

Students of Colour Constituency Group Report

May 1996 National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

Constituency Group Participants

Julie Alatiit	Local 75 - Camosun College Student Society
Laura Awosonya	Local 32 - Lakehead University Student Union
Angela Flores	Local 73 - City Centre Students' Association
Zahra Habib	Alberta National Executive Representative
Yasmin Irani	Local 23 - Simon Fraser Student Society
Pam Kapoor	Saskatchewan National Executive Representative
Linelle Magodo	Local 54 - University of Guelph Students' Association
Robert Mealey	Local 72 - North Island Students' Association
Michelle Moore	Local 61 - Malaspina Students' Union
Lancefield Morgan	Students of Colour Representative on the National Executive
Zaki Saleemi	Local 35 - Memorial University Council of the Student Union
Dionne Stephans	Local 23 - York Federation of Students
Chaminda Ththahewa	Local 01 - Carleton University Student Association
Hung Van Nguyen	Local 86 - College of the Rockies Students' Society
Michael Wiltshire	Local 24 - Ryerson Students' Union
Larry Wong	Local 23 - Simon Fraser Student Society

Election of the National Executive Representative

96/05:SC-1 MOTION

Local 72/Local 54

Be it resolved that Lancefield Morgan be ratified as the Students of Colour Representative on the National Executive for the 1996-97 term.

Other Business

96/05:SC-2 DIRECTIVE

Local 54/Local 72

Be it resolved that a resource kit for students of colour on campuses be developed; and

Be it further resolved that information in this kit include but be not limited to:

- statistics on people of colour in post-secondary education
- listings of provincial and national resource guides
- guide sheets on both consensus decision making styles and formalised rules of order
- mock constitutions to be used as guides for students wishing to organise
- suggestions and advice for campaigns, including but not limited to poster ideas, slogans, themes and approximate cost

Be it further resolved that this resource kit be ready by the Fall 1996 national general meeting.

96/05:SC-3 DIRECTIVE

Local 72/Local 68

Be it resolved that a portion of the Federation website be devoted to Students of Colour issues; and

Be it further resolved that this page include but not be limited to:

- the constituency group;
- statistics on Students of Colour in post-secondary education;
- listings of provincial and national organisation and resources; and
- articles pertaining to issues relevant to Students of Colour.

96/05:SC-4 DIRECTIVE

Local 35/Local 61

Be it resolved that member locals be encouraged to include a section regarding racism and issues specific to People of Colour in their member handbooks.

NOTICE MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 72/Local 68

Be it resolved that the following policy be adopted under the Harassment prevention and Grievance Policies Section:

The Federation supports and encourages the standardization of harassment complainant procedures between institutions that include, but are not limited to: confidentiality of the complainant, a response period that is respectful of students schedules and work load; and the recognition of power imbalances that occur due to race, gender, age, ability, sexual orientation and position of influence.

Be it further resolved that the following policy be adopted:

The Federation supports the creation of Human Rights or Equity offices on campuses, which are fully funded by administrations to serve the needs of all students, especially the needs of Students of Colour, Students with Disabilities, Gay, Lesbian and Bisexual Students and Aboriginal Students.

Aboriginal Students Constituency Group Report

May 1996 National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

Constituency Group Members

Richard Aisaican	Yukon College Student Society (prospective member)
Dave Beros	Local 09 - University of Regina Students' Union
Fiona Blondin	Local 57 - Native Education Centre Students' Association
Dan Daigle	Local 76 - King Edward Students' Association
Mansell Griffin	Local 61 - Malaspina Students' Union
Joanne Heck	Local 86 - College of the Rockies Students' Society
Penny Kerrigan	Local 44 - University of Victoria Student Society
Sandy Kershaw	Local 35 - Memorial University Council of the Student Union
Mark King	Local 30 - Laurentian University Students' General Assoc.
Angela Mercer	Local 86 - College of the Rockies Students' Society
Georgina Pyper	Local 86 - College of the Rockies Students' Society
Renee Sennette	Local 76 - King Edward Students' Association
Renee Shilling	Aboriginal National Executive Representative
Kaaren Stevens	Local 71 - Trent Student Union
Conrad Thompson	Local 44 - University of Victoria Student Society
Bill Wagner	Local 57 - Native Education Centre Students' Association

Elections

The Constituency Group conducted an election for the positions of Chairperson and Aboriginal National Executive Representative. The results were as follows:

- Mark King Chairperson
- Penny Kerrigan Aboriginal National Executive Representative

96/05:ACG-1 MOTION

Local 61/Local 57

Be it resolved that Penny Kerrigan be ratified as the Aboriginal Representative on the National Executive for the 1996-97 term.

Other Business

96/05:ACG-2 DIRECTIVE

Local 86/Local 71

Whereas the effects of alcohol are such that thought and behaviour change with the consumption; and

Whereas alcohol consumption has directly influenced Federation business; therefore

Be it resolved that relationship between alcohol consumption and disruption of Federation business at national general meetings be investigated.

96/05:ACG-3 DIRECTIVE

Local 44/Local 35

Be it resolved that member locals be encouraged to send letters to the organization, BC Foundation for Individual Rights, denouncing its opposition to inherent aboriginal rights and titles to the land.

96/05:ACG-4 DIRECTIVE

Local 44/Local 35

Be it resolved that the the possibility of providing on-site childcare at national general meetings be investigated.

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May 1996 National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

96/05:ACG-5 DIRECTIVE

Local 44/Local 35

Be it resolved that the possibility of extending International Student Identity Card membership to the children (18 years and under) of members be investigated.

96/05:ACG-6 DIRECTIVE

Local 61/Local 44

Be it resolved that the member locals to send aboriginal delegates to national general meetings

NOTICE MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 61/Local 44

Be it resolved that the policy listed in the Policy Manual under Canada Health and Social Transfer be amended to include:

- c) the infringement on aboriginal rights to exercise jurisdiction over education healthcare and social services

NOTICE MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 61/Local 44

Be it resolved that item 7 in the policy listed in the Policy Manual under Curricula be amended to read as follows:

- 7. The development of curricula which addresses the experiences and contributions of aboriginal peoples

NOTICE MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 61/Local 44

Be it resolved that policy listed in the Policy Manual under Federal Budgetary Issues to include:

- A fiduciary commitment to fulfilling all aboriginal and treaty rights

NOTICE MOTION TO AMEND POLICY

Local 61/Local 44

Be it resolved that the policy listed in the Policy Manual under Post-Secondary Education be amended to include:

- The Federation supports the creation of Aboriginal post-secondary institutions

Students with Disabilities Constituency Group Report

14th Semi-Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students and the
Canadian Federation of Students-Services

Renfrew, Ontario

May 12-17, 1996

Constituency Composition

Members

Preston Parsons	Local 8
Craig Watson	Local 1
Peter Whyte	Local 71
Victoria Bowman	Local 24
Michelle Moore	Local 61

Resource

Cassandra Koenen	National Treasurer
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The students in the Constituency Group met and discussed several issues that pertain to Students with Disabilities. These topics included transportation, home care, employment, faculty attitudes, funding structures, and current provincial regulations. There was also some discussion about the possibility of CFS doing coalition work with NEADS, a national students with disabilities organisation.

Out of these discussions several motions came forward. Some new Issues policies went to the National Education and Student Rights committee concerning parallel public transportation for people with disabilities and appropriate home care services.

There was also discussion concerning the proposed National Executive seat for a Students with Disabilities Representative. It was the consensus of the committee that this was the most appropriate avenue for fairer representation of views and concerns of Students with Disabilities.

There was also discussion regarding a proposed awareness campaign that was to be brought to the Campaigns Committee. It was suggested that the campaign dovetail with the proposed 15 years of Fighting for Access campaign and that it work extensively with coalition partners as part of a greater lobbying effort.

The directive concerning post-secondary funding that arose from discussion reads as follows:

SWD 01

Local 1/Local 8

Directive

Whereas people with disabilities are a disproportionately ^{of the poor} poor segment ⁱⁿ of society; and

Whereas funding for students with disabilities to attend post-secondary schools is on the decrease;

Be it resolved that the National Executive investigate the status of educational funding for students with disabilities;

Be it further resolved that the National Executive continue investigation of the effect of the CHST on current funding structures for students with disabilities; and

Be it further resolved that this information be available for the November General Meeting.

SWD 02

Local 24/Local 61

Ratification

Be it resolved that Preston Parsons be ratified as the Students with Disabilities Constituency Group Commissioner.

Lesbian, Gay & Bisexual Students Constituency Group Report

May 1996 National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

Constituency Members

Kevin Armbruster	Local 75
Patrick Crowley	Travel CUTS Board
Ryan Lanyon	Local 1
Becky McFarlane	Local 68
Wayne Poirier	Local 68
Jessica Squires	Local 7
Jennifer Weih	Local 33
Marijke Edmonsen	Local 71

... and many others who are silenced.

Election of Co-Commissioners:

The position of co-commissioner appeared to be vacant at the start of this meeting, although no official notification of this was served to the Constituency Group. Becky McFarlane, of the York Federation of Students, and Kevin Armbruster, of the Camosun College Student Society, were ratified as co-commissioners for the upcoming year, beginning their term immediately.

Review of Year's Activities:

In the absence of either of the previous year's co-commissioners, there was some confusion as to why nothing had been done in the realm of lesbian, gay and bisexual issues. This lack of continuity and infrastructure has hampered the effectiveness of the constituency group at this meeting. The members noted that there is currently little substantive progress of lesbian, gay and bisexuals students within the Federation, with no progress on any of the directives from the last general meeting.

Re-introduced Directive:

A review of the National Executive Report showed little action on the directive introduced by the constituency group at the last general meeting. As the constituency considered it an extremely important goal, an effort has been made to re-introduce this directive. The National Education and Student Rights Committee passed the re-affirmation unanimously.

New Directives:

The constituency group wishes to introduce the following motions:

LGB01

Directive

Local 68/Local 71

Whereas the motion 95/11:139 was originally introduced and adopted by plenary at the 1995 Annual General Meeting; and

Whereas some activity took place on this motion in the past year; and

Whereas that activity was limited to member locals and therefore was not a national effort;

Whereas this is consistent with existing and proposed Federation policies;

Be it resolved that member locals be actively encouraged to develop and participate in a 'Day without Hate' campaign on March 14th, 1997.

Be it further resolved that member locals be encouraged to work in solidarity with, but not limited to, the following groups:

- Aboriginal Groups;
- Students with Disabilities; and
- Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Collectives;
- Multicultural Groups
- Women's Groups;

LGB02

Directive

Local 68/Local 71

Whereas this motion was originally introduced and adopted by plenary at the 1995 Annual General Meeting; and

Whereas some activity took place on this motion in the past year; and

Whereas that activity was limited to member locals and therefore was not a national effort;

Be it resolved that a letter be written to the Red Cross Society outlining the Federation's condemnation of the Red Cross Blood Donor information questionnaire as per policy 94/05:132; and

Be it further resolved that member locals be actively encouraged to circulate and sign the petition outlined in 95/11:140

Motions Referred to and/or Supported on Committees:

In an effort to open discussion on the following issues, the constituency group has presented the following motions to committees. The group especially urges the Federation to consider these issues as integral to the work of the Federation in promoting safe, accessible campuses.

- a motion to reaffirm directive to compile an information packet, directory and a list of homophobic companies be compiled.
- a motion to adopt policy condemning homophobic violence and promoting the March 14th day without hate.
- a motion to adopt policy to clarify the federation's stand on HIV and AIDS as it relates to health and sexual practices.

Discussion of Constituency responsibilities:

In light of the fact that the above issues were not fully addressed in the last year, the constituency decided to shift its focus to a more pro-active, more externally directed stance.

Discussion of Annual General Meeting Concerns:

— ... feeling all week was of being severely underinformed. Even when

Whereas the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Constituency has been able to think of several alternatives which could be implemented at little or no additional cost, which would provide greater accessibility and better presence of facilitators; therefore

Be It resolved that an investigation of alternatives to overlapping time slots for constituency groups at general meetings be conducted, in conjunction with the Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Constituency Co-commissioners.

REPORT

Small Universities Common Interest Caucus

Annual General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

May 11 to May 16, 1996

Caucus Composition

Facilitators:	Renee Shilling	
	Karen MacGillivray	
Participants:	Mariyke Edmonson	Local 71
	Holly Morrison	Local 71
	Peter Whyte	Local 71
	Jessica Squires	Local 07
	Lisa Morris	Local 07
	Amy Cole	Local 11
	Heather Melcher	Local 30
	Mike Grube	Local 30
	Chris Straka	Local 32
	Laura Awosanya	Local 32
	Stuart MacKay	Local 82
	Leanne Martineau	Local 82
	Preston Parsons	Local 08
	Chris Gray	Local 31
	Darcy Davidson	Local 31
	Michell Moore	Local 61
	Donald Pelletier	Observer(Direction-Jeunesse)

1. Major Concerns of Small Universities

Not surprisingly, most of the issues raised in discussion centred around how the cuts to education are affecting small institutions specifically; special emphasis was placed on the importance of protecting small institutions from being the first and hardest to get hit in such cases. It was generally agreed that the key concerns were ascertaining that small institutions remain autonomous, and are sufficiently protected from amalgamation and rationalisation.

- a. It was a commonly -shared opinion that small institutions are particularly vulnerable to becoming amalgamated with larger institutions when such situations arise. It was further recognised that they are also the most likely to be shut down by authorities if and when cutbacks occur.
- b. In addition it was noted that the closure of small institutions due to downsizing may mean that the unique learning environment as well as special programs provided by small institutions may not be fully accessible to all Canadians.
- c. It was suggested that the Canadian Federation of Students mount a campaign to actively seek verbal and financial commitment to education from the federal and provincial governments. This suggestion was referred to the Small Universities representative on the Government Relations and Campaigns Committee.
- d. Another important consideration is the impact that rising tuition fees will have on small institutions whose populations consist mainly of non-local students.

It was noted that higher fees may deter students from leaving their respective hometowns, in an effort to save on living expenses.

- e. Delegates from Malaspina University-College expressed concerns regarding the recent loss of some full degree programs at their respective local. This new development requires a Malaspina student in such a program to finish the final two years of their degree at a different institution. Concern was shared that this kind of trend could compromise the accessibility of the unique learning environment that small institutions provide, as the only institution accessible to such a student may likely be a large institution.
- f. It was advised that local representatives be wary of the emergence of ancillary fees for services which were once covered by the institutions regular budget.

2. Motions Arising from Caucus

The following motion was presented to the National Education Committee:

Whereas small institutions have consistently been a target of downsizing and rationalisation initiatives, caused by the CHST and other funding cuts,

BIRT the following policies be adopted;

The Federation supports the right of students to access small institutions, including but not limited to those which serve specific regions;

The Federation supports the protection of the autonomous existence of small and regional colleges and universities;

The Federation supports the protection of small and regional colleges and universities from amalgamation and rationalisation initiatives.

3. Expanding Communications Among Small University Representatives

There was some discussion regarding improving communications by creating a steering committee and selecting a Small Universities Commissioner as outlined in Standing Resolution #17. Upon realizing that Appendix A (the appendix designated to contain the job description of the Commissioner) was missing, participants decided that a new job description should be created and presented for approval at the November General Meeting of the CFS.

It was also decided that a committee of three people (Peter Whyte, Heather Melcher, and Amy Cole) would work together to facilitate communication between small universities until a job description for the commissioner is available. Their main responsibilities will include amassing information pertinent to small university concerns; distributing said information to member locals designated as Small Universities; and maintaining a log of this information for reference purposes. It was suggested that the bulk of their communication be done through e-mail as it is cheap, efficient, and saves trees.

4. Concerns Regarding Federation Relations with Small Universities

Some concern was shared that there could be more done by the Federation to raise visibility of CFS on small non-member campuses.

National Graduate Council Report

May 1996 National General Meeting of the Canadian Federation of Students

Caucus Participants:

Local 83 - Concordia University Graduate Students' Union
Local 62 - Guelph Graduate Students' Association
Local 32 - Lakehead University Student Union
Local 79 - Post-Graduate Students' Society of McGill University
Association des étudiant-e-s des 2^e et 3^e cycles de McGill
Local 23 - Simon Fraser Students' Society
Local 19 - University of Toronto Graduate Students' Union
Local 47 - University of Western Ontario Society of Graduate Students
Local 48 - University of Windsor Graduate Students' Society
Local 84 - York University Graduate Students' Association
University of British Columbia Graduate Student Society (Associate member)

Resource People:

Derrick Deans, Federation Staff

Caucus Executive:

Allison Young, Chair
Stephannie Roy, Secretary-Treasurer
Michael Temelini, National Executive Representative

New Directives:

NGC 01 MOTION

Local 62/ Local 32

Be it resolved that Tracey Henry be accepted as the NGC National Executive Representative.

NGC 02 MOTION TO AMEND THE STANDING RESOLUTIONS

Local 23/ Local 83

Be it resolved that the following be added to Section 8 of Standing Resolution 19, be amended as follows:

f) Subsidies for General Meetings

- i) Subsidies will only be provided for the Council General Meeting held between February 1 and March 15;
- ii) Only one delegate per member association will be subsidized;
- iii) The subsidy will only cover child care, travel and accommodation costs;
- iv) Subsidies will only be provided for members in good standing;
- v) Requests for subsidies should be made to the Secretary-Treasurer, within two weeks of receipt of notice of the meeting.

- vi) Requests should include:
 - A justification as to why the member local cannot afford to send a delegate;
 - The amount, if any, the member local is able to contribute;
- vii) The Secretary-Treasurer will ensure that subsidies are adequately budgeted for, however if requests are larger than the amount budgeted, subsidies will be granted on a first come, first served basis;
- viii) Subsidies will not be provided for member locals with gross revenues over \$100,000. Gross revenues include association membership fees, and net revenue from subsidiary organizations such as pubs, cafeterias, administration grants; and which does not include membership fees collected on behalf of autonomous organizations: the Federation, provincial student federations, public interest research groups, athletic levies, and autonomous student newspapers and student radio stations, and medical plans.

The Anti-Indian Movement in the Wise Use Movement

*Threatening the Cultural and
Biological Diversity
of Indian Country.*



Other CWIS Publications

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The Anti-Indian Movement in the Wise Use Movement

Threatening the Cultural and Biological Diversity of Indian Country

Rudolph C. Rýser
Center for World Indigenous Studies
(A Fourth World Documentation Project Reprint)

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(This article is adapted from *Anti-Indian Movement on the Tribal Frontier*, Occasional Paper #16 Revised Edition, published by the Center for World Indigenous Studies, in June 1992.)

Indian nations' lands and resources are under attack. The successful confiscation of Indian lands and removal of Indians from the last remnants of their original homelands will open the door to expansionist exploitation of the western hemisphere's last biologically diverse regions. Indian nations in the Americas from the Arctic North to the rocky tip of South America are under systematic attack. From cold-war-like political conflicts in the northern continent to brutal, violent wars in middle and southern America resulting in thousands of Indian deaths each year, Indian nations face political movements and armies intent on taking lands and resources from their historical owners. In the United States of America an alliance of greed and deception has been formed from private property owners, recreation organizations, right-wing organizations, governments and business. Together they target Indian lands for transfer from Indian control to the control of private, non-Indian U.S. citizens. Domestic and multi-national corporations also want access to Indian lands and resources. In Central America, state governments hungry for new raw materials to diversify stagnant and unproductive economies have invaded Indian territories — in many instances forcibly removing whole populations. Land and resources are the target. Indians are considered expendable. In the states of South America several states tolerate, or actively participate in the invasion of Indian territories. Conducting counter-insurgency sweeps against the Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), the Peruvian government participates in attacks on Indian villages. Land and resources are at the root of the conflict. Thousands of Indians have been killed. In Brazil, gold-miners invade Indian lands and carry diseases into Indian society. The Brazilian government directly subsidizes invasion of Indian lands for raw materials as a matter of public policy. Nearly without exception, Indians peoples, their culture and their environment are under siege in the western hemisphere.

The systematic emphasis on Indian land transfers in the United States continues to grow.

Government, business and private citizens are a part of an effort organized Anti-Indian Movement intent on removing Indians from their reserved territories and replacing them with new outside owners. The Anti-Indian Movement also operates within the framework of the Wise Use Movement with the goal to replace Indian land rights with private non-Indian property rights — public property with private individual and corporate property. These movements wrap their public statements in the protection of the U. S. Constitution and its emphasis on property rights. Underneath, there is a single-minded bigotry which not only threatens the cultural and biological diversity of Indian nations and their territories, but directly challenges U.S. public and private efforts to protect the environment from further degradation.

Indian Country is vulnerable to organized efforts aimed at land and natural resource expropriation. Next to the United States of America and all the states, Indian nations combined are the owners of the largest area of land. With more than 135 million acres of wilderness, range, desert, timber, tundra and other types of land Indian nations collectively have sixteen percent of the wild forests, eighty-percent of the uranium, vast quantities of coal, oil, oil-shale, natural gas, strategic metals, water, wildlife, fisheries, range-lands, and wilderness. These are the remaining lands and territories reserved to Indian nations after more than two centuries of land expropriations, treaties, land purchases and wars between the United States and Indian nations. Benefiting from years of U.S. government policy aimed at the dismemberment of Indian tribes, non-Indian U.S. citizens moved into Indian territories in increasingly larger numbers. Many became residents of Indian reservations. They became "on-reservation non-Indians." The successful encroachment of non-Indian populations on to Indian reservations serves now as the catalyst for growing outside pressures to put Indian lands under the control of state governments, county governments, private individuals and commercial enterprises. The effect of land transfers and in-

migration of non-Indian populations to reservations is reflected in the growing "near-reservation" Indian populations -- Indians unable to live on the reservations reserved by their ancestors. Instead of territories reserved for the benefit of Indian peoples, many Indian reservations are rapidly becoming the land and raw material source for the United States.

CULTURAL AND BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY: A SUCCESSFUL STRATEGY IN THE AMERICAS

There was a time when the only people who

relations between themselves, but complex diplomatic, social and cultural ties. Though certainly not perfect, America's original nations had succeeded in developing successful societies after thousands of years. Each nation reflected the diverse character of America's complex eco-systems. Clothing, speech, spiritual systems, economies, and other life-ways differ between America's nations, accommodating the rich diversity of climates, terrain, and foods. What visitors from around the world could not have missed on their arrival over the centuries is the immense variety of peoples and their great wealth. America's nation's succeeded because

barrier" to non-Indian populations wanting the Indians' last remaining lands. In modern times, the large-scale movement of non-Indians onto Indian reservations began when the United States government enacted General Allotment Act (1887). Acting contrary to promises made, the U.S. government moved to finally destroy tribal governments. U.S. policy was to break up Indian reservations — ending more than 260 years of treaty relations between the independent state of the United States of America and hundreds of foreign Indian nations which remained outside the absolute control of the U.S. government. The General Allotment Act became the main effort of liberal democracy to eliminate so-called primitive and backward lifeways among Indian peoples. Liberal Senators committed to the Manifest Destiny Doctrine (the historical inevitability of Anglo-Saxon domination of North America from sea to sea) advocated the General Allotment Act as a progressive demonstration of liberal democracy. "Indians," it was often said, "must be protected from the ravages of progress." By moving non-Indians onto Indian reservations as the new reservation land-owners and locating individual Indians on parcels of reservation land or off the reservation completely, the United States government hoped to eliminate Indian nations once and for all. Indians, according to this thinking, would be integrated into civilized society, and "become productive members of a society comprised of people from many other nations who have become a part of the world's melting pot." This 19th century thinking was recently reaffirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court when it ruled on the question of whether Yakima County in the State of Washington could impose its governmental powers inside the territories of the Yakima Indian Nation. In Chief Justice William Rehnquist's majority opinion in the June 1989 decision in *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation*: It is "unlikely that Congress intended to subject non-Indian purchasers to tribal jurisdiction when an avowed purpose of the allotment policy was to destroy tribal government." Not only had the court reaffirmed the intent of the General Allotment Act as a basis for U.S. confiscation of tribal lands, but the court further asserted that the United States government will not recognize the authority of Indian governments inside their own territories when the Indian tribe exercises certain powers that affect non-Indian reservation residents — a 19th century idea based on race.

AMERICA'S ORIGINAL NATIONS' STRUGGLE FOR THE LAND

Indian land rights are paradoxically the strongest and the weakest link in the mosaic of land

rights in the United States. Because Indian nations are not a part of the system of governments that make up the United States federal system, (to this day, Indian nations remain political entities exercising sovereignty outside the framework of the U.S. Constitution), they are vulnerable to unrestrained political, economic and social interference from non-Indian citizens of the United States. While the United States government concluded international treaties with Indian nations promising to protect Indian people and territories from encroachments by the various states and individual U.S. citizens, it has more often than not been in the U.S. government's interest to abrogate those parts of various treaties. The United States of America obtained most of its wealth and virtually all of its territory from Indian nations. Lands and resources fell under U.S. control through treaties of cession, war with various Indian nations, purchase of territory from another state claiming Indian lands, abrogation of U.S. promises to protect Indian nations or through outright deception and confiscation.

If treaty and other agreements between Indian nations and the United States are sustained and advanced as law to be enforced by all parties, the territories of Indian nations will not be violated. If, however, the United States government itself becomes a party to efforts designed to confiscate and otherwise transfer Indian lands from Indian control to non-Indian control, Indian nations have only their own limited resources to defend themselves — invoking provisions of treaties and pursuing legal remedies. Combined with this latter condition of relative weakness is the weakness of Indian nations to defend themselves because of the complex web of jurisdictions claimed inside Indian territory.

States, counties, the United States government itself and Indian nations claim varying degrees of governmental power inside tribal territories. This condition of multiple jurisdictions, real or imagined, exposes Indian reservations to land transactions which are secretly completed. A transfer of land could be completed under state jurisdiction and not be revealed to any of the other jurisdictions until accidental discovery. The cultural and biological diversity of all Indian nations is threatened by this growing tide of legal and "illegal" land transactions.

In the last third of the twentieth century, Indian nations came under an organized threat aimed at displacing Indians from reserved lands. The Anti-Indian/Wise Use Movement seeks the unrestrained exploitation of Indian lands and resources. Commercial and private property interests without historical experience, without cultural

connections to Indian territories seek to impose their selfish agendas. Their efforts threaten to cause greater cultural and biological imbalances in Indian Country similar to cultural and biological imbalances already created in heavily populated areas in areas outside reservations.

REPLACING THOSE THEY FOUND

In the late 1960s, it had become clear that the U.S. government's 19th century policy succeeded in creating a "checkerboard land ownership" pattern on every "allotted reservation." Not only did the land ownership pattern put non-Indian and Indian landowners living next to each other, but it also complicated an increasingly difficult jurisdictional mess for tribal, federal and state governments. Though Indian nations originally reserved full jurisdictional authority to their own governments inside reservation boundaries, the United States government and the various states began to undermine that jurisdiction by imposing federal or state laws on reservations where non-Indians owned property. This complicated and confused civil and criminal law and justice responsibilities on Indian reservations.

By the 1980's more than 500,000 non-Indians claimed land on Indian reservations. More than half of many tribes' populations were forced to live outside reservations. The greater number of displaced Indians moved to locations near the reservation. They no longer can fully enjoy the benefits of territories reserved to them as distinct peoples under treaties and agreements with the United States of America. Non-Indian landowners competed with tribal peoples for limited resources and land inside reservation boundaries. The majority of the displaced Indians now live in areas and communities near their reservation, while still many thousands of Indians were forced under a 1950's U.S. policy of relocation to move to major cities like Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, Chicago, New York and Baltimore.

Non-Indian landowners on Indian reservations include people seeking inexpensive summer retreats, retirement homes, and commercial businesses. At first they received help and encouragement from the United States government. They later received help, encouragement and money from right-wing elements. Influence ranging from Sun Myun Moon's Unification Church in the Wise Use Movement to followers of neo-Nazi groups and white supremacists connected with the Anti-Indian Movement dovetailed in the middle 1980s with the on-reservation property owners' movement. Though the on-reservation property owners' movement began

in the late 1960s as a legitimate political dispute with tribal governments it eventually linked with off reservation "property-rights" interests. Non-Indian reservation property owners and off-reservation land and resource groups became the Anti-Indian Movement. By 1988 the Anti-Indian Movement became a founding participant in the "multi-use movement" that developed into the "Wise Use Movement."

THE ANTI-INDIAN MOVEMENT BEGAN INSIDE INDIAN COUNTRY

Under the guise of "mainstream non-profit research and education organizations" and the deceptively attractive "equal rights for everyone" slogan, the Anti-Indian Movement signaled the beginning of a growing effort to "privatize property" in reaction to growing Indian tribal government powers and the environmental movement. With its right-wing extremist technical help, the Anti-Indian Movement receives support and money from unsuspecting "reservation non-Indians" and off-reservation non-Indians. With their own agenda, the Anti-Indian Movement's reactionaries and extremists employ tactics and slogans calculated to exploit Indian and non-Indian fears of each other. Using the non-Indians' fear of Indians to build a power-base in mainstream politics, right-wing extremists took advantage of fear by encouraging bigotry.

While many transplanted non-Indians now live as residents on Indian reservations, large numbers are absentee landowners -- they don't live on the reservation. Despite their absentee landowner status, the "reservation non-Indian" in the late 1960s became a new and powerful challenge to the peace and stability of Indian nations. Indian people had often heard the refrain, "Why don't you go back to your reservation?" This was heard when Indian and non-Indian conflicts arose outside the reservation. It was a wrenching experience to have conflicts inside the reservation and hear that "Indians should become a part of the greater society and have equal rights with everyone."

Larger numbers of non-Indian landowners rejected tribal governmental authority inside the reservation; and they called upon the state to exercise its powers there. Non-Indian rejection of "alien tribal governments" built pressures leading to legal confrontations between tribal and state governments over a widening range of jurisdictional subjects. Increasing numbers of "reservation non-Indians" supplied state governments with the wedge needed to expand state powers into Indian reservations -- defacto annexation of tribal lands.

Tribes and states intensified their mutual antagonism and suspicion.

ORGANIZING THE MODERN ANTI-INDIAN MOVEMENT

Since the General Allotment Act in 1887, limitations on reservation resources forced more and more Indians to fish and hunt for their food in ceded areas near reservations. Indians asserted that treaties with the United States guaranteed continuing tribal access to some off-reservation resources. Not until tribes and states began to battle over control of natural resources outside reservation boundaries did there arise an organized Anti-Indian Movement in the 20th century. "Reservation non-Indians" became the core organizers of what became a highly structured Anti-Indian Movement. By 1991, the activists responsible for starting the Movement in 1976 headed four key organizations in the states of Washington, Montana, and Wisconsin. The United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW) and Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR) in Wisconsin are the main "constituent organizations."

Over the decades since the 1960s, the U.S.-based Anti-Indian Movement grew. From a half dozen non-Indian property owner groups in two states in 1968, it became more than fifty organizations in 1993. The first organized anti-Indian network formed in 1976 under the umbrella of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR). The ICERR linked on-reservation non-Indian landowner opposition to tribal governments with off-reservation non-Indian sport and commercial fishermen opposed to tribal treaty protected fishing rights. The mixture of on-reservation and off-reservation conflicts produced a sometimes confused, often distorted, attack on tribal governments, the federal government -- especially the judiciary -- and often bitter attacks on individual Indian people. ICERR formed the Anti-Indian Movement's populist and frequently racist ideology that attracted legitimately distressed non-Indians as well-as bigoted activists.

During the ten years after first forming, the Movement shifted from incipient forms of racism and populism to a more virulent form of reactionary-racism with subtle contours and technical refinements. Right-wing extremists began in 1983 to assume a strong influence in the Anti-Indian Movement through the Washington State based Steelhead & Salmon Protection Action in Washington Now (S/SPAWN) organization.

In the years that followed, right-wing and militantly bigoted activists gravitated to the

Wisconsin-based Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR). Still later, right-wing personalities assumed positions within the Citizen's Equal Rights Alliance (CERA) and United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW) organizations.

The Movement evolved into its present structure from two property owners' associations and a single umbrella organization (ICERR) in 1976. Today, the Movement boasts two "national organizations," five "coordinating local organizations" and a consistent network of twenty-three "local organizations" or "local contacts" and a claimed constituency of 450,000 people. Though the Movement frequently targets the Quinault Indian Nation, Suquamish Tribe and Lummi Indian Nation (in the state of Washington), Blackfoot, Salish & Kootenai and the Crow in Montana receive strong emphasis too. Politically active Indian tribes in Alaska, Arizona, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin have felt the effects of the network.

In fifteen years the organizational and tactical focus of the Movement switched from the state of Washington to Wisconsin and then to Montana, and back to Washington again. Despite maintaining contacts in several states, the Movement conducted major activities in only the three tactical states. Though the organizational focus shifted from one state to another, the ideological influence, tactics and strategy flowed from Washington State based personalities and organizations. Three groups (Quinault Property Owners Association (QPOA - Quinault Reservation), Association of Property Owners and Residents in Port Madison Area (APORPMA - Suquamish Reservation), and the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR) are politically linked to each of the Movement's organizational efforts. While the organizational strategy of the Anti-Indian Movement was to create a new organization for each political or legal challenge to Indian rights, all of the organizations have essentially the same supporting organizations. In other words, though the number of "national or coordinating organizations increased in number, the number of organizers and activists remained virtually the same - all had the same members.

Four individuals have been involved in the organization of every coordinating or national organization in the Anti-Indian Movement since 1968: George Garland (QPOA), Pierce and May Davis (APORPMA) and Betty Morris (ICERR, and QPOA). All come from the state of Washington. Garland and Morris are mainly concerned with the

Quinault Indian Reservation. The Davises are mainly concerned with the Suquamish Indian Reservation. After 1983, these main anti-Indian activists were joined by more sophisticated organizers from the right-wing elements of American politics. State Senator Jack Metcalf, fundraiser Alan Gottlieb, political organizer Barbara Lindsay, lawyer David L. Yamashita and National Wildlife Federation activists Carol and Tom Lewis (all from Washington) joined the Movement. These personalities have close connections with the Wise Use Movement. Some, like Alan Gottlieb (a key funder for the Free Enterprise Institute that serves as a major opponent to the environmental movement and a major player the Wise Use Movement) and Senator Jack Metcalf have close connections with the Unification Church and with the Liberty lobby. After organizing the Movement for twenty-three years, its leaders can claim several successes which now contribute to the growing capabilities of the Wise Use Movement:

- Adoption by a slim majority in the state of Washington Initiative 456 intended to create the public impression that Washington's voters opposed Indian rights and the continuation of Indian treaties - 1984.
- U.S. Supreme Court decided a County government could exercise zoning powers inside a reservation where non-Indians make up a substantial portion of the reservation population - 1989.
- Through its organization CERA, the Anti-Indian Movement became a direct and active participant in the Wise Use Movement in 1988.
- The total number of consistent anti-Indian activists country-wide is between 80 and 90 persons in sixteen states by 1991.
- The number of persons participating in anti-Indian activities (including meetings, protests, conferences and letter-writing is an estimated 10,850 persons country-wide by 1991.
- The number of persons who contribute funds or letters of support to anti-Indian groups is an estimated 34,150 by 1991.
- A total of 50 local anti-Indian organizations or contacts, five coordinating organizations and two national organizations have been created by the Movement mainly in the

states of Washington, Montana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. (not including organizations with other agendas which closely identify with the Movement) by 1991.

Though the Anti-Indian Movement is held together with a lot of smoke and mirrors there is enough substance to it to seriously threaten the peace and stability of Indian tribes in the United States. Due to its new associations in the "Wise Use Movement" the Anti-Indian Movement increased its reach and broadened its potential constituency.

IN THE PSYCHE OF THE UNITED STATES

The Anti-Indian Movement has its roots deep in the collective psyche of the United States. The bigotry of right-wing and Far Right political extremes is also deeply rooted in America's politics - especially in connection with Indians. The implied or explicit belief in "white superiority" and "native backwardness and inferiority" permeates American history. In the 1880's, U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, Supreme Court Justice Waite and Civil War icon General John Sherman advocated the Doctrine of Manifest Destiny. Senator Dawes of Massachusetts was both an adherent to the Manifest Destiny doctrine and the main sponsor of the General Allotment Act of 1887. It was quite normal in the U.S. Congress to espouse what now would be considered "white supremacist" ideas. In 1899 Senator Albert T. Beveridge rose before the U.S. Senate and announced:

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-admiration. Not He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples.

Theodore Roosevelt, John Cabot Lodge and John Hay, each in turn, endorsed with a strong sense of certainty the view that the Anglo-Saxon was destined to rule the world. Such views expressed in the 19th century and in the early 20th century continue to ring true in the minds of many non-Indian property owners. The superiority of the "white race" is the foundation on which Anti-Indian Movement organizers and right-wing helpers rest their efforts to dismember Indian tribes.

There victims on all sides of the growing Indian/non-Indian controversy over property ownership inside and near Indian reservations. Only a small number of people can be said to intentionally provoke conflicts and violence between Indians and non-Indians. Due to these conflicts, however, victims

themselves under the jurisdiction of an Indian nation's government.

- State governments have mistaken Indian nations as a threat to their sovereignty. States governments and their subordinate governments agreed as a price for statehood

progress." Indian nations are neighbors of the United States and should be treated with the same respect that the United States of America asks for itself.

- The diversity of Indian nations must be understood as a reflection of the diversity of all of America's lands. Cultural and Biological diversity are essential to human existence.
- To resolve the problem of non-Indians who do not wish to live under the authority of tribal governments, the problem must be recognized as having been created by the U.S. government - thus placing the burden of resolution on that government. Non-Indians ought to be given a choice whether they wish to now live under tribal authority. If they do not object, then nothing more need be done except remove (by negotiation) any extensions of state, county or U.S. authority inside the boundaries of a reservation that conflict with tribal authority. If a non-Indian rejects tribal authority, the United States government becomes obligated to purchase non-Indian property and improvements at a fair market value, and provide assistance in relocation.
- With those non-Indian persons continuing to remain on the reservation, the tribal government ought to assist them by inviting them to send representatives to an advisory council which can provide continuing advice to tribal authorities. Such a council would serve as a sounding-board for non-Indian views on tribal government actions which may affect their interests.
- To reduce conflicts between tribal and state (plus subsidiary) governments, tribal and state governments ought to negotiate a government to government accord which defines a framework for dispute resolution. County and municipal governments should be defined within this framework.
- Prior to the negotiation of joint natural resource management regimes between tribal and state governments (in ceded areas), every effort ought to be made to ensure careful consideration of "user group" interests. The State is obligated to consider these interests among those persons who are not members of the negotiating tribe. These negotiations can be substantially improved by including elected state and tribal officials on the negotiation teams - officials who take seriously the responsibility for ensuring consideration of "user group" interests.
- Where tribal, state, and U.S. federal conflicts obtain, a tripartite intergovernmental negotiating framework ought to be formed - taking into consideration remedies suggested above.
- Tribal governments should institute hate-crime laws permitting the prosecution of those who commit malicious harassment, intimidation, or violence aimed at tribal property, resources or aimed at individual tribal members by racial extremists. The Tribal government ought to sponsor and support the formation and continued operation of a "Human Rights Commission" which includes tribal and non-tribal membership. The Commission ought to document incidents of bigoted harassment, intimidation, property damage, and violence aimed at tribal members and non-tribal members within the territorial jurisdiction of the Tribe. The Commission should be responsible for conducting public meetings to ensure public awareness of human rights norms. The Commission ought to have the capacity to provide assistance to victims of hate-crime, or refer victims to an appropriate tribal agency.

BC F.I.R.E.

BC Foundation for Individual Rights and Equality

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Ph: (604) 493-9292 Fax: (604) 493-5563

What is BC F.I.R.E.?

BC F.I.R.E. is a non-partisan organization dedicated to making our governments protect our individual rights. BC F.I.R.E. believes that the equality of every individual must be protected by government. The current attempts to deal with native claims has strayed from these ideals and in the process, the rights of 97% of the people of this province are being abandoned in favour of politically correct agreements which are promoted in large by the bureaucracies involved.

BC F.I.R.E. is an umbrella organization which reinforces the efforts of various smaller, local groups to protect their rights. To this end, BC F.I.R.E. attempts to improve the flow of information about Indian issues and to inform the public in these matters.

BC F.I.R.E. will launch legal challenges to the actions of both governments in respect to the current native claims negotiations.

BC F.I.R.E. will support the establishment of Stakeholders' groups within any negotiation process and will demand they have a seat at the table.

Principles

1. All Canadian citizens are equal, with equal rights and equal responsibilities, including Indians. Any provisions based on race are repugnant to Canadians.
2. This organization shall oppose government policies, not Indian peoples.
3. This organization shall be non-partisan.
4. In any negotiations, the stakeholders and the public must be represented at the table, something government cannot do. The Federal Government is in conflict of interest since it has a fiduciary duty to the Indians.
5. The only way to achieve certainty is to deal with people not collectives.
6. Crown Lands belong to all citizens of B.C. and no one group can claim prior rights.
7. Private lands and private interests in Crown Lands must be inviolate.
8. The Land Claims policies of both Federal and BC provincial governments are based on errors and myths.
9. Aboriginal Title, if it ever existed, has been extinguished by the sovereignty of the Crown and by the benefits paid to Indians over the past years. Canadian Indians must

move into the 20th century. Indians must be free to practice their culture, but only in the same way as any Canadian is free to do so

Objectives & Goals

1. To disseminate information and facilitate communication between the various groups involved
2. To raise money to launch a class action suit against the government
3. To inform the public on Indian and Land Claims issues
4. To stop current government policies and directions. To stop the current 'Land Claims' process
6. To ensure that the public is 'at the table' in any negotiations

Organization

1. Incorporated as a Non-Profit Society.
2. Board of Directors appointed.
3. Established a communications strategy through a fax and mail network.
4. Formation of stakeholder groups (SNAG) wherever there are negotiations in progress.

Notes:

The direction of governments in respect to Indians over the past 20 years is seriously flawed. What has evolved is a reverse *apartheid* which is motivated by an ill-conceived attempt to compensate Indians for *claimed* injustices which occurred in the past and some emotional sympathy among the non-native population (particularly politicians) for perceived concepts of imaginary rights and sovereignty and mystical claims of the superiority of Indian society. That this is a gross generalization of what were very disparate tribes and collectives spanning an immense continent which was, for the most part, *terra incognita* to them beyond fairly localized trade, nomadic wandering and warfare. These were primarily stone age civilizations, if they can be considered civilizations at all.

In B.C., this situation is further complicated by the lack of treaties which would define the relationship of individual Indians with-in the province. In spite of that fact, a clearly defined relationship has grown over the years, accepted by both parties, which has defined the relationship as one of sovereign and citizen.

Canada has, since Confederation, pursued a policy in regard to Indians which is fatally flawed. This policy discriminates on the basis of race and treats Indians as members of a collective group rather than individuals. The original intentions were good: there was a sincere desire to protect the Indians from exploitation. The result, however, has been

disastrous for the Indians and has led us to the quagmire of negotiations and confrontations which we find ourselves in now.

Canada's (and British Columbia's) policy should be one of bringing these people into the mainstream:

1. The Department of Indian Affairs should be eliminated over period of eighteen months.
2. All programs for Indians should be integrated into the respective federal or provincial departments and agencies which administer them for all other Canadians. Special programs for Indians should be phased out over a period of two years from this integration. Any federal funding which originally was administered through DIAND should follow the program and should be phased out over the same two year period. Schools, for instance, would be folded into the provincial school system. Funds previously provided by the federal government would flow to the school board in question. Any programs which do not correspond to those available to the general population would be terminated immediately.
3. All reserve lands should be turned over to the bands in *fee simple* with-in one year. Prior to such a disposition, a referendum would be held on each reserve to determine if the band wished to distribute the lands to individuals or to continue to hold them in common. If a band wishes to it may incorporate under the Municipal Act, or other appropriate statute. If it wishes it may amalgamate with an other municipality, or it may remain an unorganized district, subject to the same regulations as any other similar community. All provincial statutes shall have full force and effect.
4. Land Claims negotiations as such should be scrapped. These matters were decided over 130 years ago. Specific Claims should be addressed where they are pressed with-in reasonable time limits and where clear unequivocal, evidence of the claim can be demonstrated. Where the band feels they did not receive an equitable allocation of land at the time the reserves were set up, and can provide clear proof as to the numbers of band members, this should be negotiated. The total allocation of land shall not exceed the percentage of the general population comprised of Indians. All land allocations shall be in *fee simple*, and shall be subject to a band referendum as to the method of distribution. All mineral rights, water rights, etc., shall vest in the Crown, as is the usual practice in B.C.
5. All laws, both federal and provincial, which discriminate on the basis of race shall be either repealed or reviewed. Indians shall have all the same rights, duties and freedoms as all Canadians have. This includes taxation.
6. Existing treaties and land claim settlements should have sunset clauses set into them. If this requires a constitutional amendment, then the necessary process should be set in motion.
7. It must be recognized that aboriginal sustenance activities apply only to Crown land. These activities must be consistent with conservation practices, such as hunting seasons, and must co-exist with other uses of the resource, including commercial uses. They do not take precedence and no allocation of the resource shall be made based on race.

The Challenge

For the past few years the federal and provincial governments have been heading down a road that will jeopardize the future of every non-native citizen in B.C. as well as Canada. In spite of the clear message sent to both levels of government during the Charlottetown Accord referendum, they insist on negotiating settlements with Indian bands behind closed doors. They will give lip-service to 'openness' while concluding agreements on key issues with no local Stakeholder input. This includes not only the so-called 'comprehensive' treaty negotiations, but as we have seen in the Apex situation, other dispute negotiations, as well.

The result in the Apex dispute was a recognition by the provincial government that "the Creator" conferred on the band management of local resources in the band's claimed traditional territory. This is a highly dangerous precedent. Under the constitution and laws of this province only the government has any right to manage resources. As has been seen, this agreement also introduced the principle of co-management with the Indians of permits involving private property.

The Nishga'a negotiations in Skeena illustrate the willingness of both levels of government to give away vast natural resources to the bands, along with billions of dollars. We can not afford these agreements. Nor can we give the Indians control of resource development.

The Status Indians represent only 3% or so of the population. Less than half of those live on the reserves.

Agreements signed by the federal government in the Yukon and in the North-West Territories set up parallel governments on a racial basis. In South Africa this was called *Apartheid* and was condemned around the world.

Self-government is on the table in all *comprehensive claims* negotiations (such as with the Westbank Band).

Only participation by ordinary citizens and local stakeholders will ensure that any agreements reached are fair.

The very process itself is wrong but if we do not participate we will be stuck with agreements which are automatically entrenched in the constitution!!!!

Why Stakeholders Groups?

Average citizens who will bear the brunt of any settlement.

One goal : get to the negotiating table.

Realize that you cannot trust the governments to represent you

The process is your enemy, not the Indians.

Group should represent all the affected interests in your area.

Forming the group

Put all differences aside

"All for one and one for all", "United we stand..."

Potential members:

Landowners

Ratepayers Groups

Cattlemen

Orchardists, farmers

Loggers

Truckers

Mills

Mining in area

Prospectors

B.C. Wildlife Federation, rod & gun clubs

Chambers of Commerce, business associations

Municipal government, Regional District.

General public

Highly recommended reading : Our Home or Native Land? By Mel Smith

If you want to be well-informed as to what is on the table, this book is essential.

The other side will have done its homework: you should be prepared. This book is written by the leading constitutional expert in the province. It is insightful, knowledgeable and yet very readable.

Write letters to officials involved, local politicians, M.L.A., M.P. and the respective governments: demand representation at the table, at least as observers.

Go public with your demand

Start a petition

The BC Treaty Commission process will try to co-op you with membership in 'advisory councils'. Be aware that these groups (T.N.A.C., R.A.C.) are only informed after the fact on substantive issues. By then it may well be too late.

In Interim Measures negotiations (Adams Lake, Douglas Lake, Apex) you will be told that the bureaucrats will represent you. The bureaucrats are paid to follow government policy, not your concerns.

Once you are at the table, take it one item at a time.

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House of Commons
Parliament Buildings
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0H4

Ronald Irwin, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs
House of Commons
Parliament Building
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0H4

Preston Manning, Reform Party of Canada
A203 1600 - 90th Ave. SW
Calgary, B.C.
T2N 5A8

Mike Harcourt, Premier of BC
Parliament Buildings
Victoria, B.C.
V8V 1X4

John Cashore, Minister of Aboriginal Affairs BC
Parliament Buildings
Victoria, B.C.
V8V 1X4

John Watson, Indian and Northern Affairs
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Vancouver, B.C.
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Darrell Stinson, MP
2924 29th St
Vernon, B.C.
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Nelson Riis, MP
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Gordon Campbell, BC Liberal Official Opposition
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Jack Weisgerber, Reform Party of BC
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Salmon Arm, B.C.
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Gordon Wilson, Progressive Democratic Alliance Party
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SEND COPY OF OUR LETTER OR YOUR OWN LETTER TO YOUR MP AND MLA IN
YOUR AREA. SEND COPY TO YOUR EDITOR OF THE LOCAL NEWSPAPER.
SEND COPY OF LETTER TO ALL FRIENDS AND RELATIVES ACROSS CANADA
AND ASK THEM TO DO THE SAME. WE HAVE TO GET OUR MESSAGE



We Are Not Racists!

Networking against "Super citizens" and promoting Equal Rights for Everyone.

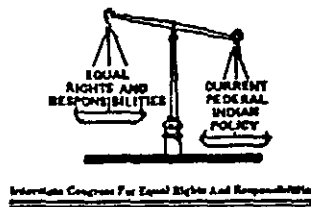
From the day Federal Judge George Boldt issued his land-mark decision in *United States vs. the State of Washington* Senator Jack Metcalf of Washington State wanted it reversed. Though Judge Boldt could not be described as a "flaming liberal" - he was an Eisenhower appointee - Boldt's decision to recognize tribal treaty fishing rights seemed to Metcalf to violate states' rights and demonstrate the heavy hand of federal interference in private rights. The Langley, Whidbey Island Senator was known as a conservative Republican. "Boldt's Fishing Decision" in 1974 seemed contrary to everything he believed.

Metcalf's father, John Metcalf, had been a long-time commercial fisherman and a man who energetically embraced the right-wing extremist views of William D. Pelly in the 1930s. The U.S. government arrested and jailed Pelly before World War II for his militant, anti-semitic Silver Shirts activities. The elder Metcalf told a reporter in 1986 that he "now endorses the beliefs of the Identity Movement," the militant neo-nazi movement led by Christian Identity minister Richard Butler of Hayden Lake, Idaho. (*Duncan, Seattle Times, April 20, 1986:B2*)

Senator Metcalf's active opposition to the "Boldt Decision" would soon bring him into close association with the newly founded anti-Indian movement. The anti-Indian movement would through Senator Metcalf, learn of its kinship with anti-tax, states-rights, Christian Identity, anti-Federal Reserve, and white supremacist ideologies. Metcalf's experi-

ence in Washington state electoral politics would eventually become a major asset to anti-Indian leaders. He would also inject a sizable dose of rightist political sophistication and influence into the anti-Indian movement.

The Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, in the latter 1970's, held forth as a leading exponent of "white civil rights." Though organized in every sense (except on paper) as a State of Washington based organization with an agenda almost totally



tioned to property interests of non-Indians on three Indian reservations and the "Boldt Decision," its leaders worked hard to cast the organization as a country-wide phenomenon with a broad agenda. Not until 1988, twelve years after its founding in Utah in 1976, was it admitted that ICERR was really a Washington State based group. ("Tribal Jurisdiction" *PARR ISSUE Fall/Winter 1988 - Page 14*)

It is now apparent that the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities created the illusion of a country-wide movement in the broadcast and printed media, not the fact of a movement. Isolated conflicts between Indian tribes and non-Indians had long sputtered unnoticed. What the Interstate

Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities did was give the non-Indian reaction to Indian tribes a unified, country-wide appearance. And, it provided the foundation for what would eventually become a country-wide movement. The roots of the Anti-Indian Movement remained in Washington. Its ideology continued to be shaped by Anti-Indian Movement leaders in Washington state. Illusion prevailed over the hidden realities.

Supercitizen as Scapegoat

During the second half of the 1970s, there was much talk about an "anti-Indian backlash" spreading across the country. The National Congress of American Indians called a mass meeting of Indian leaders in Denver, Colorado to organize an Indian defense against "the backlash." Navajo President Peter MacDonald and Mescalero Apache Chairman Wendell Chino called a mass meeting at Windowrock "to sound the war drums." For the broadcast and printed media this was a "classic cowboys and Indians" tale that would garner viewers and readers.

For others, notably Republican Attorney General Slade Gorton of the State of Washington, the increasingly public talk about a "white backlash against Indians" became a political opportunity. Gorton had led the state of Washington in numerous legal battles against Indian tribes before the U.S. Supreme Court throughout the 70's decade and lost virtually every case - the most important of which was *U.S. vs. Washington*. A

patrician by virtue of his New England roots and a strong advocate of free market economy, Attorney General Gorton found a certain appeal in the growing clamor by "whites seeking their civil rights."

The Attorney General's Office had become a target for criticism owing to its failure to win in the courts on Indian issues. And Attorney General Gorton had political ambitions. Gorton's response was to counter politically. He became, for a time, a vocal critic of Indian tribes and the federal government. He argued that the U.S. Constitution did not and could not allow for any of the U.S. citizens to have "more rights than others." Such a situation, Gorton averred, would make Indians "super citizens." Though his comments on the U.S. Constitution and his newly coined phrase, often repeated in the late 1970s, had the ring of "legal doctrine," it was only political prattle aimed at deflecting criticism of his office. No doubt, his statements reflected his own opinion too.

Gorton's increasingly strident condemnations of "super citizens" and "militant Indian attitudes" tended to give legitimacy to calls for "white rights on Indian reservations." In response to calls by tribal officials for "quiet talk," to resolve differences, Attorney General Gorton extended only a stiff upper lip. He would talk, but he would be uncompromising - an attitude shared by his eager partisans in the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities.

While the ICERR had a champion in Attorney General Slade Gorton and an ally in Senator Jack Metcalf, the group still had its problems. The difficulty facing the ICERR was that its leaders (Howard Gray, Betty Morris, George Garland and the others) remained mostly concerned with their personal interests. The organization had "communications and linkages" with groups like Montan-

ans Opposed to Discrimination (MOD) near the Flathead Reservation in Montana, the United Townships Association (UTA) inside the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, Concerned Citizens Council near the Winnebago and Omaha Indian Reservations in Nebraska, and Landowners Against Negligent Claims Enforcement (LANCE) in Wagner, South Dakota yet the movement remained "local and limited."

At its annual conference, two hundred "Washington State ICERR Chapter" members gathered at the Seattle

Gortons increasingly strident condemnations of super citizens and militant Indian attitudes tended to give legitimacy to calls for white rights on Indian reservations.

Center on November 26, 1977. ICERR's leader Howard Gray told the convinced "serious problems of discrimination are being encountered on reservations, and our organization is striving to equalize the discriminatory situation in Washington caused by fishing controversies, property rights and court decisions." (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*) With an eye to serving Attorney General Gorton's political interests in a small constituency on Indian reservations, and an eye to the press helping to elevate the property owners' plight to a case of "reverse discrimination" Gray began the effort to create a

publicly palatable agenda for ICERR.

For the Washington State Attorney General's Office, "reverse discrimination" was not enough. The problem described by Gray and other ICERR supporters was "greater than Boldt or the Indian treaties." Gorton's Assistant Attorney General Lawrence Coniff spoke before ICERR's November 26 meeting and urged his audience to see a greater devil.

The greatest problem of the 20th century is the growth of federal powers of governments all over the world. Governments are the greatest destroyers of individual liberty and world peace that ever existed. Governments make war, not people. It is the federal government which is creating most of the problems we have. (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*)

Robert R. Bogenberger of the Washington State Political Action Committees further amplified the evil when he told the ICERR audience, "a 'judicial oligarchy' is growing across the U.S., of which Judge Boldt was a part, and we might as well kiss our Constitution goodbye." (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*)

A few months after the conference Washington State's Senator Henry M. Jackson was under considerable pressure to lend his support to the non-Indian property owners. Anti-Indian advocates urged the U.S. Senate's powerful Energy and Natural Resources Committee Chairman to give further credibility to anti-federal government sentiments as well. In response to the growing public controversy, Senator Jackson wrote U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell:

Relations between Indians and non-Indians have become strained

In many areas as Indians have begun claiming rights to natural resources and jurisdiction over non-Indians. The Federal government's advocacy of the Indians' claims has seriously contributed to the tension. This is especially so when Indian claims adversely affect the rights or livelihood of non-Indians. (Jackson/Bell, 1978:1)

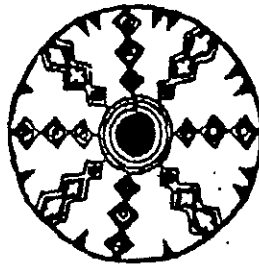
Senator Jackson's appeal to Attorney General Bell would eventually become a corner stone for arguments in support of U.S. Presidential intervention in the cause of "property-owners verses the super-citizens."

Anti-Indian and Right-Wing Populism: None dare call this racism

Reverse discrimination, governments that destroy individual liberty, the judicial oligarchy and the Constitution seemed to be just the right mixture to broaden anti-Indian organizational appeal. None would dare call this racism. In the late 1970s, with an economic recession coming on that would hit farmers, fishermen, lumberjacks, and work-a-day laborers harder than most, the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities found just the right combination of scapegoats. At the center would be the "super citizen" - people who had more than other citizens, and the government protected them even at the expense of the U.S. Constitution.

Within just a few years, Gorton's characterization of Indian people as "super citizens" was legitimized as one Detroit Free Press columnist proved when he wrote:

Congress must eventually decide whether Indians are American citizens like everyone else - or



some brand of super-citizens. So far, federal courts have granted super-citizen status. It is proving unworkable where Indian treaty "rights," as the courts view them, have conflicted with what non-Indians see as basic American equality. More and more people are being drawn into the issue as tribal claims expand. The argument doesn't equate with the black struggle for civic (sic) rights. Blacks have fought for equality. Indians seek inequality, a status above all other Americans, black or white. (Oppe 1984:12D)

The fact that Slade Gorton's "super citizen" was recognizable as having dark skin, black hair and was just different from most non-Indians helped people to see "the Indian" as an acceptable scapegoat for economic and social troubles.

So effective was this "scapegoat strategy" that it continued to carry weight with anti-Indian advocates for years to come. A Renton, Washington newspaper published a letter to the editor where the author made clear his views about who had privilege:

There is a relationship between special privilege and the belief in the divine right of succession that relates to the perpetuity of a separate race.

American citizens have been given a full poisonous smear concerning

The present-day picture of the noble red man is in sharp contrast to the one of the murdering, thieving savage that settlers hated and feared in early times. (Haller, Daily Record

Chronicle, 1984)

Indian mistreatment, which when thoroughly researched, is entirely different from the version shown by the poison pen arts such as Richard Nixon. People should remember their early day history, when tens of millions of immigrants were willing to risk their lives to own a piece of America, and no power on earth could stop them. The present-day picture of the noble red man is in sharp contrast to the one of the murdering, thieving savage that settlers hated and feared in early times. (Haller, Daily Record Chronicle, 1984)

Mr. Haller's denial that Indian peoples were ever victims of mistreatment echoes similar sentiments among those who would deny nazi mass-killings of Jews in the 1930s and 1940s. □

Indians at Ipperwash court to block photos

Injunction sought over possible evidence in Ipperwash case

By PETER EDWARDS
AND HAROLD LEVY
STAFF REPORTERS

IPPERWASH — The Ontario Provincial Police Association is going to court to block the release of potential evidence into the fatal shooting of Indian activist Anthony (Dudley) George last fall. The Star has learned. The police association, which represents the more than 250 police officers at Ipperwash last fall, has filed papers with the Ontario Court general division, in an attempt to win an injunction.

It wants to keep provincial investigators with the Special Investigations Unit from obtaining photos of police who may have been involved in the shooting and a severe beating of another man.

Police association president Brian Adkin confirmed the association had gone to court to block release of the photos.

Adkin declined to say why his association took the legal action.

"The issue is before the courts and I don't think we

should be making any comment on it at all," Adkin said.

SIU reports are required to be done within 90 days, but the probe into George's death already has taken more than eight months.

Alan Borovoy, general counsel of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, said the legal action to block release of the photos poses a threat to police accountability.

"You could hardly have adequate police accountability unless this kind of evidence were made available to the independent investigators," he said.

"They've got to co-operate with these kinds of investigations."

Indians at Ipperwash told The Star that SIU investigators are seeking up-to-date photos of police at Ipperwash to investigate allegations that police told George he would be the first Indian shot when police moved to evict them from the park on Lake Huron near Sarnia.

Indians at Ipperwash said they needed access to photos to help identify police who allegedly made threats.

At least seven police officers opened fire the night of Sept. 6, when George was killed, the Ontario Provincial Police said in a news release.

George was shot to death after 11 p.m. on Sept. 6, two days after Indians moved into the

empty provincial park at the end of tourist season, charging the park had been built on Indian burial grounds.

A week after the fatal shooting of George, and the wounding of two other Indians by gunfire, federal Indian affairs minister Ron Irwin produced papers supporting the Indian claim that the park was built on burial grounds.

Irwin appointed a mediator to try to settle the long-standing dispute the week after the fatal shooting.

Earlier this month, Irwin asked Ontario to call a public inquiry into Ipperwash and accused the OPP of having no rules of engagement in the late night conflict that killed George.

The province had refused to call an inquiry.

Adkin responded to Irwin's latest comments with a letter to Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, accusing Irwin of endangering police officers.

Adkin also called for Irwin to be kicked out of his position.

In his May 2 letter to the Prime Minister, Adkin wrote: "I'm sure you can understand our concern when OPP officers, who deal with the most dangerous population of people in the country, have had their safety and certainly their effectiveness as peace officers compromised by Ron Irwin's unfounded and untrue remarks."

see also Star 12/5/96 re: fed. gov't implication

• ACTIVITY REPORT •

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Right-Wing Connections

Toward a "White Christian Republic"

The Steelhead and Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now (S/SPAWN) sponsored Initiative 456 performed the vital role of further consolidating the anti-Indian movement (particularly in the states of Washington, Montana, Wisconsin, Minnesota and New Mexico). It also opened the door to establishing covert and long-term ties between the Anti-Indian Movement and extreme right-wing organizers and organizations.

Individual champions of extreme right-wing causes like Washington's state Senator Jack Metcalf, former state Senator Michael Patrick and Alan Gottlieb, right-wing fund-raiser and leader of the Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, were early participants in the Anti-Indian Movement. Through them, the Anti-Indian Movement established ties with the right-wing and militantly bigoted Populist Party, other persons connected with the racially

in the "tri-partisan approach" (*a strategy by some right-wing organizers to establish mainstream legitimacy in the Republican and Democratic parties in addition to the Populist Party*) were particularly interested in the Anti-Indian Movement because of its early close ties to the Republican Party. The potential for increasing control over tribal land



and natural resources by the "white race" also attracted the more militantly bigoted. These persons associated with the Christian Identity Church and other neo-Nazi groups. The more militantly bigoted individuals and groups chose direct confrontation with Indians using hate

hands - and that fact helped change the movement more. These were two conditions conducive to the systematic emergence of right-wing extremists in the Anti-Indian Movement.

The Populist Party of the Right

A key leader in the S/SPAWN Initiative campaign was Washington state Senator Jack Metcalf. No ordinary conservative Republican State Senator, Jack Metcalf, is many things more. While he was developing a public initiative seeking abrogation of Indian treaties, *The Spotlight* (an extreme right-wing publication) announced in its July 23, 1984 issue that Senator Metcalf was scheduled to speak at a Washington Populist Party Convention. By that date, the Populist Party had been taken over by Mississippi Ku Klux Klansman Robert Weems and assorted other members of neo-Nazi groups, Posse Comitatus, Christian Patriots, National States Rights Party leaders and other right-wing extremists.

CULTURE: "RESPECT RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY. Every race has both the right and duty to pursue its destiny free from interference by another race. The Populist Party opposes slavery, imperialist exploitation, social programs which would radically modify another race's behavior, demands by one race for another to subsidize it financially or politically as long as it remains on American soil, forced segregation or integration. The Populist Party will not permit any racial minority, through control of the media, culture distortion or revolutionary political activity, to divide or factionalize the majority of the society-nation in which the minority lives."

"REPULSE IMMIGRATION. Repeal the Third-World-oriented immigration law of 1965 and replace it with one which works to preserve America's cultural heritage in the face of a population explosion among backward peoples and a no-population growth among the founding stock of the nation. At present there are an estimated 15 million illegal aliens in our midst. They should be found and deported. Our borders must be sealed off from this traffic at all cost or the country will be destroyed from within after it has first been bankrupted." (*"Power to the People", The Populist Party of the United States Platform, April, 1984.*)

While depicting the Populist Party as respectful of cultural and racial diversity, the platform clearly asserts "white supremacy," opposes affirmative action programs, seeks to marginalize people of

color, and threatens Jews. This interpretation of the "cultural and racial diversity" plank is confirmed in the next plank on immigration. It is here that one sees clearly that the Populist Party in 1984 was committed to "America's cultural heritage" and the purity of "the founding stock of the nation" - translated as *English-speaking Anglo-Saxon*. Taken together, these two planks reveal an intensely held racist point of view. The language of these planks reflects the usual content of Christian Patriot, Ku Klux Klan, and neo-Nazi literature.

Reverend Bob Le Roy, pastor of a church on Washington state's Whidbey Island and former chaplain of the militant right-wing group called the Minutemen conducted the Washington State Populist Party's day-long convention in



1989. When asked about alleged links between the Populists and the Ku Klux Klan, Le Roy said: "We believe in the purity of the white race. Other than that, I don't know of any connection with the KKK." (*Gough, The Seattle Times, July 23, 1989*)

Along with Senator Jack Metcalf, other rightist political figures involved in the Anti-Indian Movement affiliated with the Populist Party. Darlene Hangartner, a member of Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (P.A.R.R.) made a bid for Wisconsin State Attorney General in 1990 with the backing of the Populist Party. She failed to win the seat. (*Thompson, The Daily Press, March 29, 1990*)

Former Idaho Congressman George Hansen, a frequent opponent of Indian

tribes, joined Klan leader (now a Republican Louisiana State legislator) David Duke as a guest speaker at the March 1987 national committee meeting of the Populist Party. Hansen received the Populist Party's presidential nomination in the Fall of 1987. He declined the nomination and then announced his desire to work inside the Republican Party. (*"Background Report on Racist and Far-Right Organizing in the Pacific Northwest," Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989, page 8*) David Duke became the Populist Party's presidential candidate in 1988.

Duke's connections with the Ku Klux Klan followed him throughout his campaign. Failing to win the presidency of the United States, Duke followed Hansen's lead and moved into the Louisiana Republican party. On February 18, 1989 he won a seat in the Louisiana State Legislature using the slogan "Equal Rights for everyone." Like others of the extreme right, Duke converted a liability into an asset by switching to the Republican Party and running for office in a predominantly "white district."

David Duke's February 18 (1989) election victory in New Orleans was the result of a new, carefully considered, sophisticated national strategy by political forces centered around the Liberty Lobby and the Populist Party. These anti-Semitic, white supremacist forces are looking for a foothold in the political mainstream for a broad political agenda to turn the United States into a "White Christian Republic." (*"Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party", Center for Democratic Renewal Background Report #7, Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989:1*)

Toward a White Christian Republic: ROC and the Liberty Lobby

While serving as a leading hero of the Anti-Indian Movement, Senator Metcalf was also a leading spokesperson for an organization called Redeem Our Country (ROC) based in Fullerton, California. A Far Right organization dedicated to the elimination of the Federal Reserve System, ROC's leadership is populated with some of the most extreme right-wing advocates in the United States.

Robert M. Bartell, Liberty Lobby Chairman; Gerald Unger, Editor of the extremist National Association to Keep and Bear Arms (NAKBA), and Robert White of the Duck Club are some of the more notable ROC supporters. (*ROC Letterhead*, April, 1985) The Liberty Lobby is an organization which advocates anti-Semitism, and white supremacy and a broad political agenda to turn the United States into a "White Christian Republic." (*Ballot-Box Bigotry*, CDR, 1989:1)

The National Association to Keep and Bear Arms is a Seattle and Des Moines, Washington based group which presents itself as a "hard core" alternative to the right-wing National Rifle Association. NAKBA supporters live mainly in Montana (Billings, Polson), Oregon (Medford and Tiller) and Washington (Kent, Colfax, Renton and Issaquah). (*Background Report on Racism ... Pacific Northwest*, CDR, 1989:9)

The Duck Club is now mainly a Pacific Northwest operation though its founder is from Florida. The Duck Club advocates anti-communist, and anti-tax, doctrines mixed with anti-Semitism from Seattle, Washington. There are other chapters in Oregon, Colorado, Arizona, Michigan, South Dakota. (*Duck Book Digest*, 1983)

Senator Metcalf's connection with

such extremists would not be so significant if he were not considered a leader among equals. In a fund-raising letter to ROC members, the organization's national chairman Jim Townsend wrote: "Senator Metcalf has become a national hero to conservative-minded groups" (*Redeem Our Country*, ROC, April 1985).

Though Metcalf avoids any direct assertions of conspiracy theories, publicly disassociates himself from Nazism and claims he is not anti-Semitic, his activities on behalf of ROC, the Populist Party and other extremist groups would suggest he has at minimum a high tolerance for the radical right. Such tolerance even extends to promoting extreme right-wing groups in his own newsletter:

Metcalf's newsletter, *Honest Money For America*, promoted a 1986 meeting in Richland, Washington, which featured tax protest leader Peggy Christiansen from Montana, the so-called Christian Patriot publication *Justice Times*, and the Tri-City Citizens for Constitutional Government. The Tri-City group is widely regarded as a Posse Comitatus-type organization. (*CDR opens Seattle office to coordinate Northwest work in THE MONITOR, A Publication of the Center for Democratic Renewal*, Nos. 13-14, November 1988)

Metcalf's connections in the upper echelons of right-wing organizations securely linked S/SPAWN to right-wing money and political support in 1984. Senator Metcalf's persistent role in the Anti-Indian Movement began with his loose association with the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, but it became firmly established when he became an endorser of S/SPAWN. After the Initiative 456 campaign came to a close, Metcalf became a member of the non-profit version of S/

SPAWN (renamed for Internal Revenue Service purposes: Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Network) Board of Directors. Finally, Metcalf became a member of United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW) after the quiet death of S/SPAWN. Metcalf's influence remains a strong factor in the Anti-Indian Movement.

Patrick, FACTS, and Ducks

S/SPAWN continued its move toward the right aided by former Washington state Senator Mike Patrick. Patrick, like Metcalf, identifies himself as a conservative Republican. Patrick gave his public support and endorsement to S/SPAWN, and consequently brought additional connections from the religious right. (*S/SPAWN Letterhead*, September, 1984) As a member of the FACTS for Freedom Board of Advisors, a right-wing group based in Seattle, Patrick was apparently responsible for arranging the participation of FACTS founder and president James C. Galbraith in an August 13, 1984 S/SPAWN fund-raiser in Tacoma, Washington.

A part of the extreme religious-right, Galbraith's organization includes on its Board of Advisors not only Senator Patrick, but also Jeffrey Troutt, former Assistant Director of Paul Wyrick's extreme right-wing Free Congress. Also included on the FACTS Board of Advisors are Peter Battjes, Area Manager (northwest) of the Christian Broadcasting Network and Gene and Mary Jane Goosman, founders of the Seattle-based Equal Justice For All.

The Goosmans' organization is closely associated with the Duck Club and W. Cleon Skousen's right-wing National Center for Constitutional Studies. (*FACTS FOR FREEDOM*, Galbraith, 1989)

Gene Goosman is not only a founder

of Equal Justice For All, he is also the editor of *QUACKER*, the Duck Club's newsletter. The Seattle Duck Club's publicly stated purpose is to:

promote strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States; to promote sound economic and fiscal policy by the federal and state government bodies; to critically study, examine, review and evaluate the actions (completed, planned or in process) by organizations, groups, or individuals in the federal and state government which effect the economy and financial status of all its citizens; to disseminate the information derived from such study to the DUCK CLUB membership, to the public, and to the members of the federal and state government by all means possible. (*QUACKER Newsletter*, October 1986)

A right-wing group with membership in Seattle and Sequim (estimated 15 members), Washington; Eau Claire (estimated 24 members), Michigan; Colorado Springs (180 members), Colorado; and Roseburg, Oregon the Duck Club frequently claims the existence of conspiracies that place Americans at a disadvantage. (*Duncan, SEATTLE TIMES*, April 20, 1986) Blaming racial and sexual minorities for disadvantages experienced by "ordinary citizens, the Duck Club usually advocates anti-tax, anti-government and anti-welfare positions.

Gene Goosman is a vigorous spokesman for his own organization as well as the Duck Club. Association with FACTS ensures a link with the religious right which reinforces the racial and sexual biases advocated in his own group. The Duck Club is intimately connected to Senator Jack Metcalf's Redeem Our Country in California.

The National Farm Bureau

S/SPAWN's right-wing leanings also embraced the Washington chapter of the National Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau is not known as a radical organization, but its own rightwing associations and a nationally sanctioned anti-Indian policy surfaced the Washington chapter as a supporting organization for S/SPAWN. Driving its country-wide opposition to Indian tribes is a national policy adopted in 1985,

We support legislation to establish the rule that all people have equal rights and responsibilities under the law. All citizens should be required to obey the laws of local, state, and national governments. The "nation unto a nation" treatment of native Americans should be abolished. *** We favor abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and termination of special treaty rights by purchase or negotiation for fair compensation. *** These steps will end special treatment of native Americans and bring everyone to full equality under the law. *** We oppose granting the power of eminent domain to Indian tribes. (*Farm Bureau, 1985 Policy 612*)

From ACE to PACE

Fears that the "white race is becoming a minority in the United States" are behind the Anti-Indian Movement's attacks on Indians as "Super Citizens." Expressions of discontent over perceived "special privileges" granted by the U.S. government to Indian people also reflect this fear. The fear of the "white race being overwhelmed" is most pronounced in several large cities where African Americans and other non-white popula-

tions have become majorities. The same kind of fear seemingly drives anti-Indian activities on and near Indian Reservations. As a result, increasing numbers of anti-Indian partisans appear to be attracted to the right-wing "Pace Amendment."

Originally released as the *Amendment to the Constitution: Averting the Decline and Fall of America*, under the pseudonym, James O. Pace, the Pace



Amendment has developed a growing following in the states of Washington, California, Wisconsin and Montana. Fundamentally racist, Pace Amendment advocates are not shy about their fear of non-white peoples as these remarks by an orchardist and 1986 member of the Chelan County Planning Commission in the state of Washington illustrates:

I think we are making a big mistake opening up our doors to all these non-whites, even though they may be fine people If the white race becomes the minority, we won't have a voice in the government we founded. We will become the minority." (*Duncan, Seattle Times*, April 24, 1986, page D3.)

The actual text of the proposed Constitutional amendment clearly specifies "American Indians" and other persons of "non-European or non-white blood" as being unacceptable as citizens in the United States of America.

No person shall be a citizen of the United States unless he is a non-Hispanic white of the European race, in whom there is no ascertainable trace of Negro blood, nor more than one-eighth Mongolian, Asian, Asian Minor, Middle Eastern, Semitic, Near Eastern, American Indian, Malay or other non-European or non-white blood, provided that Hispanic whites, defined as anyone with an Hispanic ancestor, may be citizens if, in addition to meeting the aforesaid ascertainable trace and percentage tests, they are, in appearance, indistinguishable from Americans whose ancestral home is the British Isles or Northwestern Europe. Only citizens shall have the right and privilege to reside permanently in the United States. (Ludwick, *THE MISSOULIAN*, July 21, 1988)

Organizations not apparently connected to the Pace Amendment effort like Citizens for Constitutional Government in Cle Elum, Washington clearly echo its intentions. CCG's head, Rod Strand, overtly stated what many Anti-Indian leaders say in slogans and public deceptions:

"... this country was set up by free, white, Christian people ... and, while I have nothing against blacks and Jews and Asians enjoying the fruits of their labor here, they should not mingle with us or govern us."

Rod is a racial separatist.... [He] believes in a special kind of separatism when it comes to laws. All laws on the books, he says, should

be applied only to those people who seek the benefits of the statute. Those who do not wish those benefits should not have to support them with their money. (Duncan, *THE SEATTLE TIMES*, April 23, 1986)

Arch Edwards, spokesman for the League of Pace Amendment Advocates and occasional speaker before the World Aryan Congress in Hayden Lake, Idaho appeared in Montana to organize support for his efforts from the European Heritage Society and the anti-Indian group All Citizen's Equal in 1988. Expressing the aspirations of neo-Nazi leaders and Christian Patriot organizers, Edwards claimed,

the Northwest provides fertile ground for recruitment. A lot of "white nationalists" are moving to the Northwest because of "the low density of non-whites," he said, calling it the country's "last bas-

tion of white culture." (Ludwick, *THE MISSOULIAN*, July 21, 1988)

Associating All Citizens Equal with racism in before the Pace Amendment identified ACE with bigotry. Reacting to Flathead Tribal Council Vice Chairman Ron Therriault's charges of All Citizens Equal racism, ACE member John Monteith wrote:

I take issue with this term being used to describe ACE for the following reason - first, ACE stands for All Citizens Equal and everyone including Indians should follow the same laws and be equal in every way as U.S. Citizens. (Monteith, *MISSION VALLEY NEWS*, December 3, 1987)

The increasingly public debate about racists in ACE's ranks in 1987 and 1988 resulted in the formation of a multi-racial human rights group established in 1989 to monitor racist incidents in the Ronan-

Multiple Use Strategy Conference

August 1988

Reno, Nevada

(Selected List)

- American Freedom Coalition, Washington, D.C. (*)
- Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, Bellevue, WA (*)
- Citizens Equal Rights Alliance, Big Arm, MT (**)
- Committee to Preserve Property Rights, Cook, WA
- Concerned Citizens for Western Lane County, Florence, OR
- Dupont Company, Agricultural Products Department, Wilmington, DE
- Exxon Company, U.S.A., Denver, CO
- Farm Bureau (California, Nevada, Oregon) (**)
- Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, Calpella, LO (**)
- Mountain States Legal Foundation, Denver, CO. (**)
- National Center for Constitutional Studies, Salt Lake City, UT (*)
- National Inholders Association, Washington, D.C. (**)
- National Rifle Association, Washington, D.C. (*)
- Share the Stein Committee, Vancouver, B.C. (**)

(*) Known right wing connections (**) Known anti-Indian connections

Poulson area of the Flathead Reservation. During an October 1989 meeting of the multi-racial human rights group, a number of far-right activists attended with the intention of disrupting the meeting.

Frank Ellena, an unsuccessful candidate for Lake County superintendent is known to have distributed literature from Colorado-based Christian Identity minister Pete Peters. E. Keith Roberts, head of the Ronan Christian Church and formerly of Wyoming joined Ellena to organize in March 1990 a *human rights organization* calculated to undermine the multi-racial human rights group. The Ellena/Roberts group claimed to have 50 members including ACE members Del Palmer and John Monteith. Ace member Gene Covey attended meetings of the

Ellena/Roberts group, but did not formally become a member. Former ACE board member Nilah Miller, known to frequently hand out anti-Semitic literature at meetings, joined the group.

During the early stages of forming the Ellena/Roberts group (December 1989 and later) Palmer and Miller reported that their attempts to pass out white supremacist literature at ACE meetings was not being encouraged. ACE resistance to the distribution of racist literature during its meetings apparently grew in late 1989 and early 1990 as a result of public charges from the multi-racial human rights group. ACE's Bill Covey disavowed any connections between neo-Nazi activities and ACE. ACE members who advocate white supremacy were not specifically

disavowed.

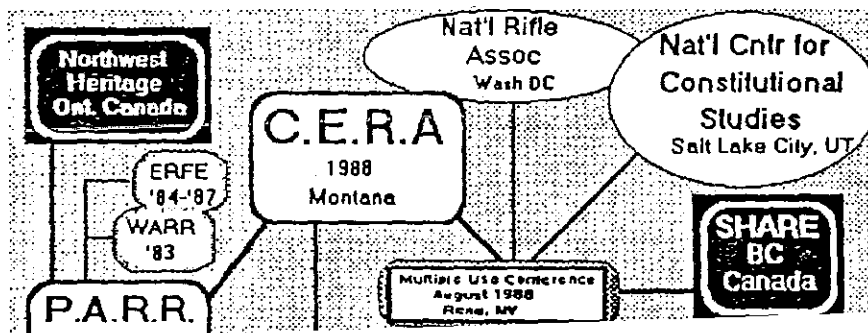
Moon's Unification Church: Right-wing Lands in "Wise Use"

Shortly before October 1983, S/ SPAWN acquired the "unlikely support" of the right-wing's principal fundraiser Alan Gottlieb. Through his organization Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, Gottlieb quietly began to influence S/SPAWN's political strategy. As a Board of Directors member for the extreme right-wing, Unification Church sponsored, American Freedom Coalition (A.F.C.) (formed in 1980) Gottlieb gave S/SPAWN powerful allies. Through the A.F.C. Board, Gottlieb linked the Anti-Indian Movement to Korean minister Sun Myun Moon.

The apparently innocent support given S/SPAWN by Gottlieb eventually connected the Anti-Indian Movement to the Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, headed by Ron Arnold in Bellevue, Washington. Arnold serves on the Speaker's Bureau of the Unification Church sponsored Confederation of Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas (CAUSA), the administrative parent of the American Freedom Coalition. (Figure 13)

Headed by Reverend Sun Myun Moon's chief political advisor, Matthew Morrison from Seattle, CAUSA reportedly

Multi-Use Connection (Figure 13)
Founding the Wise Use Movement
1988



CAUSA's speaker's bureau.

While representatives of the religious right, and right-wing extremists invisibly nurtured roles in the Anti-Indian Movement, their actual relationship did not become apparent until 1988. At a "multiple-use movement conference" in August in Reno, Nevada, many of the linkages between Anti-Indian activists and right wing groups came together. Under American Freedom Coalition sponsorship and through the AFC created Environmental Task Force, Anti-Indian activists entered into formal inter-organizational cooperation with right-wing extremist groups. The agenda: Land and control of resources. The new configuration of right-wing, far-right, anti-Indian, resource hungry corporations, survivalists, conservationists, conservative Republican politicians and property owner associations formed what is now the Wise Use Movement. The anti-Indian movement joined hands with others persuaded that grabbing land and resources "is a Constitutionally protected right."

In addition to many responsible environmental groups and timber associations, the American Freedom Coalition brought together such groups as those listed in the selected list of group participants on the previous page. The most prominent anti-Indian group participating in the conference was the Movement's Citizens Equal Rights Alliance. It was not coincidental that the Exxon corporation and the Louisiana-Pacific corporation turned up at this gathering. Both corporations are purported to have connections with CERA. Both corporations, also have a keen interest in efforts to open both tribal and U.S. protected lands to oil and timber development.

The Farm Bureau's participation coincides with the intense conservatism of its rancher and farmer members. Its anti-Indian policy makes its presence at the conference even more significant.

Hidden within the coalition of right-wing, corporate and property owner groups labeled "Wise Use," anti-Indian groups can find a new comfort and new allies. In 1992, the new coalition began to gain momentum and political legitimacy. With the Republican Party's desire to win support (political and financial) from right-wing groups in the election year, the Wise Use Movement will become a prominent new feature on the political landscape.

The first level of cooperation between the Anti-Indian Movement and the right-wing in 1983 produced organizational cross-memberships. The second level of cooperation, strategic organizational cooperation, developed at the Multiple Use Strategy Conference in Reno, Nevada. Achievement of both levels of cooperation effectively placed the Anti-Indian Movement within the extreme right-wing politics of the United States. By the early 1990s, right-wing politics effectively dominated the ideology and organizational strategy of the Anti-Indian Movement.

Militant Far Right Bigotry

Militantly bigoted elements of the Far Right have not openly worked within the Anti-Indian Movement. These are the most violent among the Far Right. Their presence on and near Indian reservations, however, has been detected. The presence of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho is the most obvious illustration of how a militantly bigoted group has located near an Indian Reservation. Identified as a Christian Identity Church or Aryan Nations headed by Richard Butler, this neo-Nazi compound is located near the Coeur d'Alene Indian Reservation.

The National Socialist Vanguard, a violent, neo-Nazi group operates from the small town of Goldendale, just south of the Yakima Indian Reservation in the state of Washington. Closely associated with Richard Butler's Aryan Nations, the National Socialist Vanguard sometimes operates from The Dalles, Oregon, just across the Columbia River from Goldendale, Washington. Rick E. Cooper is the Vanguard's main spokesman and the publisher of the NSV REPORT.



Evidence of militantly bigoted group activity on and near Indian reservations has been documented. On April 13, 1988 the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe received in its offices in Redmond, Washington a packet of hate mail from a neo-Nazi advocate located in Waukegan, Illinois. With "HELP THE INDIANS" typed on the face of the envelope, Mark Margoian, a known racist considered mentally unbalanced, sent the

tribe several pages filled with anti-Semitic and anti-Black slurs calculated to inspire the reader to hate Jews and racial minorities. Though Margoian is not identified with any structured organization, his materials are similar to those issued by Richard Butler's Aryan Nations.

Press reports of Christian Identity and neo-Nazi skin head group activity in Wisconsin indicate their presence at anti-Indian protests sponsored by PARR and Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc. (See Figure 9 on page 31)

The skinhead group S.H.Y. in Racine, Wisconsin has maintain close ties with the Portland, Oregon based Northern Hammer Skinheads. S.H.Y.'s slogan, "White youth of today, white future of tomorrow" illustrates the kind of intimidation Indians in eastern Wisconsin receive.

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consin receive.

Beginning in early 1990, evidence began to emerge that a paramilitary compound linked to Richard Butler's Aryan Nations was being organized at a 20 acre site just south of the Quinault Indian Nation on the Pacific coast of the state of Washington.

Two persons, Lloyd Smith and Charles Chase, are reported by informants to be the leading organizers.

One informant reported that Smith "openly admitted," to Indian shockers "that he is Aryan Nations."

Smith has also been reported to be involved in direct and indirect efforts to intimidate an Indian woman who owns land in front of the alleged compound. Apparently, Smith's intimidation is aimed at forcing the Indian woman to sell her

land. Smith constructed a gate across the entrance to the alleged compound - the gate is on the Indian woman's property. Informants suggest there is a connection between the Quinault Property Owner's Association, United Property Owners of Washington and these developments. The present Study does not reveal any connections between the alleged "Aryan Nations" events and these two anti-Indian organizations. The Quinault government was advised of these developments by informants. □

The RWAIN Project is sponsored by the Center for World Indigenous Studies. It was conducted independently using CWIS resources and volunteers.