegal since the road is on Category III land. However, the road block continues until the Sûreté du Québec take action to dismantle it, since this initiative has proven effective in lowering the rate of alcohol in the village. Many programs have been set up by outsiders to try and "help" the Cree, but these programs constantly fail because the Cree are not consulted and do not administer these programmes.

Many experts say that the Cree and other First Nations Citizens are suffering from acculturative stress, a feeling of being caught between two cultures. When individuals attempt to integrate themselves to the dominant group they are suddenly taken over by strong feelings of guilt. William of Chisasibi finally quit his job at Hydro-Quebec, after almost ten years, because it had driven him to drink. "I was a meter reader," he recalls, "collecting bills and cutting people off when they couldn't pay up. I felt caught in the middle. On the one hand, I wanted to be a good company man, to work nine to five and be on time like the white man. But the native side of me came into conflict with that because I saw what Hydro-Quebec was doing, how people were being taken advantaged of" (Dwyer, 1992:36). William solved his inner conflict by moving back to Governor's Island with his wife and dedicating his efforts towards stopping Great Whale. Acculturative stress was not part of the agreement, as were not the other problems discussed here, but nonetheless they are present. "We want the best of both worlds, the traditional and the modern," James Bobbish, former chief of Chisasibi, told me, "but what we experience is the worst of both worlds" (McCutcheon, 1991:121-122).

The question remains who really pays and who benefits from the actions of the centre. With all the social and environmental damage, it appears that the Cree are paying for James Bay with their lives and culture, while only the elites rake in the benefits. "Throughout the country," said Billy Diamond, "the Indian people have been the social casualties of development projects. I have seen it out in the west, towns

booming, but the Indians poor, gone in prostitution and booze" (Richardson, 1991:104).

Aside from fighting the Corporations against the construction of Great Whale, the Cree are also fighting in the courts to have the conditions found in the James Bay and Northern Agreement upheld. "Perhaps the worst instance of the government's unwillingness to abide by the agreement came in 1981, when eight Cree children died of diarrhea. The cause was determined to be the open sewers left in many partially reconstructed Cree villages after government money for completing the sewage system was cut off" (Dwyer, 1992:36). Eighty more of these children were hospitalized in the James Bay area for the same symptoms (McCutcheon, 1991:129). Ever since then those who promised the money in the James Bay Agreement have been dragged into court to pay what was agreed upon for the hospitals, schools and other infrastructures.

"Their chief lawyer, James O'Reilly, has calculated that because of these broken promises the Crees are already owed \$1-billion dollars. They are angered at talks of money for accepting James Bay II. What they want is to own and control the land and all its resources, including the rivers that Hydro-Quebec, without their consent, is exploiting" (McCutcheon, 1991:255). The Corporations are tired of hearing the Cree cry "genocide and environmental disaster", they believe this is a ploy used to get more money out of the next agreement. The Cree claim that the James Bay Agreement was signed only for the first and second stages of La Grande and not for the Great Whale and the NBR developments. After all they have seen the damage and extent of the

impact of the James Bay Project on the area, many of the Cree who signed the agreement in 1974 said that they would never do it again.

The corporations argue that they have a right to build the Great Whale and Nottaway, Broadback and Rupert Projects, since this land was in the agreement. However the Cree are fighting this decision in court, they believe that they have fundamental rights to the land, and that they are not being consulted on the development of the James Bay region, something which was very specific in the agreement. The Corporations are using every trick they know to have the Great Whale Project move forward. When they were told by the courts that they could not proceed until more recent environmental studies could be done, they divided the project into two. They then submitted a proposal for the first phase which consisted in setting up all infrastructures needed to complete the Great Whale Project. However, the Cree activists won a small battle when the Quebec government announced that it would postpone James Bay II for at least a year.

In conclusion, the Cree are telling the world that not only are they not receiving any benefits from the hydroelectric project which has only caused them pain, but that the south is not even being careful about the way in which they spend the megawatts. "Quebecers use more electricity per person (and more electricity per unit of economic value produced) than almost any other people in the world" (McCutcheon, 1991:170). Because the hydro is so cheap many companies and individuals "waste it"

(McCutcheon, 1991:170). The companies in the United States pay much more for their electricity hence they are spending more and more money on installing and researching energy efficient products. "Energy analyst Amory Lovins has coined the term "negawatts" for the units of electricity power which, because they were saved, the utility did not have to generate" (McCutcheon, 1991:171). The "negawatts" are created by using such products as energy-efficient lightbulbs, insulation, doors, refrigerators, windows, toilettes and shower heads to name a few. "According to Lovins, in the 1980s, the United States has been getting seven times more new energy from savings as from net increases in supply" (McCutcheon, 1991:171).

The environmental activists and the Cree are promoting the benefits of the "negawatts". They have determined that it is cheaper for Hydro-Quebec to create "negawatts" than electricity, furthermore, that it is cheaper for the companies in the United States to create "negawatts" than it is to import the electricity from Quebec. Not only does it cost less, but it also stimulates the economy. "In Quebec, demand side measures programs create about four times more jobs per dollar than do investments in hydroelectric dams" (McCutcheon, 1991:171). Several sectors benefit from these job opportunities and more jobs requiring lower skills are needed when creating "negawatts" than when operating the James Bay Projects. "Finally, efficiency programs do negligible damage to the environment" (McCutcheon, 1991:172). Hydro-Quebec has been pressured to invest on conservation measures. They plan on spending 2 billion dollars in the next decade on conservation (McCutcheon, 1991:172). However,

Hydro-Quebec and the politicians claim that they can not save enough to warrant them not building the final phases of James Bay.

"Hydro-Quebec's critics say its conservation efforts are puny; less than the other two major electric utilities in Canada, Ontario Hydro and B.C. Hydro, and a good deal less than many American utilities. Hydro-Quebec is only spending on conservation about one-twentieth of what it is spending on dams" (McCutcheon, 1991:173). Many believe that the small conservation efforts "are designed to free power for export sales, not to reduce power generation" (Richardson, 1991:355). As discussed earlier in this chapter much of the inertia of the James Bay Project comes from the politicians who use this to campaign for elections.

Bourassa and other politicians believe that they are in fact helping Quebec's economy, but as matter of fact they are creating a Third World nation state. One of the fundamental characteristics of an undeveloped nation is that its major source of income is derived from natural resources. "Hydro-Quebec has grossly over-invested and, in order to repay its mounting debt, was caught in a vicious circle, constrained to borrow, build, and sell ever more power at ridiculously cheap rates. Bourassa was turning Quebec into an economically dependent Third World nation" (McCutcheon, 1991:158).

Meanwhile, what happens to the Cree? Well as the corporations and governments have often suggested, the needs of the many far outweigh the "inconveniences" of the few. The Cree are a nation within a nation which is becoming more and more dependent, hence they are feeling the effects of Quebec's condition more and more. The Cree have long been used as a periphery by the centre, but when the centre itself is becoming more and more a periphery, what happens to the Cree? They are bullied into signing the James Bay and Northern Agreement which takes away all their rights to exploit the natural resources found on the land which they claim as their own. This is a complex problem with many factors. In the conclusion of this research, the possible solutions to this situation will be discussed.

Conclusion

Solutions

The conclusion begins with a brief summary of the main line of thought of each chapter of this research, followed by a discussion of possible solutions to the crisis of First Nations Citizens. The first chapter was devoted to the definition of the dependency theory. A theory which is usually applied to Third World countries, was applied to the situation of the Cree of James Bay. There are two main actors in the theory, the centre and the periphery. The centre dominates the periphery by exploiting its non-renewable resources. The peripheries are defined as being dependent on the centre, as having very little control over their own destiny. This dependency was found to be created by both external and internal forces.

The second chapter demonstrated how the Cree of the James Bay region became dependent on the centre, hence became a periphery. The history of the first contact with whites in fact tells the story of how their natural resources were surrendered little by little. Much of their land was invaded with treaties, and even more territory without any formal agreements between whites and the Cree.

Once having demonstrated how a nation can become dependent on the centre it was important to discuss the effects of this dependence on the Cree. However, in the third chapter it was more appropriate to discuss the effects of dependency on all First Nation Citizens in Canada as opposed to just one nation, pointing out the universality of the problem. With the help of statistics the severity of the problems relating to employment, income, health and welfare were described.

The fourth and final chapter of this research dealt with the Cree of the James Bay area. This chapter demonstrated how one project directed by the centre can destroy the citizens of the periphery. The James Bay Project is responsible for the destruction of the environment and for the loss of culture of the Cree. The James Bay Agreement made the Cree a self-administering nation, and they gained some temporary economic growth, but at the same time they signed away all hopes of ever experiencing economic development. The Cree who signed the Agreement in 1974 testified that they regretted signing the document (Richardson, 1991:336). The Cree felt that not only were they pushed into signing the agreement and were given little on paper, but they felt even more bitter because much of what was promised still has not been implemented to this day.

When the whites began to take over the newly "discovered" country centuries ago, something happened which they did not expect: the First Nations Citizens did not vanish. With the implementations of all the white man's laws, First Nations Citizens

did not assimilate. Doris Ronnenberg, President of the Native Council of Canada, state that "in modern Canada, the fact is, the aboriginal population is growing at four times the rate of the general population. While English and French populations are becoming increasingly out numbered by other ethnic populations" (Cassidy, 1991:37). Politically, the Cree and other First Nations are becoming more active and more visible on the national and international front, indicating that they are not ready to assimilate. They strongly believe that "the Creator placed them here", that they have a right to this land, "unlike the English and French immigrants" (Cassidy, 1991:37).

During the past two decades Canada has been faced with a new dilemma, one which should have been dealt with long ago: there is no longer one group within the confederacy which wishes to be recognized as independent people, there are several. Quebec has been fighting for more autonomy since the battle at the Plains of Abraham. First Nations Citizens were so repressed that they never had the chance to demand control of their land. They spent the past few decades trying to regain the culture which they lost. But now they are gaining force and have made self-government their goal. One is tempted to say that there are two groups fighting for autonomy in Canada, but in fact the First Nations are just that, a group of several nations, and Quebec is one nation.

A truly unique situation exists in Quebec. The First Nations are fighting for autonomy within a nation which is struggling for the very same thing. Canada's image has been tarnished in the international community. Canada is suffering economically from the political uncertainty. This struggle which has now entered the phase of the constitutional debate must be resolved as quickly as possible. Canada has to stop spending money on discussions which never have an outcome. It is truly in Canada's best interest to solve the demands for autonomy as quickly as possible.

According to many participants of these discussions, there are some new attitudes which are required in order to achieve an agreement. Former Chief of Alexander First Nation, Allen Paul, emphasizes the importance of having an open mind: "We want to recommend to the general public and to all levels of government that you have to keep an open mind. You have to take those blinders off. You can't look at just one side. You have to look at it from all perspectives, if this situation is going to work" (Cassidy, 1991:80). Negotiators and other Canadians must keep their minds open to different possibilities, to invent perhaps a new form of power-sharing. "The concept of power-sharing is an important one and critical to a resolution of the grave problems confronting First Nations. The starting point for discussions about power-sharing arrangements must be premised on mutual respect and good faith. We have witnessed all too clearly that this is not the case in Canada" (Cassidy, 1991:84), said Dick Martin, Executive Vice-President of the Canadian Labour Congress. People must understand that sharing responsibilities does not necessarily mean a decline in life-style. Canada

has been decentralizing, giving more power to the provinces. One must think of what would happen with a little more decentralising to include First Nations.

Much of the fight is over whether First Nation Citizens are in fact nations and whether they have a right to the land they claim. Once they were considered nations when the whites took the time to sign treaties with representatives of these nations. The Canadian constitution was in fact derived from the "constitution" of the Iroquois Confederacy. Canadians do not wish to give First Nations self-government, for they fear that they lack the skills to govern themselves. It is true that the century of dependence has reduced some First Nations skills but one must not forget that before whites arrived, they did govern themselves very successfully. Ronnenberg states that "self-government and self-determination was the natural state of affairs for the aboriginal people of Canada for at least 39,800 of the last 40,000 years at even the most conservative archaeological estimates" (Cassidy, 1991:36).

It is time to reach a solution regarding the domination of First Nations. It is obvious that assimilation is not part of the future. The melting pot does not work, it is time to start something different. Perhaps a new form of power-sharing with First Nations across the country and with Quebec would provide a better sense of living in a multicultural society. Ethnic groups are fighting among one another, new solutions really must be discovered, and these will only be reached with open minds.

What are the possible solutions for peripheral regions? The dependency theory outlines two possibilities, revolution and delinking. A revolution is quite unlikely for First Nations Citizens, however delinking is recommended by Samir Amin as a possible solution to the world problem of Third World countries. As explained in the first chapter of this research, "the dependency theory", delinking is not a complete cut from the central economic system but it is in fact an "awareness" of self-development. Samir Amin explains that: "The meaning is as follows: pursuit of a system of rational criteria for economic options founded on law of value on a national basis with popular relevance, independent of such criteria of economic rationality as flow from the dominance of the capitalist law of value operating on a world scale" (Amin, 1991:2). Delinking does not mean a complete break from the centre, this is impossible, and Samir Amin acknowledges this point. However, the periphery must seize the chance of becoming more autonomous whenever the opportunity presents itself. Third World countries can only gain autonomy through self-development, as opposed to development for the centre. The economic decisions which need to be taken must come from the people of the periphery and not the economists in the centre. The economic decisions must make sense and improve the survival of the people in these underdeveloped regions.

As mentioned earlier, delinking does not mean a complete alienation from the centre, however it means an awareness of one's needs. By gaining control over their political, social and economic situation, the peripheries will, over time gain self-

sufficiency. There still is a contact which exists between the underdeveloped countries and the centre, but the trade which will occur will hopefully be more fair. For example, technology is something which cannot be exchanged on an equal level, but Samir Amin, indicates the healthy attitude which peripheries must acquire.

Delinking does not imply rejection of all foreign technology, simply for being foreign, in the name of some culturalist nationalism. But it certainly does imply an awareness that technology is not neutral, either in terms of social relations of production, or in terms of models of living and consumption, priority given to the involvement of the whole country, the entire people, in the process of change dictates a mix of modern technologies (possibly imported) and renovation and improvement of traditional technologies".
(Amin, 1991:4)

In truth this delinking is what the Cree and the other First Nations in Canada are fighting for, self-determination. Like Third World countries, the First Nations are trapped by colonization, loss of culture, debt, and social problems. These peripheries need economic and social development to stop being peripheries. First Nations believe that they will only progress if they have self-government or self-determination.

The next section will discuss what members of the First Nations believe self-government will bring to them, what is needed to have self-determination and what exactly is self-government.

Self-Determination

Self-government is the First Nations' solution to dependency, they believe that delinking will lead to development for them. James Frideres outlines four points which summarize what the First Nations hope to gain by self-determination:

1. Greater self determination and social justice. Protection of and control over one's own destiny, rather than subordination to political and bureaucratic authorities based outside the ethnic group.
 2. Economic development to end dependency, poverty, and employment. Economic justice in the sense of a fair distribution of wealth between the aboriginal and non-aboriginal populations.
 3. Protection and retention of aboriginal culture.
 4. Social vitality and development that will overcome such existing social problems as ill health, the housing crisis, irrelevant and demeaning education and alienation.
- (Frideres, 1988:359)

First Nation representatives believe that in order to achieve these goals they need the following: "1) political institutions that would be accountable to the aboriginal electorate, 2) a territorial base, 3) control over group membership, and 4) continuing fiscal support (Frideres, 1988:359).

Much of the debate over self-government has concerned the lack of a definition. The federal government and the provinces refuse to grant anything to the First Nations without having a clear picture of what they mean by self-determination. In an attempt to define the term self-government and to discuss how self-determination could be implemented, leaders of the First Nations have met on several occasions. During the "proceedings of a conference held September 30 - October 3, 1990", David Joe a land

claims negotiator for the Council of Yukon Indians, attempted to define the extent of which First Nations would like to control their destinies. David Joe discusses the laws which they would like to make for themselves:

The Schedule would detail those subjects under which Indian governments might exclusively make laws, these being:

- the form of government;
- conditions for citizenship in the Indian Nations;
- the administration of justice and its enforcement, and adjudication;
- the regulation of domestic relations, including marriage, divorce, illegitimacy, adoption, guardianship, and support of family members;
- the regulation of property use;
- economic development, including trade and commerce;
- social programs, including the health, education, and welfare of members of First Nations.

(Cassidy, 1991:74)

First Nations are suggesting a form of government which would be more powerful than a municipal government, with powers similar to that of the provinces. They simply want more control over their lives.

First Nations would like the right to tax their residents, however their residents should be exempt from federal and provincial taxes. This proposition is met with much opposition, because many feel that First Nations Citizens would enjoy all the freedoms of self-government, benefit from federal funding and at the same time pay no federal or provincial taxes, in other words, in the view of some, to enjoy freedoms at the expense of other Canadian taxpayers. But who is to say, if they had more control over their lives, whether the crime rate would decrease, or whether that the welfare and unemployment rates would decrease, or whether their health would improve? An unhealthy society would cost more to taxpayers than First Nations which

are healthy and functioning well in their society.

There are two more areas of debate concerning the First Nations need for self-government. The first concerns First Nations Citizens living off-reserves, in rural areas, and the second debate concerns First Nations women. Many outside the Native community have said that self-government could never work outside the reserves. Some have given the example of a First Nations Citizen being arrested in downtown Toronto, alleging that the police officers could not arrest the native person due to that person being under a different legal jurisdiction, and so on. However, First Nations representatives assure the rest of the population that this would not happen. The laws which they would include in the definition of self-determination would be minor and relate more to control the laws not concerned with crime. If there were to be laws related to criminal activity, they would deal with the levels of punishment rather than determination of what was criminal.

The second area of debate concerns First Nations women. During the talks on self-government, First Nations' representatives have expressed their wishes to write their own charter of rights. Women are anxious because they are not well represented in these discussions. Women are afraid that they will lose the rights which they have under the Canadian Charter of Rights.

There are only two First Nations in Canada which have a signed agreement for self-government, the Cree of James Bay and the Sechelt of British Columbia. "*The Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act* was passed in 1986. The Sechelt Indian band consists of 33 reserves located approximately 50 kilometres north of Vancouver along the coast line" (Frideres, 1988:361). Frank Cassidy and Robert L. Bish agree in their book entitled *Indian Government Its Meaning in Practice*, that the Cree have more power of self-determination than do the Sechelt because the James Bay and Northern Agreement was accompanied with a comprehensive land claim. However,

under the *Cree-Naskapi (of Quebec) Act* and the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act*, for example, the bands concerned have been given a wide range of law-making powers, which permit them to exercise authority over numerous matters that directly affect them. The governing *Acts* take precedence over other federal laws in the case of conflict, and band laws similarly prevail over provincial laws that are inconsistent with them.
(Cassidy, 1991:45)

Despite these *Acts* the First Nations remain dependent on the centre, because the centre controls all of their natural resources, thereby obstructing First Nations economic development. "Finally, Natives argue that the present structural arrangement between them and the Government is paternalistic and contributes to the continuing dependency of Natives" (Frideres, 1988:361).

As there are external and internal cause to the crisis which has been examined in this paper, there are also internal and external solutions. Politicians need to listen hard to the needs and demands of the First Nations. They need to work laboriously to increase their creativity. New solutions must be found, and the problems will only

begin to be resolved with the participation of both groups working towards the same goals. What harm could come to the other citizens of this country in recognising First Nations Citizens for what they are members of the First Nations inhabiting what is now Canada. As mentioned earlier, if returning self-government to First Nations Citizens will make them healthy, Canada will be better off in several ways. For example, crime rates will decrease with a fair justice system which is adapted to cultural differences; welfare and unemployment rates will decrease with adequate school systems and economic development; our tax dollars will no longer be spent on Constitutional Talks, meetings which are very expensive and where no decisions are made; and last but not least, perhaps over the generations this process will ease the racial tensions which exist in this country.

But what of the question which began this research: can one compare a First Nation in Canada to a Third World country? The conclusion reached after this examination is yes, one can compare the two quite well. But there are also differences. As each nation and country is unique so are the Cree of James Bay. However, there are enough similarities to do a comparative analysis. All Third World nations have fought or are still fighting colonization. All Third World countries are dependent on the north, which in this case happens to be the centre. All Third World countries are plagued with grave socio-economic problems. Both Third World nations and First Nations are influenced by internal and external factors. And finally both are in great need of a break from the cycle of dependency.

If the leaders in Canada and around the world ever open their minds enough to accept new solutions, and if these leaders ever get creative enough to envision new forms of power sharing, then perhaps the problems related to dependency will be resolved. But until then the negative effects of dependency will only continue to grow.

Appendix

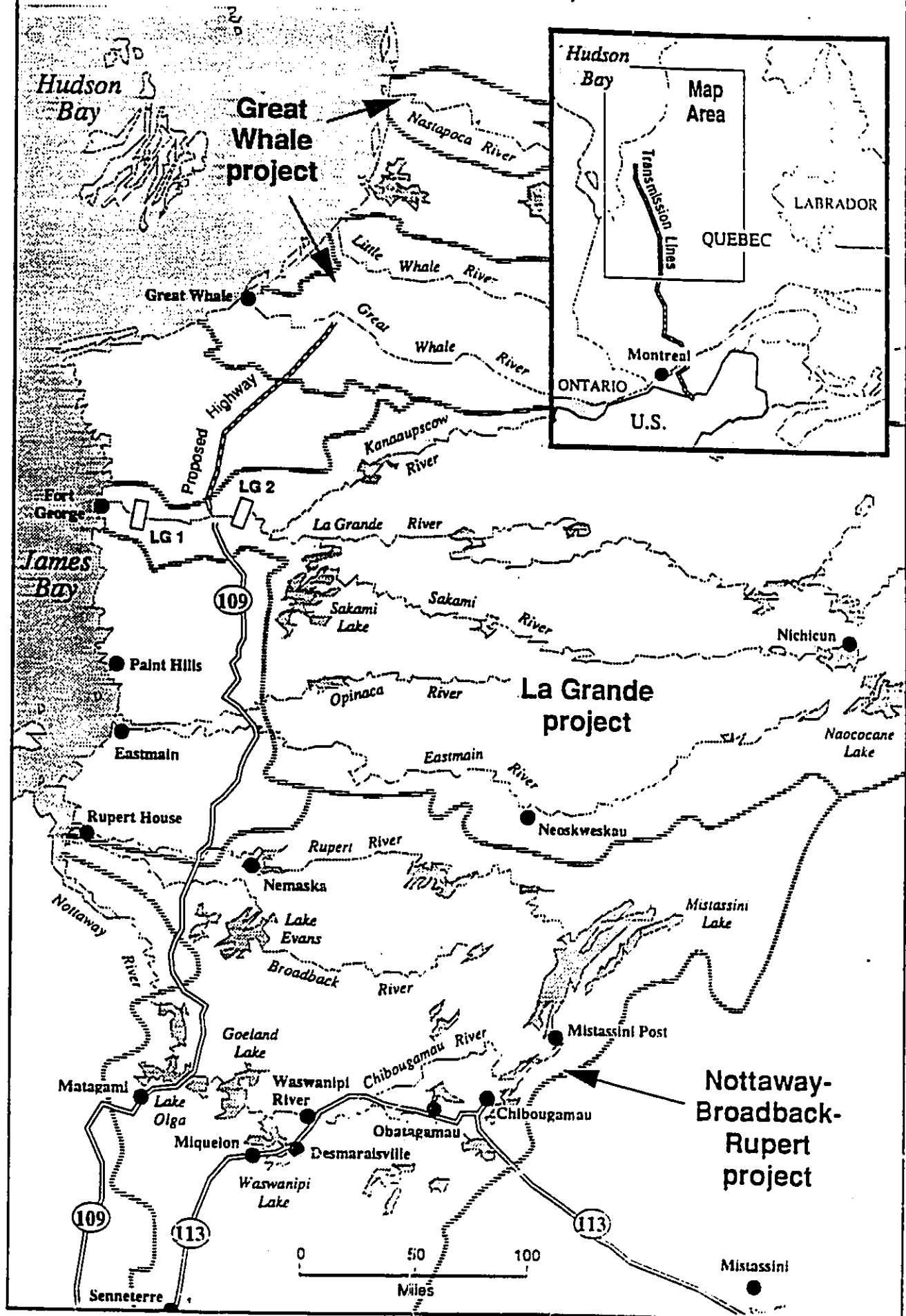
Map 1:

The James Bay Area

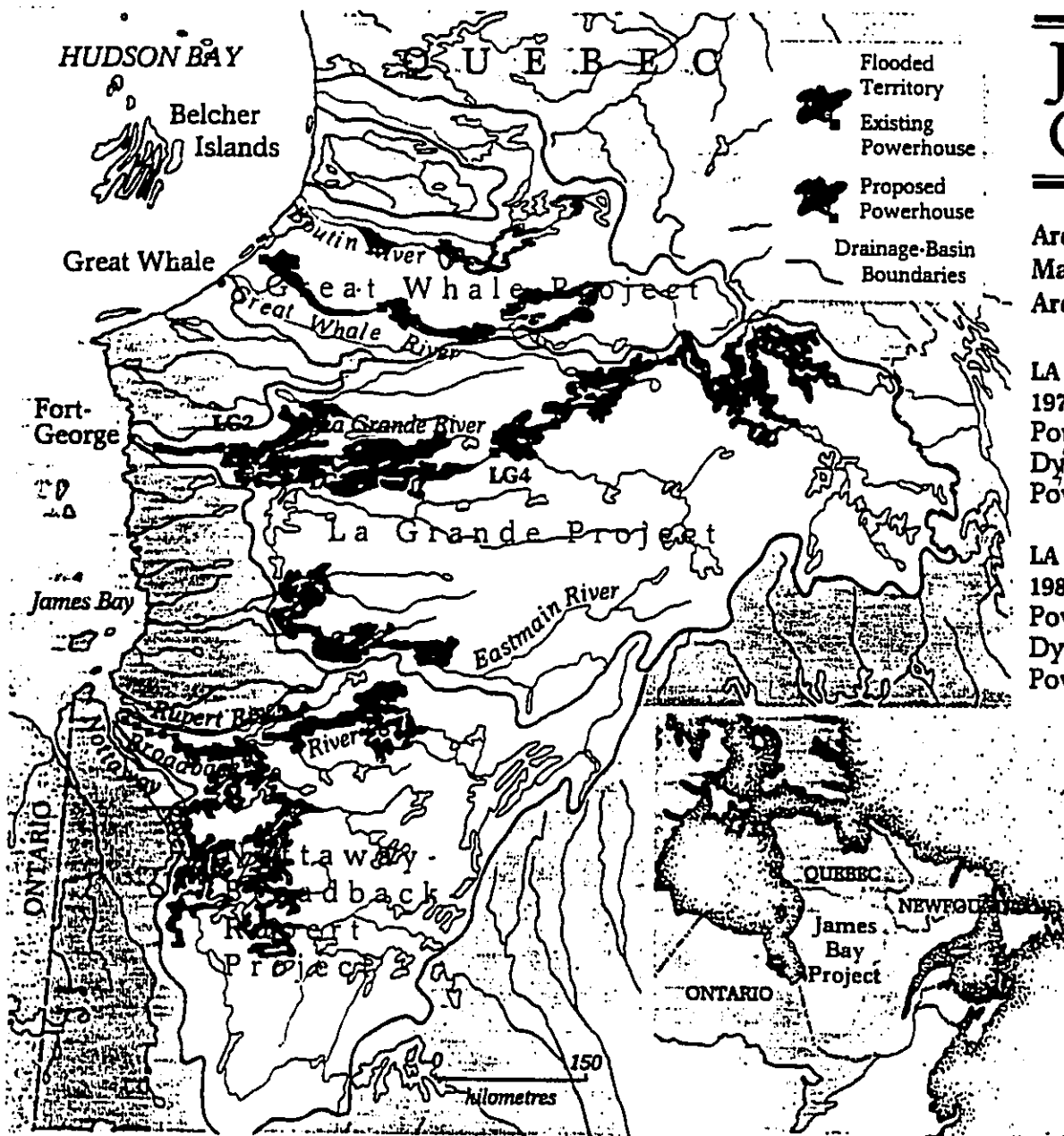
Map 2:

The James Bay Project

Map 1: The James Bay Area



Map 2: The James Bay Project



JAMES BAY OVERVIEW

Area Affected: 350,000 km²
Major Rivers Diverted: 20
Area Flooded: 23,000 km²

LA GRANDE PHASE I:
1972-1985
Power: 10,282 megawatts
Dykes: ≈206; Dams: 9
Powerhouses: 3

LA GRANDE PHASE II:
1986-1996
Power: 4,509 megawatts
Dykes: ≈125; Dams: 6
Powerhouses: 4 (+ 2 future)

GREAT WHALE:
1992-2000
Power: 3,060
Dykes: ≈133
Dams: 5
Powerhouses: 3

NBR:
1995-?
Power: 9,100
Dykes: ≈579
Dams: 16
Powerhouses: 11+

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