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From assimilation to self-determination: key historical documents from Canada

Bruce Gilbert¹

THE WHITE PAPER OF 1969²

The “White Paper of 1969”, formally titled “Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian policy”, unapologetically sought the complete assimilation of Indigenous peoples in Canada within the terms of then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau’s liberal, individualist views of a “just society”. Trudeau, who also fought against special status for mostly francophone Quebec, was an idealistic believer in the liberty and equality of human persons. Motivated philosophically by these values, and appalled at the conditions of Indigenous peoples in Canada at that time, Trudeau commissioned Indian Affairs Minister (and future prime minister) Jean Chrétien to research and draft this “White Paper” (the ironic name was not intentional—“White Papers” in general are special government research documents that typically lead to new legislation.) The 1969 White Paper advocated “equality” for all Canadian Indigenous people with their non-Indigenous fellow citizens by abolishing “Indian

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2 Available in: <<https://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100010189/1100100010191#hp1>>. Access at May 6th, 2019.

Status”, reservations (territories reserved for Indigenous peoples), all previously existing treaties, the Indian Affairs Department and all other provisions under the “Indian Act” of 1876. The White Paper met with overwhelming opposition from Indigenous people in Canada (See “Red Paper” below) and was formally withdrawn in 1970.

THE “RED PAPER” OF THE INDIAN CHIEFS OF ALBERTA, 1970³

Opposition to the 1969 White Paper, which was fierce and overwhelming, was epitomized by the “Citizens Plus” document, drafted by Cree leader Harold Cardinal and more popularly called “The Red Paper” (here, of course, the irony of the title was only too intentional). Cardinal had stated in his book, *The Unjust Society*, mocking Trudeau’s notion of the “just society”, that the White Paper was nothing less than “a thinly disguised programme of extermination through assimilation”. The Red Paper defended Indian Status, reservations (which were to be divided into the private property of individual Indians) and other provisions of the Indian Act as absolutely essential to the survival in Indian society and culture in Canada. The Red Paper, combined with other forms of opposition, was essential to the White Paper’s defeat and withdrawal.

“INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION”, 1972⁴

The “Indian Control of Indian Education” was a 1972 Policy Paper presented to the Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs, Jean Chrétien, by the National Indian Brotherhood, which was superseded by the Assembly of First Nations beginning in 1982. Up until that time, “Indian” education in Canada was dominated by the “Residential School” system,

3 Available in <<https://journals.library.ualberta.ca/aps/index.php/aps/article/view/11690/8926>>. Access at May 6th, 2019.

4 Available in: <<https://oneca.com/IndianControlofIndianEducation.pdf>>. Access at May 6th, 2019.

in which Indigenous children were taken from their families, denied the right to speak their own languages and practice their own cultures in a blatant attempt to assimilate all Indigenous peoples in Canada. Children in Residential Schools were also subject to widespread abuse, including sexual abuse. The trauma of the Residential School system led to the “Truth and Reconciliation Commission” established in 2008, leading to the “Ninety-Four Calls to Action”. The “Indian Control of Indian Education” document set the groundwork of Indigenous self-determination in matters of education, stating, “The time has come for a radical change in Indian education. Our aim is to make education relevant to the philosophy and needs of the Indian people. We want education to give our children a strong sense of identity, with confidence in their personal worth and ability.”

Those educators who have had authority in all indian control of indian education

Policy Paper

PRESENTED TO THE

Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

BY THE

National Indian Brotherhood/ Assembly of First Nations

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PREFACE

This statement on Education has been prepared for the Working Committee of the Negotiating Committee of the National Indian Brotherhood to be used as a basis for future common action in the area of education.

The issues which have been considered were designated by the Special Committee of the Executive Council of the National Indian Brotherhood, at Yellowknife, N.W.T., May 17, 1972. This statement has been compiled from provincial and territorial associations' papers or statements on education, and from discussions of representatives of the associations at the Education Workshop, June, 1972.

It is a statement of the:

philosophy,
goals,
principles, and
directions

which must form the foundation of any school program for Indian children.

In August, 1972, the General Assembly of the National Indian Brotherhood accepted the policy in principle, subject to certain additions. The final draft was approved by the Executive Council, November, 1972. It was presented to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on December 21, 1972. In a letter to the President of the National Indian Brotherhood, dated February 2, 1973, the Minister gave official recognition to INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN EDUCATION, approving its proposals and committing the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to implementing them.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper is based on the many statements prepared on behalf of, the Chiefs and Band Councils by the Education Directors of the

provincial and territorial Indian organizations over the past years. Acknowledgement is made of the important contribution which the Education Directors have made to this joint policy statement.

Thanks are also due to the National Indian Brotherhood's Education Committee which worked to find the common denominators in all of the provincial statements. Members of this Committee are:

John Knockwood and Peter Christmas

UNION OF NOVA SCOTIA INDIANS

Barry Nicholas

UNION OF NEW BRUNSWICK INDIANS

Larry Bisonette, representing

INDIANS OF QUEBEC ASSOCIATION

Louis Debassige and Roland Chrisjohn

UNION OF ONTARIO INDIANS

Verna Kirkness

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INDIAN ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA

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YUKON NATIVE BROTHERHOOD

James Wah-shee

INDIAN BROTHERHOOD OF THE
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

Dr. Jacqueline Weitz

NATIONAL INDIAN BROTHERHOOD

A special word of thanks is offered to them for their persistence and patience in correcting the several draft copies which preceded this final approved paper. On behalf of all, I wish to extend particular thanks to Dr. Weitz for her excellent co-ordination of the work, meetings and editing of this history-making document.

And finally, the initiative of the Executive Council in launching this endeavor deserves public recognition.

George Manuel,
President
National Indian Brotherhood.

Ottawa, Ontario
December, 1972

STATEMENT OF THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

In Indian tradition each adult is personally responsible for each child, to see that he learns all he needs to know in order to live a good life. As our fathers had a clear idea of what made a good man and a good life in their society, so we modern Indians, want our children to learn that happiness and satisfaction come from:

- pride in one's self,
- understanding one's fellowmen, and,
- living in harmony with nature.

These are lessons which are necessary for survival in this twentieth century.

- Pride encourages us to recognize and use our talents, as well as to master the skills needed to make a living.
- Understanding our fellowmen will enable us to meet other Canadians on an equal footing, respecting cultural differences while pooling resources for the common good.
- Living in harmony with nature will insure preservation of the balance between man and his environment which is necessary for the future of our planet, as well as for fostering the climate in which Indian Wisdom has always flourished.

We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them.

STATEMENT OF VALUES

We want education to provide the setting in which our children can develop the fundamental attitudes and values which have an honored place in Indian tradition and culture. The values which we want to pass on to our children, values which make our people a great race, are not written in any book. They are found in our history, in our legends and in the culture. We believe that if an Indian child is fully aware of the important Indian values he will have reason to be proud of our race and of himself as an Indian.

We want the behavior of our children to be shaped by those values which are most esteemed in our culture. When our children come to school they have already developed certain attitudes and habits which are based on experiences in the family. School programs which are influenced by these values respect cultural priority and are an extension of the education which parents give children from their first years. These early lessons emphasize attitudes of:

- self-reliance,
- respect for personal freedom,
- generosity,
- respect for nature,
- wisdom.

All of these have a special place in the Indian way of life. While these values can be understood and interpreted in different ways by different cultures, it is very important that Indian children have a chance to develop a value system which is compatible with Indian culture.

The gap between our people and those who have chosen, often gladly, to join us as residents of this beautiful and bountiful country, is vast when it comes to mutual understanding and appreciation of differences. To overcome this, it is essential that Canadian children of every racial origin have the opportunity during their school days to learn about the history, customs and culture of this country's original inhabitants and first citizens. We propose that education authorities, especially those in Ministries of Education, should provide for this in the curricula and texts which are chosen for use in Canadian schools.

THE ROLE OF PARENTS IN SETTING GOALS

If we are to avoid the conflict of values which in the past has led to withdrawal and failure, Indian parents must have control of education with the responsibility of setting goals. What we want for our children can be summarized very briefly:

- to reinforce their Indian identity,
- to provide the training necessary for making a good living in modern society.

We are the best judges of the kind of school programs which can contribute to these goals without causing damage to the child.

We must, therefore, reclaim our right to direct the education of our children. Based on two education principles recognized in Canadian society: *Parental Responsibility* and *Local Control of Education*, Indian parents seek participation and partnership with the Federal Government, whose legal responsibility for Indian education is set by the treaties and the Indian Act. While we assert that only Indian people can develop a suitable philosophy of education based on Indian values adapted to modern living, we also strongly maintain that it is the financial responsibility of the Federal Government to provide education of all types and all levels to all status Indian people, whether living on or off reserves. It will be essential to the realization of this objective that representatives of the Indian people, in close cooperation with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, establish the needs and priorities of local communities in relation to the funds which may be available through government sources.

The time has come for a radical change in Indian education. Our aim is to make education relevant to the philosophy and needs of the Indian people. We want education to give our children a strong sense of identity, with confidence in their personal worth and ability. We believe in education:

- as a preparation for total living,
- as a means of free choice of where to live and work,
- as a means of enabling us to participate fully in our own social, economic, political and educational advancement.

We do not regard the educational process as an "either-or" operation. We must have the freedom to choose among many options and alternatives. Decisions on specific issues can be made only in the context of local control of education. We uphold the right of the Indian Bands to make these specific decisions and to exercise their full responsibility in providing the best possible education for our children.

Our concern for education is directed to four areas which require attention and improvement: i.e., responsibility, programs, teachers and facilities. The following pages will offer in an objective way, the general principles and guidelines which can be applied to specific problems in these areas.

RESPONSIBILITY

JURISDICTIONAL QUESTION OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR INDIAN EDUCATION

The Federal Government has legal responsibility for Indian education as defined by the treaties and the Indian Act. Any transfer of jurisdiction for Indian education can only be from the Federal Government to Indian Bands. Whatever responsibility belongs to the Provinces or Territories is derived from the contracts for educational services negotiated between Band Councils, provincial or territorial school jurisdictions, and the Federal Government.

Parties in future joint agreements will be:

- (1) Indian Bands,
- (2) Provincial/territorial school jurisdictions,
- (3) the Federal Government.

These contracts must recognize the right of Indians to a free education, funded by the Government of Canada.

The Indian people concerned, together with officials of the Department of Indian Affairs, must review all existing agreements for the purpose of making specific recommendations for their revision, termination or continuance.

In addition to the usual school services provided under joint agreements, attention must be given to local needs for teacher

orientation, day nurseries, remedial courses, tutoring, Indian guidance counsellors, etc.

Where Bands want to form a school district under the Federal system, necessary provision should be made in order that it has the recognition of provincial/territorial education authorities.

Master agreements between federal and provincial/territorial governments violate the principle of Local Control and Parental Responsibility if these agreements are made without consulting and involving the Indian parents whose children are affected. Since these children are often from many widely separated bands, it may be necessary to provide for Indian participation through the provincial/territorial Indian associations. In every case, however, parental responsibility must be respected and the local Band will maintain the right to review and approve the conditions of the agreement.

LOCAL CONTROL

The past practice of using the school committee as an advisory body with limited influence, in restricted areas of the school program, must give way to an education authority with the control of funds and consequent authority which are necessary for an effective decision-making body. The Federal Government must take the required steps to transfer to local Bands the authority and the funds which are allotted for Indian education.

The Band itself will determine the relationship which should exist between the Band Council and the School Committee: or more properly, the Band Education Authority. The respective roles of the Band Council and the Education Authority will have to be clearly defined by the Band, with terms of reference to ensure the closest co-operation so that local control will become a reality.

The local Education Authority would be responsible for:

- budgeting, spending and establishing priorities

- determining the types of school facilities required to meet local needs: e.g. day school, residence, group home, nursery, kindergarten, high school;
- directing staff hiring and curriculum development with special concern for Indian languages and culture;
- administering the physical plant;
- developing adult education and upgrading courses;
- negotiating agreements with provincial/territorial or separate school jurisdictions for the kind of services necessary for local requirements;
- co-operation and evaluation of education programs both on and off the reserve;
- providing counselling services.

Training must be made available to those reserves desiring local control of education. This training must include every aspect of educational administration. It is important that Bands moving towards local control have the opportunity to prepare themselves for the move. Once the parents have control of a local school, continuing guidance during the operational phase is equally important and necessary.

REPRESENTATION ON PROVINCIAL/ TERRITORIAL SCHOOL BOARDS

There must be adequate Indian representation on school boards which have Indian pupils attending schools in their district or division. If integration for Indians is to have any positive meaning, it must be related to the opportunity for parental participation in the educational decision-making process.

Recalling that over 60% of Indian children are enrolled in provincial/territorial schools, there is urgent need to provide for proper representation on all school boards. Since this issue must be resolved by legislation, all Provinces/Territories should pass effective laws which will insure Indian representation on all school boards in proportion to the number of children attending provincial/territorial schools, with provision for at least one Indian representative in places where the enrollment is minimal. Laws already on the books are not always effective and should be re-examined. Neither is permissive legislation enough, nor legislation which has conditions attached.

A Band Education Authority which is recognized as the responsible bargaining agent with financial control of education funds, will be in a strong position to negotiate for proper representation on a school board which is providing educational services to the Indian community.

There is an urgent need for laws which will make possible RESPONSIBLE REPRESENTATION AND FULL PARTICIPATION by all parents of children attending provincial/territorial schools.

Indian organizations and the Federal Government should do whatever is necessary to conduct an effective public relations program for the purpose of explaining their role and that of the local Band Education Authorities to Ministers of Education, to Department of Education officials and to school board members.

PROGRAMS

CURRICULUM AND INDIAN VALUES

Unless a child learns about the forces which shape him: the history of his people, their values and customs, their language, he will never really know himself or his potential as a human being. Indian culture and values have a unique place in the history of mankind. The Indian child who learns about his heritage will be proud of it. The lessons he

learns in school, his whole school experience, should reinforce and contribute to the image he has of himself as an Indian.

The present school system is culturally alien to native students. Where the Indian contribution is not entirely ignored, it is often cast in an unfavorable light. School curricula in federal and provincial/territorial schools should recognize Indian culture, values, customs, languages and the Indian contribution to Canadian development. Courses in Indian history and culture should promote pride in the Indian child, and respect in the non-Indian student.

A curriculum is not an archaic, inert vehicle for transmitting knowledge. It is a precise instrument which can and should be shaped to exact specifications for a particular purpose. It can be changed and it can be improved. Using curriculum as a means to achieve their educational goals, Indian parents want to develop a program which will maintain balance and relevancy between academic/skill subjects and Indian cultural subjects.

To develop an Indian oriented curriculum for schools which enroll native children, there must be full scale co-operation between federal, provincial/territorial and Indian education people:

- (1) In the federal Indian school system, funds must be made available for Indian people to work with professional curriculum planners. Together they will work out and test ideas for a relevant curriculum, utilizing the best from both cultures.
- (2) In the provincial/territorial school system, this same kind of curriculum development must be pursued by the Department of Education with the involvement of the Indian people and the support of federal and provincial/ territorial funding.

Some other measures for improving the quality of instruction for all students, both Indian and non-Indian, are recommended to provincial/territorial and private school systems:

- (a) appointment of native people to the curriculum staff for the purpose of supervising the production and distribution of

Indian oriented curriculum materials for provincial/territorial schools, complete with the man-power and other resources to accomplish this task;

- (b) removal of textbooks or other teaching materials which are negative, biased or inaccurate in what concerns Indian history and culture;
- (c) augmenting Indian content in curriculum to include Indian contributions to Canadian life through supplementary courses in: economics, science, medicine, agriculture, geography, etc., as well as special courses in Indian culture, music, art, dance, handicraft, language;
- (d) co-operating with Indian people in developing Indian studies programs at all levels;
- (e) eliminating the use of I.Q. and standardized tests for Indian children. It has been shown that these tests do not truly reflect the intelligence of children belonging to minority, ethnic or other cultural backgrounds.

Textbooks are needed which emphasize the importance of the Indian's role in Canadian history. Material for reading classes must be developed: material which is relevant to the experience of the Indian child living in isolated or northern areas. Federal and provincial/territorial governments must be ready to respond to the native people and support their legitimate wishes for improved texts. Indian people should be commissioned to work with historians and educators for the development of proper textbook material.

All Indian people, young and old alike, must be given a wide variety of educational opportunities. Specific problems in many Indian communities must be met by improved education. Much needed programs include: nursery and kindergarten education, junior and senior high school opportunity, vocational training, adult education, post-secondary education, and alcohol and drug abuse education.

NURSERY SCHOOLS AND KINDERGARTENS

Financial support for nursery schools and kindergartens should be the special concern of governments. These programs should be designated as priority programs in every respect.

Many communities will view this pre-school experience as an opportunity for the children to learn the second language in which school subjects will be taught. Other communities will emphasize cultural content, for the purpose of reinforcing the child's image of himself as an Indian. This is the decision of the local parents and they alone are responsible for decisions on location, operation, curriculum and teacher hiring.

JUNIOR AND SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS

In places where junior and senior high school classes once operated, the children have been transferred to provincial/territorial schools.

Alarmed by the increasing number of teenagers who are dropping out of school, Indian parents are looking for alternatives to the high school education which their children are now receiving in provincial/territorial schools. If Indian parents had control of high school education, they could combat conditions which cause failures by:

- adopting clearly defined educational objectives compatible with Indian values;
- providing a relevant educational program;
- making education a total experience: recognizing Indian language, life and customs, inviting the participation of Indian parents in shaping the program;
- providing more counselling by Indians for Indians.

The needs of children and the desire of parents would indicate that in some areas high schools and/or vocational schools should

be established on certain reserves to serve students of surrounding communities. These schools would be operated and maintained by a representative Education Authority.

Serious planning must be directed to developing flexible, realistic and relevant high school programs to meet the specific needs of Indian students who have dropped out and desire to resume their high school studies.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

A new approach to qualifications for many jobs is needed, as well as a change in academic/vocational courses to meet new requirements. In many cases where these jobs are within the Indian community, job specifications should be set by the Indian people, and the training itself should be supervised by the local Education Authority, which is established and/or recognized by the Band or Bands involved.

Some of these positions might include teachers, counselors, social workers, probation officers, parole officers, community development workers. On a wider scale, responsible efforts must be made to encourage business and industry to open up jobs for Indian people. Job training should correspond to job opportunity and the economic reality.

The local Band Education Authority should be in a position to deal directly with Canada Manpower and other training institutions. When necessary, several Education Authorities might join together to plan programs for a particular region.

ADULT EDUCATION

Adult education programs, properly conducted can be a means for many Indians to find economic security and self-fulfillment.

If the native language is spoken in the community, then native instructors should be trained and employed to teach these adult courses. Grade advancement classes should be offered on and off the reserves, as well as basic literacy courses for those desiring to

speak, read and write English. Basic oral English programs are also needed. Other adult programs which should be provided as the need demands, might include: business management, consumer-education, leadership training, administration, human relations, family education, health, budgeting, cooking, sewing, crafts, Indian art and culture, etc.

These programs should be carried out under the control and direction of the Band Education Authority, on a short term or continuing basis, according to the local needs.

POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

Considering the great need there is for professional people in Indian communities, every effort should be made to encourage and assist Indian students to succeed in post-secondary studies.

Encouragement should take the form of recruiting programs directed to providing information to students desiring to enter professions such as: nursing, teaching, counseling, law, medicine, engineering, etc. Entrance requirements, pre-university programs, counselling and tutoring services, course requirements, are some factors which influence how far a student can progress. He would be further encouraged if the Indian language is recognized for the second language requirement and a native studies program has a respected place in the curriculum.

Considering the tremendous educational disadvantages of Indian people, present rigid entrance requirements to universities, colleges, etc., must be adjusted to allow for entrance on the basis of ability, aptitude, intelligence, diligence and maturity.

Assistance should take the form of generous federal financial support eliminating the difficulty and uncertainty which now accompanies a student's decision to continue on for higher education. Indian students should be able to attend any recognized educational institution of their choice. Those who have the motivation and talent to do post-graduate studies, should receive total financial assistance. Since it will be many years before the number of candidates for professional training exceeds the demand for trained professionals, each request

for financial assistance to do post-secondary or post-graduate studies should be judged on its own merits, and not by general administrative directives. Indian people should seek representation on the governing bodies of institutions of higher learning. This includes university senates and boards of governors, as well as the governing councils of colleges, community colleges and technical schools.

ALCOHOL AND DRUG EDUCATION

There is immediate need for educational programs of a preventative and rehabilitative nature, designed and operated by Indians to meet the threat of alcohol and drug addiction which plagues both young and old alike. Whatever funds and means are necessary to operate these programs should be made available at the earliest possible date.

Some recommendations proposed by Indian provincial/territorial organizations for implementing these programs are:

- a) Training native people as social animators to initiate programs of group dynamics at the community level. In this way there would be community participation in decision-making which affects the community. Through the acquisition of knowledge about problems and services, combined with reality-oriented group discussions leading to community action, the solution of the socio-medical ills can be placed in the context of the community.
- b) Governments, federal and provincial/territorial, should encourage special seminars and study groups for teachers, parents and students, as well as make available the best audio-visual aids, in order to bring those concerned up to date on all that can be done to combat addiction.
- c) These programs should be directed not only to the victims of addiction but also to the communities, professions and institutions that necessarily become involved in the circle of human relationships which are affected by addiction.

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Language is the outward expression of an accumulation of learning and experience shared by a group of people over centuries of development. It is not simply a vocal symbol; it is a dynamic force which shapes the way a man looks at the world, his thinking about the world and his philosophy of life. Knowing his maternal language helps a man to know himself; being proud of his language helps a man to be proud of himself.

The Indian people are expressing growing concern that the native languages are being lost; that the younger generations can no longer speak or understand their mother tongue. If the Indian identity is to be preserved, steps must be taken to reverse this trend.

While much can be done by parents in the home and by the community on the reserve to foster facility in speaking and understanding, there is a great need for formal instruction in the language. There are two aspects to this language instruction:

- (1) teaching in the native language, and
- (2) teaching the native language.

It is generally accepted that pre-school and primary school classes should be taught in the language of the community. Transition to English or French as a second language should be introduced only after the child has a strong grasp of his own language. The time schedule for this language program has been determined to be from four to five years duration. Following this time span, adjustment and adaptation to other languages and unfamiliar cultural milieu are greatly enhanced.

The need for teachers who are fluent in the local language is dramatically underlined by this concern for the preservation of Indian identity through language instruction. Realization of this goal can be achieved in several ways:

- have teacher-aides specialize in Indian languages,

- have local language-resource aides to assist professional teachers,
- waive rigid teaching requirements to enable Indian people who are fluent in Indian languages, to become full-fledged teachers.

Funds and personnel are needed to develop language programs which will identify the structures of the language: i.e., syntax, grammar, morphology, vocabulary. This is essential, not only to preserve the language, but to encourage its use in literary expression.

Serious studies are needed to adapt traditional oral languages to written forms for instructional and literary purposes.

In places where it is not feasible to have full instruction in the native language, school authorities should provide that Indian children and others wishing it, will have formal instruction in the local native language as part of the curriculum and with full academic credit.

While governments are reluctant to invest in any but the two official languages, funds given for studies in native languages and for the development of teaching tools and instructional materials will have both short and long term benefits.

CULTURAL EDUCATION CENTRES

The purpose of a Cultural Education Center is to provide for the personal development necessary for social and economic achievement in today's society. This personal development is achieved when an individual knows himself fully: his personal identity, dignity and potential. The Cultural Education Center will promote this through studies of Indian history, culture, language and values.

By learning ways to apply traditional beliefs, values and skills to survival in modern society, and by learning modern skills and behaviors needed to participate in the benefits of economic and social development, the Indian will gain self-confidence and independence. The Cultural Education Center will be designed to meet these needs and to make up for deficiencies in other educational programs.

Considering the vital role that these Centers could play in cultural, social and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution (goals, structure, location, operation, etc.) be the sole prerogative of the Indian people.

Funds for these Centers should be available with a minimum of regulations. These latter should be the result of discussion and agreement between the Government and the Indian people.

The Indian people will welcome the participation of other Departments of Government, of provincial/territorial or local governments, of business or industry, of churches or foundations in securing sufficient and continuing funds for the Cultural Education Centers.

These Centers must be Indian controlled and operated, in view of the fact that they are established for Indian purposes and use.

TEACHERS

TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR TEACHERS AND COUNSELLORS

If progress is going to be made in improving educational opportunity for native children, it is basic that teacher and counsellor training programs be redesigned to meet the needs. The need for native teachers and counselors is critical and urgent; the need for specially trained non-Indian teachers and counselors is also very great.

NATIVE TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS

It is evident that the Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities for Indian people to train as teachers and counsellors. Efforts in this direction require experimental approaches and flexible structures to accommodate the native person who has talent and interest, but lacks minimum academic qualifications. Provincial/territorial involvement is also needed in this venture to introduce

special teacher and counselor training programs which will allow native people to advance their academic standing at the same time as they are receiving professional training. Because of the importance to the Indian community, these training programs must be developed in collaboration with the Indian people and their representatives in the national and provincial/territorial organizations. The organizations have a major role to play in evolving and implementing the training programs and in encouraging native young people to enter the education field.

Native teachers and counselors who have an intimate understanding of Indian traditions, psychology, way of life and language, are best able to create the learning environment suited to the habits and interests of the Indian child.

There is urgent need for more Indian counselors to work with students both on and off the reserves. If the need is to be met, many more training centers must be opened immediately. The few which are now operating can never supply enough trained counsellors for the job that has to be done.

NON-INDIAN TEACHERS AND COUNSELORS

The training of non-Indian teachers for teaching native children, either in federal or provincial/territorial schools, is a matter of grave concern to the Indian people. The role which teachers play in determining the success or failure of many young Indians is a force to be reckoned with. In most cases, the teacher is simply not prepared to understand or cope with cultural differences. Both the child and the teacher are forced into intolerable positions.

The training of non-Indian counselors who work with Indian children in either the federal or provincial/territorial systems, is also of grave concern to Indian parents. Counselors must have a thorough understanding of the values and cultural relevancies which shape the young Indian's self-identity. In order to cope with another cultural group the self-image of the child must be enhanced and not allowed to disintegrate. It is generally agreed that present counseling services

are not only ineffective for students living away from home, but often are a contributing factor to their failure in school. It is the opinion of parents that counselling services should be the responsibility of the Band Education Authority.

Federal and provincial/territorial authorities are urged to use the strongest measures necessary to improve the qualifications of teachers and counselors of Indian children. During initial training programs there should be compulsory courses in inter-cultural education, native languages (oral facility and comparative analysis), and teaching English as a second language. Orientation courses and in-service training are needed in all regions. Assistance should be available for teachers in adapting curriculum and teaching techniques to the needs of local children. Teachers and counsellors should be given the opportunity to improve themselves through specialized summer courses in acculturation problems, anthropology, Indian history, language and culture.

Primary teachers in federal or provincial/territorial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach.

Until such time as Bands assume total responsibility for schools, there must be full consultation with the Band Education Authority regarding the appointment of teachers and counselors. As part of its involvement, the community should also take the initiative in helping the teachers and counselors to learn the culture, language and history of the local community.

INDIAN PARA-PROFESSIONALS

More Indian teacher-aides and more Indian aides-aides are urgently needed throughout the school systems where Indian children are taught. These para-professionals can play an important role in helping the young child or the adolescent to adjust to unfamiliar and often overwhelming situations during their school experience.

Job requirements and the personal qualities needed by para-professionals working with Indian children will be set by the Education Authority of the Band. Instead of operating on the fringe at some clerical or irrelevant task, Indian para-professionals will be delegated by the

parents to work with the children at the level of greatest need. The importance of this work warrants that the para-professional receive proper training and be given responsibilities in line with the position. These positions should serve as a training ground for professional advancement.

Performance and effectiveness rather than degrees and certificates should be the criteria used in hiring and in establishing salaries and benefits. For the protection of those who are qualified by experience rather than by academic standing, it is essential that the status of para-professionals be determined by their responsibility and function. On this basis they will be assured of parity in salaries and benefits with professionals doing the same job.

It should be the aim of the para-professional program to encourage young people to continue their commitment to Indian education.

To operate a good school, many types of jobs must be filled. There should be adequate funding to insure that Indian schools are adequately staffed, not only with professionals, but with well-trained para-professionals, including recreation assistants and specialist-aides.

FACILITIES AND SERVICES

SUB-STANDARD EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

All unsafe or obsolete school buildings, equipment and teacherages on reserves should be replaced with modern, functional units. Where Indian communities wish to maintain educational services on their reserves, the reserve school facilities must be brought up to the same standards as those in the outside communities. To provide for all the improvements necessary, Band Councils must make long-term plans for building construction. If the Department of Indian Affairs cannot handle the financing under its usual annual budgeting scheme, other alternatives must be considered.

NEW EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

It shall be within the power of the Band Education Authority to plan for and provide the school facilities needed for community educational programs: e.g., education of children, parental involvement in education, adult education, cultural activities, training sessions, etc.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

There is no single type of educational institution which will meet all of the needs of Indian children. Facilities and services must be many and varied to suit particular kinds of circumstances.

RESIDENCES

No general statement can be made on residences because of varying needs across the country. In many places the need still exists for this type of accommodation. However, many parents object to sending their children long distances and want accommodations provided at the village level. In all cases, the Federal Government is advised to consult all parents with children in residences, in order to determine their wishes on keeping or closing residences, and to examine alternative accommodations.

Admission criteria for student residences will be formulated by the people concerned: parents, Band Councils and administrators. The latter will reflect fiscal considerations.

Indian Bands wishing to take over administrative responsibility and financial control of student residences should be given full assistance to do so. This will require changes in present Department procedures for the operation of residences, as well as training Indian candidates for administrative positions.

Where a residence is in operation, there should be an active parents' council, representative of the student enrollment. This council will act with the responsible residence authority on matters of policy and program.

Programs must be implemented for bettering the qualifications of present staff members and assisting unqualified persons to meet job requirements. Residences should be staffed as far as possible by Indian personnel. Where conditions warrant the closing of a residence, the land and buildings should revert to the use of the Band or Bands, with a preference for educational purposes.

DAY SCHOOLS

The need for good schools in Indian communities is becoming more urgent. These schools should have two goals: (a) providing adequate and appropriate educational opportunity, where skills to cope effectively with the challenge of modern life can be acquired, and (b) creating the environment where Indian identity and culture will flourish.

In working toward these goals, the reserve school would be a major factor in eliminating the conditions which lead to dropouts: negative parental attitudes and student alienation.

To provide these facilities an increased financial and human investment must be made in the Indian community. Complete modern buildings, classrooms, equipment, gymnasiums and staff quarters are needed.

These reserve schools will be the vehicle by which Indian parents gain knowledge, experience and confidence in fulfilling their obligation and responsibility in the education of their children. All school facilities should be available to the community for adult education, cultural activities and training sessions.

To facilitate the transition of students from reserve schools to others, it is essential that Ministries of Education recognize Indian day schools as accredited educational centres. This presupposes that academic quality will improve, that federal Indian schools will become "models of excellence", recognized and imitated by provincial/territorial schools. If an Indian oriented curriculum differs from that of the provincial/territorial system, steps should be taken by the proper authorities to develop appropriate criteria for grading and accrediting purposes.

GROUP HOMES — HOSTELS

There is a need among students living off the reserve for familiar, homelike accommodations. These could be provided in the small hostel or group home setting. When administered and staffed by Indian people, these homes could give the young person the security and comfort of an Indian family while he or she is adjusting to a new way of life.

In northern communities there is a great need for this kind of home to replace the very large and often far distant residence. Located centrally in every village and operated by an Indian couple, the group home would provide long and short term care, i.e., food, shelter, recreation and companionship for all in the village who need it. This would include children whose parents were absent for hunting and trapping, and old people who might be left alone for the same reasons. The concept of this kind of home is derived directly from Indian culture, and if allowed to take form would contribute to a healthy Indian community.

DENOMINATIONAL SCHOOLS

As in all other areas of education, the parents have the right to determine the religious status of the local school. In as far as possible, there should be an attempt to satisfy the preference of everyone.

STAFF

Where there are Indian people in attendance at a school, the number of Indian staff hired, including professional, para-professional, clerical and janitorial, should be based on a minimum ratio of one Indian staff person to every 20 Indian students. This procedure should be observed in residences, reserve day schools and integrated schools.

Professionals, para-professionals and community resource people are all needed to operate a good reserve school. In addition to teachers and teacher-aides, reserve schools must have good counsellors and counsellor-aides. Consultants with knowledge of curriculum

development and curriculum adaptation are necessary. A recreation director has a special role to play. Where it is not economically possible to have a recreation director on the school staff, the community recreational program must be designed to include the requirements of the school curriculum.

Whenever possible these positions should be filled by native people. Consultants and specialists in Indian language, history, crafts, customs, dances, legends will be drawn from the local community.

RESEARCH

There is increasing need for factual and scientific information on which to base planning and decisions. The Indian people advocate that research be under the direction and control of Indian people. Monies labeled for research shall be channeled to research programs identified by Band Councils and Indian organizations in relation to their priorities and programs. Academics who are engaged to conduct research projects will be responsible to the Indian community, local or regional.

It is equally important that the Indian people have the direction and control of experimental programs conducted in their name by universities, academic centres or research bodies.

PROBLEMS OF INTEGRATION

Integration in the past twenty years has simply meant the closing down of Indian schools and transferring Indian students to schools away from their Reserves, often against the wishes of the Indian parents. The acceleration with which this program has developed has not taken into account the fact that neither Indian parents and children, nor the white community: parents, children and schools, were prepared for integration, or able to cope with the many problems which were created.

Integration is a broad concept of human development which provides for growth through mingling the best elements of a wide range of human differences. Integrated educational programs must respect

the reality of racial and cultural differences by providing a curriculum which blends the best from the Indian and the non-Indian traditions.

Integration viewed as a one-way process is not integration, and will fail. In the past, it has been the Indian student who was asked to integrate: to give up his identity, to adopt new values and a new way of life. This restricted interpretation of integration must be radically altered if future education programs are to benefit Indian children.

The success of integration hinges on these factors: parents, teachers, pupils (both Indian and white) and curriculum.

On the side of the Indian people, much more preparation and orientation is needed to enable parents to make informed decisions and to assist their children to adjust and to succeed. Indian parents must have the opportunity through full representation to participate responsibly in the education of their children.

The Indian child also needs preparation and orientation before being thrust into a new and strange environment. In handling the conflict of values, he will need the continuing support of his parents and Indian counsellors. Inferiority, alienation, rejection, hostility, depression, frustration, are some of the personal adjustment problems which characterize the Indian child's experience with integration. These are also factors in the academic failure of Indian children in integrated schools.

Indian children will continue to be strangers in Canadian classrooms until the curriculum recognizes Indian customs and values, Indian languages, and the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history. Steps can be taken to remedy this situation by providing in provincial/territorial schools special auxiliary services in cultural development, curriculum development, vocational guidance, counseling, in-service training of teachers, tutoring and recreation. Evidently many of these services can be provided under the regular school program. However, if services are introduced especially for the Indian children, the school board should have financial support from the Federal Government.

The success of integration is not the responsibility of Indians alone. Non-Indians must be ready to recognize the value of another way of

life; to learn about Indian history, customs and language; and to modify, if necessary, some of their own ideas and practices.

SUMMARY OF THE INDIAN POSITION ON EDUCATION

Indian parents must have FULL RESPONSIBILITY AND CONTROL OF EDUCATION. The Federal Government must adjust its policy and practices to make possible the full participation and partnership of Indian people in all decisions and activities connected with the education of Indian children. This requires determined and enlightened action on the part of the Federal Government and immediate reform, especially in the following areas of concern: *responsibility, programs, teachers, facilities.*

RESPONSIBILITY

LOCAL CONTROL.

Until now, decisions on the education of Indian children have been made by anyone and everyone, except Indian parents. This must stop. Band Councils should be given total or partial authority for education on reserves, depending on local circumstances, and always with provisions for eventual complete autonomy, analogous to that of a provincial school board vis -à-vis a provincial Department of Education.

SCHOOL BOARD REPRESENTATION.

It is imperative that Indian children have representation on provincial/territorial school boards. Indian associations and the Federal Government must pressure the Provinces/Territories to make laws which will effectively provide that Indian people have responsible representation and full participation on school boards.

TRANSFER OF JURISDICTION.

Transfer of educational jurisdiction from the Federal Government to provincial or territorial governments, without consultation and approval by Indian people is unacceptable. There must be an end to these two party agreements between the federal and provincial/ territorial governments. Future negotiations with Education Departments for educational services must include representatives of the Indian people acting as the first party. The Federal Government has the responsibility of funding education of all types and at all levels for all Indian people.

INDIAN CONTROL.

that pertained to Indian education have, over the years, tried various ways of providing education for Indian people. The answer to providing a successful educational experience has not been found. There is one alternative which has not been tried before: in the future, let Indian people control Indian education.

PROGRAMS

KINDS.

A wide range of programs is needed in the Indian community. The local Education Authority must take the initiative in identifying the needs for adult education, vocational training, remedial classes, kindergarten, alcohol and drug education, etc., etc. The local Education Authority must also have the authority to implement these programs, either on a temporary or long-term basis.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

Indian children must have the opportunity to learn their language, history and culture in the classroom. Curricula will have to be revised in

federal and provincial/territorial schools to recognize the contributions which the Indian people have made to Canadian history and life.

CULTURAL EDUCATION CENTRES.

Cultural Education Centres are desperately needed. Considering the vital role that these Centres play in cultural, social, and economic development, it is imperative that all decisions concerning their evolution, i.e., goals, structure, location, operation, etc., be the sole prerogative of the Indian people! The Minister is urged to recognize the rights of the Indian people in this matter.

He must insure:

- a) that the Indian people will have representatives on any committees which will decide policy and control funds for the Cultural Education Centers;
- b) that enough funds are made available for capital expenditure and program operation.

TEACHERS

NATIVE TEACHERS AND COUNSELLORS.

The Federal Government must take the initiative in providing opportunities in every part of the country for Indian people to train as teachers. The need for native teachers is critical. Indian parents are equally concerned about the training of counsellors who work so closely with the young people.

NON-INDIAN TEACHERS AND COUNSELLORS.

Federal and provincial/territorial authorities are urged to use the strongest measures necessary to improve the qualifications of teachers

and counsellors of Indian children. This will include required courses in Indian history and culture.

LANGUAGE.

As far as possible, primary teachers in federal or provincial/ territorial schools should have some knowledge of the maternal language of the children they teach.

QUALIFICATION.

It should be the accepted practice that only the best qualified teachers are hired for Indian schools, and always in consultation with the local Education Authority.

PARA-PROFESSIONALS.

More Indian teacher-aides and more Indian counsellor-aides are urgently needed throughout the school systems where Indian children are taught. The importance of this work requires that the candidates receive proper training and be allowed to operate at their fullest potential.

FACILITIES

KINDS.

Education facilities must be provided which adequately meet the needs of the local population. These will vary from place to place. For this reason, there cannot be an “either-or” policy, which would limit the choices which Indian parents are able to make. In certain localities, several types of educational facilities may be needed: e.g., residence, day school, integrated school. These must be made available according to the wishes of the parents.

SUBSTANDARD.

Substandard school facilities must be replaced and new buildings and equipment provided in order to bring reserve schools up to standard. Financing of such building and development programs must be dealt with realistically by the Federal Government.

INTEGRATION

Responsibility for integration belongs to the people involved. It cannot be legislated or promoted without the full consent and participation of the Indians and non-Indians concerned.

CONCLUSION

There is difficulty and danger in taking a position on Indian education because of the great diversity of problems encountered across the country. The National Indian Brotherhood is confident that it expresses the will of the people it represents when it adopts a policy based on two fundamental principles of education in a democratic country, i.e.:

- parental responsibility, and
- local control.

If this policy is recognized and implemented by officials responsible for Indian education, then eventually the Indian people themselves will work out the existing problems and develop an appropriate education program for their children.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

This policy paper is subject to periodic review by the Executive Council of the National Indian Brotherhood. Additions or amendments may be initiated by a provincial/territorial Indian organization as the need arises.

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Indian Chiefs of Alberta

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INDIAN CHIEFS OF ALBERTA

Citizens Plus

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Abstract: The Indian Chiefs of Alberta prepared this document to the Canadian government's "white Paper on Indians." Basically the White Paper was an attempt to transfer ownership of the land to individual Indians and the management of Indian Affairs from the federal to the provincial governments. In the present paper, the Indian Chiefs of Alberta, representing the Treaty Indians, set forth their case for the treaty rights granted them and ask that the federal government continue to recognize the treaties. The chiefs suggest programs in economics, health, and education that would aid in the fulfillment of the federal government's responsibilities.

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CITIZENS PLUS

“Indians should be regarded as ‘Citizens Plus’. In addition to the rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community” – The Hawthorn Report

A Presentation by the Indian Chiefs of Alberta to Right Honourable P. E. Trudeau, Prime Minister and the Government of Canada.

June, 1970

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11710 Kingsway Avenue, Edmonton, Alta.

A. THE PREAMBLE

To us who are Treaty Indians there is nothing more important than our Treaties, our lands and the well being of our future generation. We have studied carefully the contents of the Government White Paper on Indians and we have concluded that it offers despair instead of hope. Under the guise of land ownership, the government has devised a scheme whereby within a generation or shortly after the proposed Indian Lands Act expires our people would be left with no land and consequently the future generation would be condemned to the despair and ugly spectre of urban poverty in ghettos.

In Alberta, we have told the Federal Minister of Indian Affairs that we do not wish to discuss his White Paper with him until we reach a position where we can bring forth viable alternatives because we know that his paper is wrong and that it will harm our people. We refused to meet him on his White Paper because we have been stung and hurt by his concept of consultation.

In his White Paper, the Minister said, “This review was a response to things said by Indian people at the consultation meetings which began a year ago and culminated in a meeting in Ottawa in April.” Yet, what Indians asked for land ownership that would result in Provincial taxation of our reserves? What Indians asked that the Canadian Constitution be changed to remove any reference to Indians or Indian

lands? What Indians asked that Treaties be brought to an end? What group of Indians asked that aboriginal rights not be recognized? What group of Indians asked for a Commissioner whose purview would exclude half of the Indian population in Canada? The answer is no Treaty Indians asked for any of these things and yet through his concept of “consultation,” the Minister said that his White Paper was in response to things said by Indians.

We felt that with this concept of consultation held by the Minister and his department, that if we met with them to discuss the contents of his White Paper without being fully prepared, that even if we just talked about the weather, he would turn around and tell Parliament and the Canadian public that we accepted his White Paper.

We asked for time to prepare a counter proposal. We have received assurances that the implementation process would not take place. However, the Federal rhetoric has not been substantiated by action. In fact, there is every indication that the implementation process is being carried as fast and as fully as possible. For example, the Departmental officials have prepared their budgets so as to make implementation possible. They rationalize this action by saying that if the White Paper on Indians is implemented their programs must be set whereby they can achieve the implementation within five years or if it does not come about that they can have better programs. Where is the moratorium that we have asked for on activities on the implement on the White Paper?

The Minister of Indian Affairs has stated publically that he is not attempting to throw the Indians over to the provinces in spite of what is contained in writing in his White Paper. Yet, while maintaining this contradictory position he writes a letter to the Premier of Alberta dated February 20, 1970 stating that the Federal Government would transfer funds to the Province for the extension of provincial services to reserves; but these funds would be gradually phased out with the assumption that at this point the Provincial Government would bear full financial responsibility for the provision of these services.

Where is the consistency of the Minister's position when he tells Indians verbally that their reserves will not come under the Provincial tax system but his White Paper and his letter of the Premier say otherwise.

The Indian Chiefs of Alberta meeting in Calgary addressed a letter to the Honorable Pierre E. Trudeau dated January 22, 1970. That letter said:

"This assembly of all the Indian Chiefs of Alberta is deeply concerned with the action taken by the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the Honorable Jean Chretien, regarding the implementation of the Indian policy.

Time and time again, on the one hand, the Minister has declared publically to the Canadian people that the Indian Policy contained proposals to be discussed with the Indian people. On the other hand, Indian Affairs officials have been recruited for implementation teams to go ahead with the implementation of the policy paper.

We find this double-headed approach contradictory. A glaring example is the appointment of the Claims Commissioner.

Another example is the concentrated public relations program being conducted to impose the White Paper on the Canadian public. We find this incompatible with the Just Society. Discussions between the Federal department of Indian Affairs and provincial governments have also initiated.

This assembly of all the Indian Chiefs of Alberta reaffirms its position of unity and recognizes the Indian Association of Alberta as the voice of all the Treaty Indian people of this province. As representatives of our people we are pledged to continue our earnest efforts to preserve the hereditary and legal privileges of our people.

At this meeting of Alberta Indian Chiefs, we have reviewed the first draft of our Counter Policy to the Chretien paper. We plan to complete our final draft in the near future, for presentation to the Federal Government.

We request that no further process of implementation takes place and that action already taken be reviewed to minimize

suspicious and to make possible a positive and constructive dialogue between your government and our people.”

In his reply, dated February 19, 1970, to telegrams sent by the Chiefs’ Conference of January 22nd, the Minister states that “the policy proposals, which were put forward in quite general terms will require modification and refinement before they can be put into effect.” In a preceding sentence attempting to explain his Consultation and Negotiation Group which we know as the implementation team, he says, “I believe that the policy that has been proposed is a correct one. I expect that my Consultation and Negotiations officers will also try to persuade the Indian people, and Canadians generally, that the direction of the policy proposals is indeed in the best interest of all concerned.”

It this is his belief, where is his so called flexibility, especially when Indian people disagree with his mythical concepts of him leading the Indians to the promised land?

B. THE COUNTER POLICY

B.1. INDIAN STATUS

The White Paper Policy said, “that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination should be removed.”

We reject this policy. We say that the recognition of Indian status is essential for justice.

Retaining the legal status of Indians is necessary if Indians are to be treated justly. Justice requires that the special history, rights and circumstances of Indian People be recognized. The Chretien Policy says, “Canada cannot seek the just society and keep **discriminatory** legislation on its statute books”. That statement covers a faulty understanding of fairness Professor

L.C. Green found that in other countries minorities were given special status Professor Green has concluded:

“The 1969 Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy is based on the assumption that any legislation which sets a particular segment of the population apart from the main stream of the citizenry is ipso facto conducive to a denial of equality and therefore discriminatory and to be deplored. **Such an attitude indicates a complete lack of understanding of the significance of the concept of equality**, particularly in so far as the law concerning the protection of minorities is concerned.

“...It is perhaps not easy to define the distinction between the notions of equality in fact and equality in law; nevertheless, it may be said that the former notion excludes the idea of a merely formal equality...”

Equality in law precludes discrimination of any kind; **whereas equality in fact may involve the necessity of different treatment** in order to obtain a result, which establishes an equilibrium between different situations...

“To attempt to maintain that the rights of the Indians result in discrimination against them or are evidence of a denial of their equality in the sense that their status is reduced thereby, is to indulge in an excessively **narrow view of the meaning of words, of the purpose of equality and of the nature of discrimination.**”

The legal definition of registered Indians must remain. If one of our registered brothers chooses, he may renounce his Indian status, become “enfranchised”, receive his share of the funds of the tribe, and seek admission to ordinary Canadian society. But most Indians prefer to remain Indians. We believe that to be a good useful Canadian we must first be a good, happy and productive Indian.

B.2. THE UNIQUE INDIAN CULTURE AND CONTRIBUTION

The White Paper Policy said, “that there should be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life.

We say that these are nice sounding words, which are intended to mislead everybody. The only way to maintain our culture is for us to remain as Indians. To preserve our culture it is necessary to preserve our status, rights, lands and traditions. Our treaties are the bases of our rights.

There is room in Canada for diversity. Our leaders say that Canada should preserve her “pluralism”, and encourage the culture of all her peoples. The culture of the Indian peoples are old and colorful strands in that Canadian fabric of diversity. We want our children to learn our ways, our history, our customs, and our traditions.

Everyone should recognize that Indians have contributed much to the Canadian community. When we signed the treaties we promised to be good and loyal subjects of the Queen. The record is clear – we kept our promises. We were assured we would not be required to serve in foreign wars; nevertheless many Indians volunteered in greater proportion than non- Indian Canadians for service in two world wars. We live and are agreeable to live within the framework of Canadian civil and criminal law. We pay the same indirect and sales taxes that other Canadians pay. Our treaty rights cost Canada very little in relation to the Gross National Product or to the value of the lands ceded, but they are essential to us.

B.3. CHANNELS FOR SERVICES

The White Paper Policy says “that services should come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians”.

We say that the Federal Government is bound by the British North America Act, Section 9k, Head 24, to accept legislative responsibility for “Indians and Indian lands”. Moreover in exchange for the lands, which the Indian people surrendered, to the Crown the treaties ensure the following benefits:

- (a) To have and to hold certain lands called “reserves” for the sole use and benefit of the Indian people forever and assistance in the social economic, and cultural development of the reserves.
- b. The provision of health services to the Indian people on the reserve or off the reserve at the expense of the Federal government anywhere in Canada.
- c. The provision of education of all types and levels to all Indian people at the expense of the Federal government.
- d. The right of the Indian people to hunt, trap and fish for their livelihood free of governmental interference and regulation and subject only to the proviso that the exercise of this right must not interfere with the use and enjoyment of private property.

These benefits are not “handouts” because the Indian people paid for them by surrendering their lands. The Federal Government is bound to provide the actual services relating to education, welfare, health and economic development.

B.4. ENRICHED SERVICES

The White Paper policy says ‘that those who are furthest behind should be helped most’. The policy also promises “enriched services”.

We do not want different treatment for different tribes. These promises of enriched services are bribes to get us to accept the rest of the Policy. The Federal Government is trying to divide us Indian people so it can conquer us by saying that poorer reserves will be helped most.

All reserves and tribes need help in the economic social, recreational and cultural development.

B.5. LAWFUL OBLIGATIONS

The White Paper Policy says, “that lawful obligations should be recognized”. If the Government meant what it said we would be happy. But it is obvious that the Government has never bothered to learn what the treaties are and has a distorted picture of them.

The Government shows that it is willfully ignorant of the bargains that were made between the Indians and the Queen’s Commissioners.

The Government must admit its mistakes and recognize that treaties are historic, moral and legal obligations. The redmen signed them in good faith, and lived up to the treaties. The treaties were solemn agreements. Indian lands were exchanged for the promises of the Indian Commissioners who represented the Queen. Many missionaries of many faiths brought the authority and prestige of whiteman’s religion in encouraging Indians to sign.

In our treaties of 1876, 1877, 1899 certain promises were made to our people; some of these are contained in the text of the treaties, some in the negotiations and some in the memories of our people. Our basic view is that all these promises are part of the treaties and must be honored.

MODERNIZE THE TREATIES

The intent and spirit of the treaties must be our guide, not the precise letter of a foreign language. Treaties that run forever must have room for the changes in the conditions of life. The undertaking of the Government to provide teachers was a commitment to provide Indian children the educational opportunity equal to their white neighbors. The machinery and livestock symbolized economic development.

The White Paper Policy says “a plain reading of the words used in the treaties reveals the limited and minimal promises which were included in them... and in one treaty only a medicine chest”. But we know from the Commissioners’ Reports that they told the Indians that medicine chests were included in all three.

Indians have the right to receive, without payment, all healthcare services without exception and paid by the Government of Canada.

The medicine chests that we know were mentioned in the negotiations for Treaties Six, Seven and Eight mean that Indians should now receive free medical, hospital and dental care – the same high quality services available to other Canadians

We agree with the judgment of Policha, J. in **Regina** vs. Walter Johnston:

“Referring to the ‘Medicine chest’ clause of Treaty Number Six, it is common knowledge that the provision for caring for the sick and injured in the areas inhabited by the Indians in 1876 were somewhat primitive compared to present day standards. It can be safely assumed that the Indians had limited knowledge of what provisions were available and it is obvious that they were concerned that their people be adequately cared for. With that in view and possibly carrying the opinion Angers, J. a step further, I can only conclude that the ‘medicine chest’ clause and the ‘pestilence’ clause in Treaty No. 6 should be properly interpreted to mean that the Indians are entitled to receive all medical services, including medicines, drugs, medical supplies and hospital care free of charge. Lacking proper statutory provisions to the contrary, this entitlement would embrace all Indians within the meaning of the Indian Act, without exception.”²

The principle thus laid down by Policha, J. is that all the provisions of the treaties are to be interpreted in favour of the Indians with full regard given to changing social and economic conditions.

The Indian people see the treaties as the basis of all their rights and status. If the Government expects the co-operation of Indians in any new policy, it must accept the Indian viewpoint on treaties. This would require the Government to start all over on its new policy.

B.6. INDIAN CONTROL OF INDIAN LANDS

The White Paper Policy says, “that control of Indian lands should be transferred to Indian people”.

We agree with this intent but we find that the Government is ignorant of two basic points. The Government wrongly thinks that Indian Reserve lands are owned by the Crown. The Government is, of course, in error. These lands are held in trust by the Crown but they are Indian lands.

The Indians are the beneficial (actual) owners of the lands. The legal title has been held for us by the Crown to prevent the sale or breaking up of our land. We are opposed to any system of allotment that would give individuals ownership with rights to sell.

According to the **Indian Act R.S.C. 1952** the land is safe and secure held in trust for the common use and benefit of the tribe. The land must never be sold, mortgaged or taxed.

The second error that the Government commits is making the assumption that Indians can have control of the land only if they take ownership in the way that ordinary property is owned. The Government should either get some legal advice or get some brighter legal advisers. The advice we have received is that the Indian Act could be changed to give Indians control of lands without changing the fact that the title is now held in trust.

Indian lands must continue to be regarded in a different manner than other lands in Canada. It must be held forever in trust of the Crown because, as we say, “The true owners of the land are not yet born”.

C. IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENTS

C.1. MINISTER OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

We demand a full time Minister of Indian Affairs immediately. The Prime Minister should redefine the responsibilities of the Minister responsible for Indians. At the moment, the problems of Arctic Sovereignty and National Parks Policy are heavy. The Government is quite unrealistic in expecting one Minister to handle other responsibilities at the same time that new policies are being suggested for Indians and Indian lands. We are insulted because it is clear that the Government does not intend to

regard its Indian people as deserving proper cabinet representation. As soon as we get a full time Minister, there will be some hope for useful consultations.

C.2. RECOGNIZE THE TREATIES

The Government must declare that it accepts the treaties, as binding, and must pledge that it will incorporate the treaties in updated terms in an amendment to the Canadian Constitution. The preamble or introduction to this amendment should contain a reaffirmation of the treaties and an undertaking by the Government to abide by the treaties.

When this declaration is given, Indians will be prepared to consider some specific details of policy changes.

The treaties could be clarified in several ways:

- (a) The Government should appoint a Permanent Standing Committee of the House of Commons and Senate with members from all parties to deal **only** with registered Indians and their affairs.
- (b) The Treaties could be referred to the Court of Canada with the understanding that the Court will examine all supporting evidence and not merely the bare treaty.
- (c) We would agree to referring the interpretation of the treaties to an impartial body such as the International Court of Justice at the Hague.

When the Government applies the same intent to the treaties as our forefathers took them to mean, the Government must enact the provisions of the treaties as an Act of the Canadian Parliament. We would regard this Act as an interim and temporary measure indicating good faith. Then with the consent of the Provinces, the Government of Canada should entrench the treaties in the written Constitution.

Only by this entrenching will Indian rights be assured as long as the sun rises and the river runs. This course has also been suggested by Professor Green: “It may therefore be wise from a political and constitutional point of view to treat the Indian question as part and parcel of the whole problem of constitutional revision...”³

D. THE STEPS

D.1. THE INDIAN ACT

The White Paper Policy says that the Government would “Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as may be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian lands and to acquire title to them”.

We reject the White Paper Proposal that the Indian Act be repealed. It is neither possible nor desirable to eliminate the **Indian Act**. It is essential to review it, but not before the question of treaties is settled.

Some sections can be altered, amended, or deleted readily. Other sections need more careful study, because the **Indian Act** provided for Indian people, the legal framework that is provided in many federal and provincial statutes for other Canadians. Thus the Indian Act is very complicated and cannot simply be burned.

The **Indian Act** provides the basis for the Indian Affairs Branch. It confers on the Minister very sweeping powers. It often frustrates Indians in their individual efforts to earn a living and the entire tribe in its attempts toward greater self-government and better stewardship of the assets of the tribe.

The whole spirit of the **Indian Act** is paternalism. The Act provides that:

“...The Minister may...authorize use of lands for schools or burial grounds...authorize surveys and subdivisions...determine and direct the construction of roads...issue certificates of possession... direct an Indian person or the tribe to compensate another

Indian...call a referendum...appoint executors of wills...declare the will of an Indian to be void...issue temporary permits for the taking of sand, gravel, clay and other non-metallic substances upon or under lands in a reserve...make expenditures out of the revenues of the tribe to assist sick, aged, or destitute Indians of the tribe and provide for the burial of deceased indigent members...etc. etc. etc.”

All these things, and many more, the Minister may do without consulting anyone. Such oppressive powers are probably without equal in the post-colonial era.

There is another long list of things that the Minister (of Indian Affairs) may do **with** the consent of the tribe. (Therefore in these matters the tribe can do nothing without the Minister’s consent.)

And there are many things that an Indian person or tribe cannot do without the permission of the Minister.

These paternalistic prescriptions thus confine the Indian and the tribe as if they were incompetent, not able to conduct their personal business affairs, or be responsible for local self-government.

As one example, under Section 32, an Indian rancher might spend four days and 100 miles of driving to obtain authority to sell a calf, obtain permission to receive the proceeds and cash the cheque!

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Many tribes have now had valuable experience in managing their local government affairs. Other tribes are now ready to accept greater responsibility. We believe that there should be a commitment from the government that, as time passes and Indians choose, we should be given those responsibilities we feel we are capable of taking on.

The tribe should choose its own arrangements for this local government. Sections 73-85 of the Indian Act now provide for the election of officers and prescribe the powers of the Council. The Indian Act can therefore be rewritten to establish the legal basis for tribal government in all matters usually delegated to local government. The

provincial Government is not competent to pass legislation including reserve lands or persons as part of nearby counties.

D.2. TRANSFER TO THE PROVINCES

The White Paper Policy said that the Federal Government would “Propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces. The take- over would be accompanied by transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as may be necessary.”

The current arrangement for education is unacceptable because the Provincial and Federal Governments can make agreements without consulting Indian tribal councils.

Our education is not a welfare system. We have free education as a treaty right because we have paid in advance for our education by surrendering our lands.

The funds for education should be offered to the tribal councils. Then the tribe can decide whether it will operate schools itself or make contracts with nearby public schools for places for some or all of its students. These contracts would provide for Indian voice and vote in the operation of those schools. Opportunity could be provided for children of other Canadians to attend schools on the reserves.

D.3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Government White Paper Policy promises to “make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure.”

We sat that it is not realistic to suppose that short-term assistance with economic development as an **interim measure** will be adequate. The promise of substantial funds must be followed by actually making these monies available. This help in economic development is in keeping with the intent of the treaties which provided machines and livestock, the ingredients of economic development 100 years ago. It is

important that everyone recognize that giving up our Indian identity is not necessary for economic development.

It should also be recognized that other groups in society enjoy special legislation to ensure to ensure their economic, social or cultural well-being. Doctors and teachers are licensed as members of their professions. Labor negotiates for wages. Industry has tariff protection. Tax savings are given by the Federal Government to attract industry to underdeveloped regions.

Special circumstances require special programs or benefits. Why not Indian reserves too?

Every group gets special treatment, concessions – even special status. We need and are entitled to special consideration – at the very least we expect that the promises made when we signed the treaties ceding our lands will be honored. The promise to help ourselves was an important promise and one still largely unfulfilled.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

One guiding principle in our strategy must be that no program can succeed if it rests solely on continuing government appropriations, which depend in turn on annual legislative action. Government at all levels – federal, provincial, and local – will have to play key roles in any such program. But total reliance on government would be a mistake. It would be astronomically costly to the taxpayer; and would continue to make our people totally dependent on politics, on year-to-year appropriations, and the favor of others.

It is therefore imperative that we enlist the energies, resources and talents of private enterprise in this most urgent effort. All of our programs have been designed in Ottawa. Their funds have been voted and run by government agencies. They are not enough and only a part of it even gets to the Indian people, the rest being gobbled up in administration at all levels.

To rely exclusively, even primarily, on governmental efforts is unwise. We must no longer ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise. It is probable that the lack of private enterprise participation is one of the main causes of failure to solve the problems of the poor and underdeveloped.

LOCAL EFFORT

The primary effort must be the labor and sacrifice of the local tribes. The elimination of poverty and want is a responsibility we all share—but if it is to be met, tribal councils themselves must take the initiative. Leadership within Indian communities is important for its own sake. The objectives are group achievement, stability of family, and growth of community pride. But it is also important to end the psychological isolation of these areas—to bring not just individual residents, but the entire community, into the mainstream of Canadian life. And it is vital that children and young people see change and development take place through the work of their own fathers and brothers.

Freedom depends on having financial and social security first. The immediate problem before us, therefore, is to enable the bands to achieve basic, financial and social security where they live now, and it is crucial that they do so as a community.

There are two major categories of employment to be developed: the performance of tasks and works that the community needs (self government) and the development of jobs in private industry.

There is an enormous potential for work on the needs of the community and within the tribal administrations as self-government develops. We also need large numbers of workers to staff our schools, clinics, and community centers. Even now, we face shortages of nurses, teachers, policemen, health and welfare workers, recreation and sanitation workmen that could be alleviated by employing people

from the communities they serve to aid them and by giving these aides the opportunity to move up the career ladder as they are trained.

The school curricula should be revised to prepare Indians to play their rightful part in the fields of public service employment, tribal administration, and in the new industries to be established.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO PRIVATE INDUSTRY

There will be enormous potential in the private sector as well. We can and must make our communities into centers of profitable and productive private industry, creating dignified jobs, not welfare handouts, for the men and youth who now languish in idleness.

Large scale investment in Indian communities will certainly be more costly and more difficult than investment elsewhere. Land transportation, insurance against fire, training of workers, extra supervision, all these are so costly in most reserve areas as to make investment there uneconomical under present conditions. If private enterprise is to play its full part in Indian communities, it must have the support of government to help make up the increased costs.

The most effective way to encourage new enterprise in reserve communities is through tax incentives, training incentives, and labor guarantees. This concept of government incentives to induce desired investments by private industry is not new. Tax credits, charitable contribution deductions, oil and mineral development incentives, accelerated depreciation, extra payroll deductions, low-interest loans, and numerous other ways have always been used by government as incentives to develop special areas or to handle special situations.

The entry of private enterprise must be in tune with the life and spirit of the community. Its role must complement the other efforts being made in the community.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

Private enterprise and local government will be assisted by all the resources of a provincial community development corporation set up by the Indian Association of Alberta.

The community corporation would ensure that what is done to create jobs and build homes, builds the community as well, and builds new and continuing opportunities for its residents. They would ensure that what is done involves not just the physical development of the community, but the development of its educational system, its health services – in short, all the services its residents need. They would be at the source of technical assistance to local business men. And they would be the main channel through which outside aid – government or private – enters the community. They would have the opportunity to make every government program and many private efforts more effective than before.

The programs cannot come from the top down. The leadership for these self- help initiatives must come from the people who live where the problems are. The people must know that the program belong to them, and that the successes as well as the failures will be theirs too.

This Community Development Corporation must enter into partnership with industry to enlist resources thus far not available to Indian communities – sufficient to mount a real attack on the inter-twined problems of housing and jobs, education and income. This will require loans and technical co- operation from industry and commerce, trained manpower and organization from labor unions, academic and educational partnership with the universities, funds for education and training such as those provided under many present government programs.

The corporation would make special efforts in the field of on the job training. Not only will job training be needed to make initial employment possible; just as important, the availability of jobs will make the training programs more meaningful than they have been before.

D.4. THE INDIAN AFFAIRS BRANCH

The White Paper Policy proposes that the Government will “wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities of the Federal Government for programs in the field of Indian Affairs would be transferred to other appropriate federal departments”.

We reject this proposal to abolish the Indian Affairs Branch.

There will always be a continuing need for an Indian Affairs Branch. The Indian Affairs Branch should change to a smaller structure closely attuned to the well-being of Indian people.

The Branch needs to change its outlook. It should stop being authoritarian and it should start to serve people. The Branch should be given a new name to signify that it has turned over a new leaf. This smaller successor body should serve mainly as the keeper of the Queen’s promises, the treaties and the lands. It should channel federal funds to the tribes or to the provincial association depending on circumstances.

Tribes should also have direct access to Ottawa. The Branch should report to a Minister of the Crown who has no other responsibility than the well- being of the Canadian Indian people.

Over the years the Indian Affairs Branch has been out of touch, a long ways away, unresponsive, and even unthinking. This has made the Indian feel that the Indian Affairs Branch has been bureaucratic and paternalistic. We know too that many good-hearted individuals have worked there, including some of our Indian people. But the good people seem to leave. They become discouraged or they are squeezed out. Thus we conclude that the recruitment and promotion policies of the Branch need a thorough review soon.

The Government’s proposal to eliminate the Indian Affairs Branch ignores the advice given by the Hawthorn Committee which the Government itself set up to look into Indian Affairs. The Indian Affairs Branch could make a valuable contribution. For example, the Hawthorn Report recommended that the Branch play a valuable role in the Canadian community:

“The Indian Affairs Branch should act as a national conscience to see that social and economic equality is achieved between Indians and Whites. This role includes the persistent advocacy of Indian needs, the persistent exposure of shortcomings in the governmental treatment that Indians receive and the persistent removal of ethnic tensions between Indians and Whites.

Indians should be regarded as ‘citizens plus’; in addition to the normal rights and duties of citizenship, Indians possess certain additional rights as charter members of the Canadian community.

The Indian Affairs Branch has a special responsibility to see that the ‘plus’ aspects of Canadian citizenship are respected, and that governments and the Canadian people are educated in the acceptance of their existence.”⁴

D.5. INDIAN CLAIMS COMMISSION

The White Paper Policy said: “In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims”.

We reject the appointment of a sole Commissioner because he has been appointed without consultation and by the Government itself. He is not impartial and he has no power to do anything but a whitewash job.

WHAT A CLAIMS COMMISSION WOULD BE

A Claims Commission would be established by consultation with the Indians. The Commissioners would be impartial. The Commission would have the power to call any witness the Indians or the Commission wanted or any documents that either wanted. The Commission would make binding judgments.

WHAT WOULD A CLAIMS COMMISSION DO

The Claims Commission could:

- (a) Help modernize the treaties
- (b) Award compensation to aboriginal peoples who are registered Indians who have no treaties. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 issued following the acquisition of Canada by the British provided that no Indian could be dispossessed of his land unless with his consent and the consent of the Crown. This common consent was given in the treaties under which Indians were to be compensated for giving up their title to the lands.
- (c) Examine the boundaries of reservations and recognize the need to include as part of reserves the lakes that are on the edge of the reserves.
- (d) Prepare draft legislation to overcome the bad effects of the Migratory Birds Convention Act and other improper restrictions on Indians fishing in lakes and rivers.
- (e) Hear all other claims that Indian persons or tribes want to have heard.

CONSERVATIVE PROMISES

The Claims Commission has been promised by the Progressive Conservative Government headed by Prime Minister J. D. Diefenbaker. Mr. Diefenbaker said in 1968

“We had the Indian Claims Commission. Today the Indians are becoming aroused in a world that is seething with unrest. The injustice of a hundred years could have been compensated if the Claims Commission had been set up. The injustice remains. It remains today.”⁵

LIBERAL PROMISES

When the 1963 Canadian general election was held, the Liberal party was in opposition. One of the official pieces of campaign literature, which bore the photograph of Mr. L. B. Pearson, contained the following promises, parts of which we have underlined:

“At Prince Rupert in 1910, Sir Wilfred Laurier promised that the Indian land question would be taken to the Privy Council. The solution in 1963 lies in a totally different course of action.

Liberal policy now is to appoint **as soon as possible** an Indian Claims Commission, an **independent unbiased, unprejudiced** body with broad terms of reference, to review **all matters** pertaining to this issue.

With the objective of achieving a fair and just settlement of all outstanding claims, it is Liberal policy that the Commission will include qualified authorities on British Constitutional laws as it affects **aboriginal hereditary** and **usufructory** rights.

To assure the objectivity, which Indians of Canada have the right to expect **after years of procrastination**, Commissioners may be appointed from other parts of the Commonwealth such as New Zealand, where achievements in this field are regarded as outstanding. It is Liberal policy that the Commission will be unbiased and independent.

Appointment of the Indian Claims Commission, as described, is based on the fundamental Liberal policy that **Canada’s Native Indians must now achieve full equality without loss of aboriginal, hereditary and usufructory rights.”**

We think it is about time to remind the Government of these promises, which are now seven years old.

E. CONCLUSION

If the Federal Government accepts its well-established obligations and seeks to honor them fully and enthusiastically, there is good reason to believe that consultation and progress are possible.

But in the case of grave social wrongs and deeply felt concerns, time is of the essence. The Indian leadership today is accustomed to the honorable and peaceful discussion and eventual solution, of the rights and needs and aspirations of our people.

But if for much longer the rights are not noticed, needs not met, or aspiration not fulfilled, then no one – especially having regard to developments all over the globe – can be assured that the rank and file will continue to accept such pacific conduct from its leaders.

Some reserves now have an agricultural-economic base adequate to support only one sixth the Indian population and the prediction is that by 1980 the base will support only one tenth the Indian population. Thus the problems are urgent.

Mr. Robert L. Stanfield has stressed the danger of moderate and responsible Indian leaders being replaced by less patient and more militant men.⁶

Professor Green has written that the situation could “easily erupt into a civil disturbance that would make the Riel Rebellion of 1884-5 or the Slaves’ Revolt under John Brown, look like kindergarten picnics.”

1. L.C. Green, *Canada’s Indians – Federal Policy* (1969) Government of Alberta (underlining added)
2. Judgment dated July 12, 1965, North Battleford in District Court of Saskatchewan. The defendant Johnston was living off the reserve. It is very significant that the learned Judge examined supplemental sources and did not restrict his attention to the formal written treaty.
3. L.C. Green, *Canada’s Indians – Federal Policy*
4. H.D. Hawthorn, *A Survey of Contemporary Indians – Volume One* (1966) Indians Affairs Branch, Queen’s Printer, Ottawa

5. Reported from interview by Ben Tierney in *Edmonton Journal*, June 4, 1968
6. Reported March 22, 1968, *Calgary Albertan*
7. L.C. Green, *Canada's Indians – Federal Policy*

F.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE TREATIES

“As long as the sun shines and the river runs”

The Treaties with the Indians of the area now called Alberta were signed before our province attained provincial status in 1905. The Alberta Treaties were given the numbers Six, Seven, and Eight.

Treaty Six was made and concluded near Fort Carlton and near Fort Pitt in 1876. The main negotiator for the Queen was the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. The signing of the Treaty came one year after the respected and influential Reverend George McDougall, a Methodist missionary, went among the Indians to assure them that the Queen would make a treaty to obtain their lands as the Queen had done already with Indians to the east. Missionaries of at least four Christian faiths attended the negotiations to conduct services but also to interpret and to assure the Indians of the Commissioners' integrity.

Treaty Number Seven was made at the Blackfoot crossing on the Bow River in September, 1877. Lieutenant Governor David Laird and Colonel McLeod of the Mounted Police represented the Queen. The good reputation of the Mounted Police and the good faith of the Indians led to the making of a Treaty in Canada at the very time that troops and Indians were shooting each other south of the border. The Reverend John McDougall, son of George McDougall who had died the winter before, and Reverend C. Scollen, a priest in the Roman Catholic

Church, were visitors at the making of the Treaty. Those gentlemen "... rendered the Commissioners all the assistance in their power."^{1, 2}

Treaty Number Eight was made in June, 1899. Mr. David Laird was the main negotiator for the Government. The territory ceded included Northern Alberta and part of Northeastern British Columbia and part of the Northwest Territories. In his report after making the Treaty, Mr. Laird noted, "We would add that the Very Reverend Father Lacombe, who was attached to the Commission, zealously assisted us in treating with the Crees".

The Indian Commissioners for all the Treaties tried to call all the tribes of the affected area together for the negotiations. For most of the Treaties there were a few tribes who were not present. Some were hunting. Other tribes lived far away. The Commissioners searched for those tribes and usually arranged supplemental agreements under which the Indians agreed to be bound as if they had signed the Treaty when it was made. These supplemental agreements are called **Adhesions**.

The men who signed the Treaties as the representatives of the tribes were chiefs, councilors, or headmen. When the negotiations for a Treaty began, the Commissioners asked the Indians to point out their chiefs. These chiefs were usually the main spokesmen but in some cases "orators" spoke. The medallions, flags and suits of clothes which were presented to the chiefs and headmen were intended to symbolize the authority of the Queen's government and the special responsibility of the chiefs and councilors in teaching the children to respect the Treaties and maintaining law and order.

The Treaties were signed in utmost good faith by the Commissions and by the Indians. For example, at Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris said:

"Again, I say, all we seek is your good; I speak openly, as brother to brother, as a father to his children, and I would give you a last advice, hear my words... My words, when they are accepted, are written down, and they last, as I have said to the others, **as long as the sun shines and the river runs.**"³

THE INDIAN LANDS

There is no doubt that the Treaties were necessary for the westward growth of the Dominion of Canada. The plain truth is that the Dominion Government acknowledged that the Indians held title to the land. In order to acquire lands to permit mining and homesteading, the Province of Canada, and later the Dominion, acknowledged the necessity to deal with the Indians for their land. The Indians were regarded as the Queen's subjects – but special subjects, the owners of the land.

The Indian Commissioner, Lieutenant Governor and historian, Alexander Morris, referred to Treaties signed in 1817 and 1850 as providing for the surrender of Indian title.

“In consequences of the discovery of minerals, on the shores of Lakes Huron and Superior, **the Government** of the late Province of Canada, **deemed it desirable to extinguish the Indian title, and in order to that end**, in the year 1850, entrusted the duty to the late honourable William B. Robinson, who discharged his duties with great tact and judgment, **succeeded in making two treaties**, which were the forerunners of the future treaties, and shaped their course.”⁴

In 1871, the Secretary of State in Canada, Honourable Joseph Howe, referred to “...the **necessity** of arranging with the bands of Indians inhabiting the tract of country between Thunder Bay and the Stone Fort, for the cession, subject to certain reserves such as they should select, of the lands occupied by them.”⁵

The Stone Fort Treaty, as the Treaty was called, was the first of many Treaties between the Dominion and the Indians. (In this series the Treaties with Indians of Alberta are called Numbers Six, Seven, and Eight.)

The land occupied by the Indians thus become part of the Dominion, not by conquest, not as the spoils of war, but through the honorable process of Treaties between the Queen and the aboriginal peoples. The benefits accruing to the Indians under the Treaties were to last forever – in perpetuity – “for as long as the sun shines and the river runs”.

The making of the Treaties took the form of verbal discussion between the Commissioners and the Indians. The written texts, with their very legalistic construction, were prepared later by government lawyers. The formal written treaties (small t) are therefore insufficient as reports of the Treaties (large T), of the verbal promises exchanged by Redmen and Whitemen. Indeed, it was necessary to revise Treaties Numbers One and Two because some verbal promises were not included in the written text.⁶

The purpose of the Dominion in making the Treaties was to acquire the land of the Indians. The yielding up of most of their land was clearly the most important undertaking to which the Indians agreed in signing a treaty contract. The one extra undertaking to abide by the law, was added at the end of the document. In Treaty Six is written:

“The Plain and Wood Cree Tribes of Indians, and all other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges, whatsoever to the lands included in the following ...”

These same words “... cede, release, surrender, and yield up to the Government of Canada...” also appear in Treaty Seven.

And in Treaty Eight, it is written:

“And whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty’s said Commission that it is Her desire to open for settlement, immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering, and such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet the said Indians DO HEREBY CEDE, RELEASE, SURRENDER AND YIELD UP to the Government...”

The Indians yielded their land in return for the many promises made to them by the Commissioners. The Commissioners went to Indians from the Government with their minds made up. They listened to counter-proposals with seeming patience but soon forgot. The

Commissioners promised to send some Indian proposals back to the Queen's representative, but they forced the hand of the Indians by saying in effect, "**Sign our treaty or we shall leave in the morning**".

The Queen's negotiators believed that the Indians were in weak bargaining positions. The white settlers and surveyors and miners were too numerous to be excluded, even if the Indians had been willing to take up rifles. The slaughter of the buffalo had nearly exterminated the magnificent animals before Treaty Six was signed. Smallpox had killed the young, the old, and the weak. It was recognized that the Queen's Mounted Police Force were needed to keep out the whiskey and gun traders to keep the peace between some tribes. Consequently the Indians were hoping to be "treated" but at the same time fearful that they would be confined to reserves, be required to abandon hunting, and to serve in front lines if war occurred.

This presumption of the weak bargaining position of the Indians was expressed in 1871 by Adams G. Archibald, the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, who reported on the negotiations in Treaty Two:

"In defining the limits of their reserves, so far as we could see, they wished to have about two thirds of the Province. We heard them out and then told them it was quite clear they had misunderstood... We told them that whether they wished it or not, immigrants would come in and fill up the country; that every year from this one twice as many in number as their whole people there assembled would pour into the Province, and in a little while would spread all over it, and that now was the time for them to come to an arrangement that would secure homes and annuities for themselves and their children... We requested them to think over these propositions till Monday morning.

If they thought it better to have no treaty at all, they might do without one, but they must make up their minds; if there was to be a treaty, **it must be on a basis like that offered...**"⁷

The settlement of the vast areas of Western Canada was a prerequisite to full nationhood and proceeded quickly and peacefully. Never before had such a vast expanse of land been opened to settlement so rapidly

with so few disruptive events. The Indians have conducted themselves as the good and loyal subjects of the Her Majesty the Queen as they promised in the Treaties they would be.

THE RESERVES

The lands which were **not released** to the Queen have remained as Indians lands. Section 91 of the B.N.A. Act gave legislative authority over Indians and Indian lands to the Federal Government. Since these lands remain as the aboriginal property of the Indians, it does not fall within the competence of any government to dispose of them in any way without the consent of the Indians.

In speaking of these “reserves”, Lieutenant Governor Archibald said in 1871:

“Your Great Mother, therefore, will lay aside for you ‘lots’ of land to be used by you and your children forever. She will not allow the white man to intrude upon these lots. **She will make rules to keep them for you**, so that as long as the sun shall shine, there shall be no Indian who has not a place that he can call his home, where he can go and pitch his camp, or if he chooses, build his house and till his land.”⁸

With these words, the Lieutenant Governor indicated that Indian reserves would be Indian land forever.

A piece of legislation assented to May 22, 1968, provided that:

“All lands reserved for Indians or for any tribe, band, body of Indians, or held in trust for their benefit, shall be deemed to be reserved and held for the same purposes as before the passing of this Act, but subject to its provisions; and **no such lands shall be sold, alienated or leased** until they have been released or surrendered to the Crown for the purposes of this Act.”

This first enactment of the Dominion respecting Indian lands this specified very clearly that Indian lands were never to be patented, taxed, or disposed of in the manner of other lands.

This assurance was restated by Governor Morris at Fort Carlton:

“But understand me, once the reserve is set aside, it could not be sold unless with the consent of the Queen and the Indians; as long as the Indians wish, it will stand there for their good; no one can take their homes.”⁹

Owing to the admitted smallness of the reserves, the Treaties provided other benefits, for annuities, relief to the old or the needy, ammunition, twine, seeds, axes, mowers, livestock, etc., etc. These aids were to assist Indians in earning their living when the hunt failed, the settlers came, and they had to rely on their own efforts, their small reserves, and take up the ways of their white neighbors, the farmers. The teachers that were promised were to include teachers skilled in building construction and animal and plant husbandry. Although not given the modern terminology, economic and community development, the intent was the same – the improvement of the reserve as places to live and to work.

Alexander Morris wrote of the administration of Indian affairs in his 1880 book:

“The allotment of lands to the Indians, to be set aside as reserves for them for homes and agricultural purposes, **and which cannot be sold or alienated without their consent**, and then only for their benefit; the extent of lands this set apart being generally one section for each family of five. I regard this system as of great value. It at once secure to the Indian tribes tracts of land, which cannot be interfered with by the rush of immigration, and affords the means of inducing them to establish homes and learn the arts of agriculture. I regard the Canadian system of allotting reserves to one or more bands together, in the localities in which they have had the habit of living, as far preferable to the American system of placing whole tribes in large reserves, which eventually become the object of cupidity

to the whites, and the breaking up of which, has so often led to Indian wars and great discontent even if warfare did not result. The Indians have a strong attachment to the localities, in which they and their fathers have been accustomed to dwell, and it is desirable to cultivate this home feeling of attachment to the soil. Moreover, the Canadian system of band reserves has a tendency to diminish the offensive strength of the Indian tribes, should they ever become restless, a remote contingency, if the treaties are carefully observed. Besides, the fact of the reserves being scattered throughout the territories, will enable the Indians to obtain markets among the white settlers, for any surplus produce they may eventually have to dispose of. **It will be found desirable, to assign to each family parts of the reserve for their own use, so as to give them a sense of property in it, but all power of sale or alienation of such lands should be rigidly prohibited.** Any premature enfranchisement of the Indians or power given them to part with their lands, would inevitably lead to the speedy breaking up of the reserves, and the return of the Indians to their wandering mode of life, and thereby to the re-creation of a difficulty which the assignment of reserves was calculated to obviate. There is no parallel between the condition of the North-Western Indians, and that of the Indians who have so long been under the fostering care of the Government in the older Provinces of Ontario and Quebec.”¹⁰

In the culture of Western Canadian Indians, the land is the gift of the Great Spirit, the common legacy of all. The true owners are the children yet unborn. The Indians naturally view their land as a trust with a permanent sign on the corner-post, “Note for Sale”.

THE MEDICINE CHESTS

In the course of the negotiations at Fort Carlton, Peter Erasmus read a counter-offer which contained the specific request “... a free supply of medicines...”¹¹

The Lieutenant Governor replied to the request saying, “A medicine chest will be kept at the house of each Indian agent, in case of sickness amongst you.”¹²

The formal written Treaty said simply, “That a medicine chest shall be kept at the house of each Indian agent for the use and benefit of the Indians at the direction of such agent.”

Now, what does a “medicine chest” mean today? Medical practice and health care have changed markedly in the last 100 years. The intent was that Indians should receive from the Federal Government whatever medical care could be made available.

The concern for the free supply of medicines was no doubt due to the ravages of scarlet fever, measles and smallpox that were being endured in the 1870’s by the Indians who met the Commissioners at Fort Carlton and Fort Pitt. Thus the assurance of proper health care was not merely incidental to signing of the Treaties. The Government of the Dominion should therefore feel bound to provide full medical services through regular channels. Professor Green appeals to “good faith, common sense, and the traditional rules of interpretation” to reach this same conclusion.¹³ By modern Canadian standards, an Indian agent is not a practitioner and his family collection of ointments, pills, and band aids is not a storehouse.

The principle of equal treatment was enunciated by Lieutenant Governor Morris when Treaty Six was signed:

“...we have to think of the Indians all over the country, we cannot treat one better than another, it would not be just...”¹⁵

Applying this principle of equal treatment in favor of the Treaty Seven Indians, this principle implies that a medicine chest was a part of that treaty!

Is there a medicine chest in Treaty Eight? No mention was made in the bare dry bones of the formal written treaty! But there is no doubt that the Indians asked for one.

In their report September T2, 1899, on Treaty Eight, the Commissioners stated:

“They requested that medicines should be furnished. At Vermilion, Chipewyan, and Smith’s Landing, an earnest appeal was made for the services of a medical man...

The presence of a medical man was much appreciated by the Indians, and Dr. West, the physician to the Commission was most assiduous in attending to the very great number of Indians who sought his services.”

And there is no doubt that medical care was promised. In their September 22, 1899, report the Commissioners stated:

“We promised that supplies of medicines would be put in the charge of persons selected by the Government at different points, and would be distributed free to those of the Indians who might require them. We explained that it would be practically impossible for the Government to arrange for regular medical attendance upon Indians so widely scattered over such an extensive territory. We assured them, however, that the Government would always be ready to avail itself of any opportunity of affording medical service just as it provided that the physician attached to the Commission should give free attendance to all Indians whom he might find in need of treatment as he passed through the country.”

The Indians believe that whatever the treaties record, the Treaties made with their forefathers included medicine chests. The Government has long ago conceded that it is responsible for medical care. It has either provided the service or picked up the tab. The Government built Indian hospitals at the Blood, Peigan, Hobbema, Driftpile, and Blackfoot reserves. The Charles Camsell Hospital was built in Edmonton. There are hospitals in all the three treaty areas. Moreover, the status and health-role of the tribal medicine man were undermined as part of a deliberate campaign to wipe out the folkways of persons held to be pagan.

The formal written Treaty Number Six provided:

“And further Her Majesty agrees to maintain schools for instruction in such reserves hereby made as to Her Government of the Dominion of Canada may seem advisable, whenever the Indians of the reserve shall desire it.”

The formal written Treaty Number Seven provided:

“Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salary of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Government of Canada may seem advisable when said Indians are settled on their reserves and shall desire teachers.”

The formal written Treaty Number Eight provided:

“Further, Her Majesty agrees to pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty’s Government of Canada may seem advisable.”

In his report on Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris wrote:

“...I thought the desire of the Indians, to be instructed in farming and building, most reasonable, and I would therefore recommend that measures be adopted to provide such instruction for them...

The universal demand for teachers, and by some of the Indians for missionaries, is also encouraging.”

The Report of the Commissioners for Treaty Eight laid great stress on education, particularly compared to the short one-sentence statement in the written treaty. The Commissioners wrote:

“They seemed desirous of securing educational advantages for their children, but stipulated that in the matter of schools there should be no interference with their religious beliefs...

As to education the Indians were assured that there was no need of any special stipulation, as it was the policy of the Government to provide in every part of the country, as fair as circumstances

would permit, for the education of Indian children, and that the law, which was as strong as a treaty, provided for non-interference with the religion of the Indians in schools maintained or assisted by the government.”

HUNTING, TRAPPING AND FISHING

It is once again evident that the written treaties are not the full record of the promises given by the Queen’s Commissioners. The Reports of the Commissioners are more complete records but they are undoubtedly too restrictive also.

Treaty Six provided:

“Her Majesty further agrees with Her said Indians that they, the said Indians, shall have right to pursue their avocations of hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as hereinbefore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada, and saving and excepting such tracts as may from time to time be required or taken up for settlement, mining, lumbering...”

In the negotiations for Treaty Six, Lieutenant Governor Morris indicated:

“You want to be at liberty to hunt as before. I told you we did not want to take that means of living from you. You have it the same as before, only this: if a man, whether Indian or Half-Breed, had a ‘good field of grain, you would not destroy it with your hunt.”¹⁶

The written Treaty Seven mentioned only the “right to pursue their avocations of hunting”. There was no reference to fishing or to trapping.

In his Report on Treaty Seven, Lieutenant Governor Laird noted:

“They were also assured that their liberty of hunting over the open prairie would not be interfered with, so long as they did not molest settlers and others in the country.”

In the written Treaty Eight “...the said Indians...shall have to right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping, and fishing throughout the tract surrendered...” The promises of the Commissioners were, however, greater than those included in the written treaty. In their Report the Commissioners stated:

“Our chief difficulty was the apprehension that the hunting and fishing privileges were to be curtailed. The provision in the treaty under which ammunition and twine is to be furnished went far in the direction of quieting the fears of the Indians, for they admitted it would be quite unreasonable to furnish the means of hunting and fishing if laws were to be enacted which would make hunting and fishing so restricted as to render it impossible to make a livelihood by such pursuits. But over and above the provision, we had to solemnly assure them that only such laws as to hunting and fishing as were in the interest to of the Indians and were found necessary in order to protect the fish and fur-bearing animals would be made, and that they would be as free to hunt and fish after the treaty as they would be if they never entered into it.”

F.2. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Explanation: In March 1970 the Indian Association of Alberta submitted to the government and the party caucuses in Ottawa a brief outlining in considerable detail a practical way in which the Association, the federal and provincial governments and the Indian peoples could tackle the important challenges of economic development of Indian reserves. Excerpts from that brief are presented below:

THE ALBERTA INDIAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM (AIDS)

PREAMBLE

The basic principle of the Alberta Indian Development System (AIDS) is the recognition of the fundamental rights of all Indian peoples in the Province of Alberta to equal opportunities in socio-economic and human resources development in order that they may take their rightful place as full-fledged participants in the mosaic of the “Just Society” as meaningful and contributing citizens of Canada.

There exists an immediate priority and a desperate need for a functional and realistic course of action to aid the Indian people by providing the opportunities for individual improvement to gain with dignity, self-sufficiency and self-determination. This System proposes to do that.

The concept embodied within this Development System recognizes four distinct areas within its multi-disciplined program. First, the realization that there exist specific problems; second, that there are specific goals and priorities related to the problems; third, the identification of resources necessary to effect solutions to the problems; and fourth, that the System will be the means or vehicle through which these problems are solved by utilizing the necessary resources in order to attain the required goals and priorities. The formulas by which this process takes place within the framework of the System will be in the form of concrete people-orientated programs of positive action.

THE PROBLEM

The basic problem, in all its varying degrees of intensity, which is confronted by all reserves and their peoples, is that of poverty with all its relevant symptoms - unemployment, inadequate education, overcrowded and deteriorating housing, crime, alcohol, and drug abuse, sub-standard preventive medicine and resultant disease, apathy, frustration, moral decay, destruction of the family and community units and total alienation from society. Significantly these symptoms of poverty relate generally to all reserves and peoples as a whole; whereas the parallel is found only in smaller segments of the dominant society and appear as isolated pockets within a greater total.

The question of poverty can only be attacked with an economic development program acting as a motivational force or catalyst. The initial requirement would be a program built on the communities strength and tailored to meet its particular needs. The second initial requirement is an organization to do the work. AIDS would serve this function.

THE OBJECTIVES

There is a deep and growing concern with the development of Alberta Indian peoples. All our policies must be shaped to a three-fold purpose:

- (1) To assist tribes in making their communities places where men can provide For and raise their families and live a decent life within the best of both the Indian context and that of non-native society:
- (2) To provide Indian people with the opportunity to fully develop their own talents and realize their own potentialities; and;
- (3) Above all to help them become masters of their communities and their own destiny.

There is a desperate need for action to help our people gain self-sufficiency and self-determination. We must act to help them build communities of security and achievement and dignity. However, if such communities are to be built, the primary effort must be the labor and sacrifice of the respective bands.

THE PROGRAM

Useful and productive employment through economic development is the objective, but employment is not a program in itself. A serious program must help the Indian people both on an individual and community basis to attack their fundamental conditions within a framework of development that co-ordinates action on employment with four other central elements; self- government, education, housing

and a sense of socio-cultural community. It is essential to build self-sufficiency and self-determination within communities themselves. Independence and freedom depend on having financial and social security first. The immediate problem before us is to enable the tribes to achieve basic, financial and social security where they are domiciled now, and it is crucial that they do so as a community.

A successful program of economic development is dependent upon three major factors: capital resources, human resources, and educational resources. As is the case in areas of concern of this nature, the capital and educational resources are evident more by their lack than their presence. There is no lack of potential human resources. A method must be found whereby a polygynous marriage of capital, education, and people may be brought about. No society in itself must possess a rigidity to ensure uniformity and continuity of purpose and yet be flexible to provide for change as the need arises. The AIDS program proposes to do that.

There are two major categories of employment to be developed: the performance of tasks and works that the community needs (self-government), and the development of jobs related to industry, both on reserves and off the reserve.

There is an enormous potential for work on the needs of the community and within the band administration as self-government develops. We also need large numbers of workers to staff our schools, nurses, teachers, policemen, health, and welfare workers, recreation and sanitation workmen.

STRATEGY

The ultimate objective of AIDS is to provide the opportunities on an equal basis in order that Indian people may gain income or increase their level of income and their standard of living on a parity with the best of the dominant society, by development of their reserves and natural and human resources.

One immediate purpose of the AIDS system is to provide an overall view of programs needed on Indian reserves, and from these needs, estimate costs may be arrived at in order that commitment of funds, can be secured. It is vital that the extent of funding be established in order that project planning and implementation may be afforded that maximum flexibility at the reserve level necessary to meet the immediate needs of reserve, group or individual concerned.

We must no longer ignore the potential contribution of private enterprise – for it makes up the strength of our country. It is very probable that the lack of private enterprise participation is one of the principle causes of failure to solve the problems of the poor and underdeveloped.

Many businessmen are aware of the challenges and eager to meet it. The most effective way to encourage new enterprise in reserve communities is through tax incentives and labour guarantees. This concept of government incentives to induce desired investments by private industry is not new. Tax credits, charitable contribution deductions, oil and mineral development incentives, accelerated depreciation, extra payroll deductions, low-interest loans, and numerous other ways been used by government as incentives to develop special areas or to handle special situations.

The entry of private enterprise must be in tune with the life and spirit of the reserve communities. Its role must complement the other efforts being made in the reserve communities. Everything that is done must be in direct response to the needs and wishes of the people themselves. To do this, it will be necessary to assist bands with the complete development of self-government through which they can express their wishes. Therefore, the heart of the private enterprise program aimed at eliminating poverty conditions is the local tribal government. A climate of trust, cooperation, and partnership must develop to achieve success.

Private enterprise and reserve governments will be assisted by all resources of a provincial community development corporation set up by the Indian Association of Alberta – the Alberta Indian Development System. It would ensure that what is done involves not just the physical development of the reserves, but the development of the educational

system concepts as embodied within the Indian Education Centre. The AIDS program recognizes the fact that there must be a unique or special type of educational system geared to meet the demands of Indian people in order to prepare them to fit into the mainstream of Canadian life; the necessity to be identified as Indian first and Canadian second.

The AIDS corporation would ensure that what is done to create jobs and build homes, builds the reserves as well, and builds new and continuing opportunities for its people.

They would be the source of technical assistance to local businessmen, And they would be the main channel through which outside aid – government or private – enters the reserve level. They would have the opportunity to make every government program and many private efforts more effective than before.

The critical element in the structure, financial and otherwise of this AIDS Corporation will be the full and dominant participation by the Indian people of the reserves concerned. There are a variety of means by which they could at once contribute to the betterment of their immediate conditions, and build a base for full participation in the economy. Such self-help programs must be completely controlled by the Indian people themselves. In this way they can literally lift themselves up by their own bootstraps. The programs cannot come from the top down. The leadership for these self-help initiatives must come from the people who live where the problems are. The people must know that the programs belong to them, and that the successes as well as the failures will be theirs, too.

This Indian Development System must enter into partnership with industry to enlist resources thus far unavailable to Indian communities – sufficient to mount a real attack on the intertwined problems of housing and jobs, education and income. This will require funds from the senior government, grants from the provincial government and private sources, loans and technical cooperation from industry and commerce, trained manpower and organization from labour unions, academic and educational partnership with the universities, funds for

education and training such as those provided under many present government programs.

The Development System would make special efforts in the field of on-the- job training. Not only will job training be needed to make initial employment possible; just as important, the availability of jobs will make the training programs more meaningful than they have been before.

Our conventional educational systems must be replaced by new concepts as embodied within the proposed Indian Education Centre and should be directly integrated with the development effort. For there is real hope of solving many of our most serious educational problems within such a program – the central problem of motivation, for unmotivated students, the schools would find it easier to educate students who wish to learn. The school curricula should be revised and directed accordingly, directly heading toward the new opportunities being opened; not just in the immediate program, but in the fields of public service employment, band administration and in the new industries established.

THE SYSTEM (AIDS)

The Alberta Indian Development System incorporates two broad field of endeavour; development in parallel of business and industry and that of human resources. It proposes to fulfill the following objectives:

1. To provide a substantial monetary pool in order to infuse sufficient working capital and total effort into Indian Reserves of Alberta.
2. Create jobs and business opportunities for Indian people both on and off the Indian Reserves.
3. Give Indian people a controlling voice in every decision that affects their lives.

4. Develop each program in such a way that Indian people can continue on their own as soon as outside aid is no longer necessary.
5. Plan each program as one part of a total effort that interrelates education, skill training, jobs, capital formation, credit, housing, communication, leadership and management expertise.
6. To provide a resource pool of personnel equipped with the necessary knowledge and expertise from which Indian peoples may draw in order to develop the essential educational and economic base.
7. To encourage and assist Indian peoples to take the lead to formulate policies and programs within the System to satisfy their own needs.

The Alberta Indian Development System is not a program by which vast amounts of money are pumped into Indian Reserves as a temporary stop-gap measure. The aim and strategy of AIDS is to get the highest possible return for every dollar in terms of measurable income-producing job opportunities, income producing activities, recoverable human resources, development of human productive, contributory and participatory potential, and development of the physical and natural resources of the Indian Reserves.

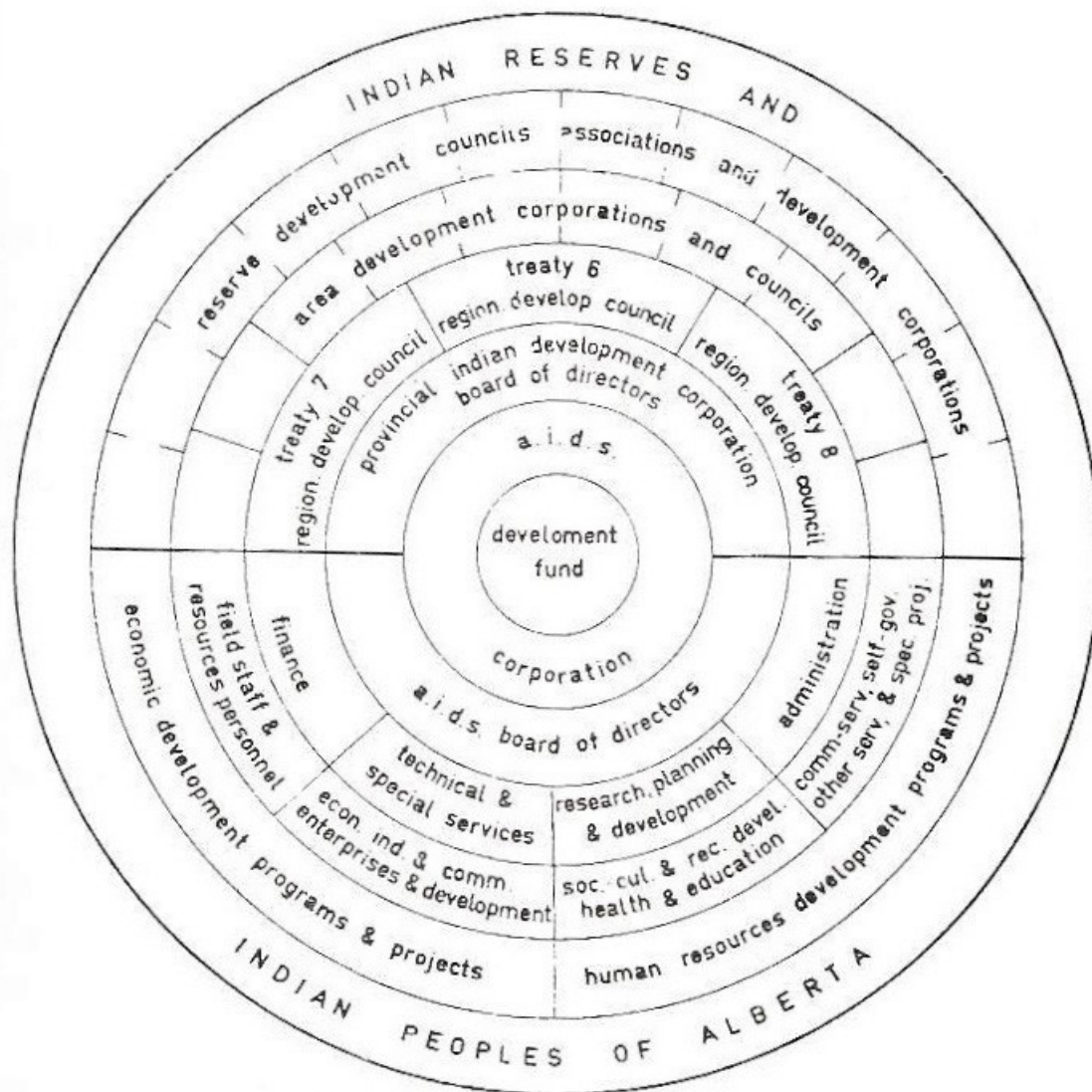
AIDS – THE DUAL CORPORATION CONCEPT

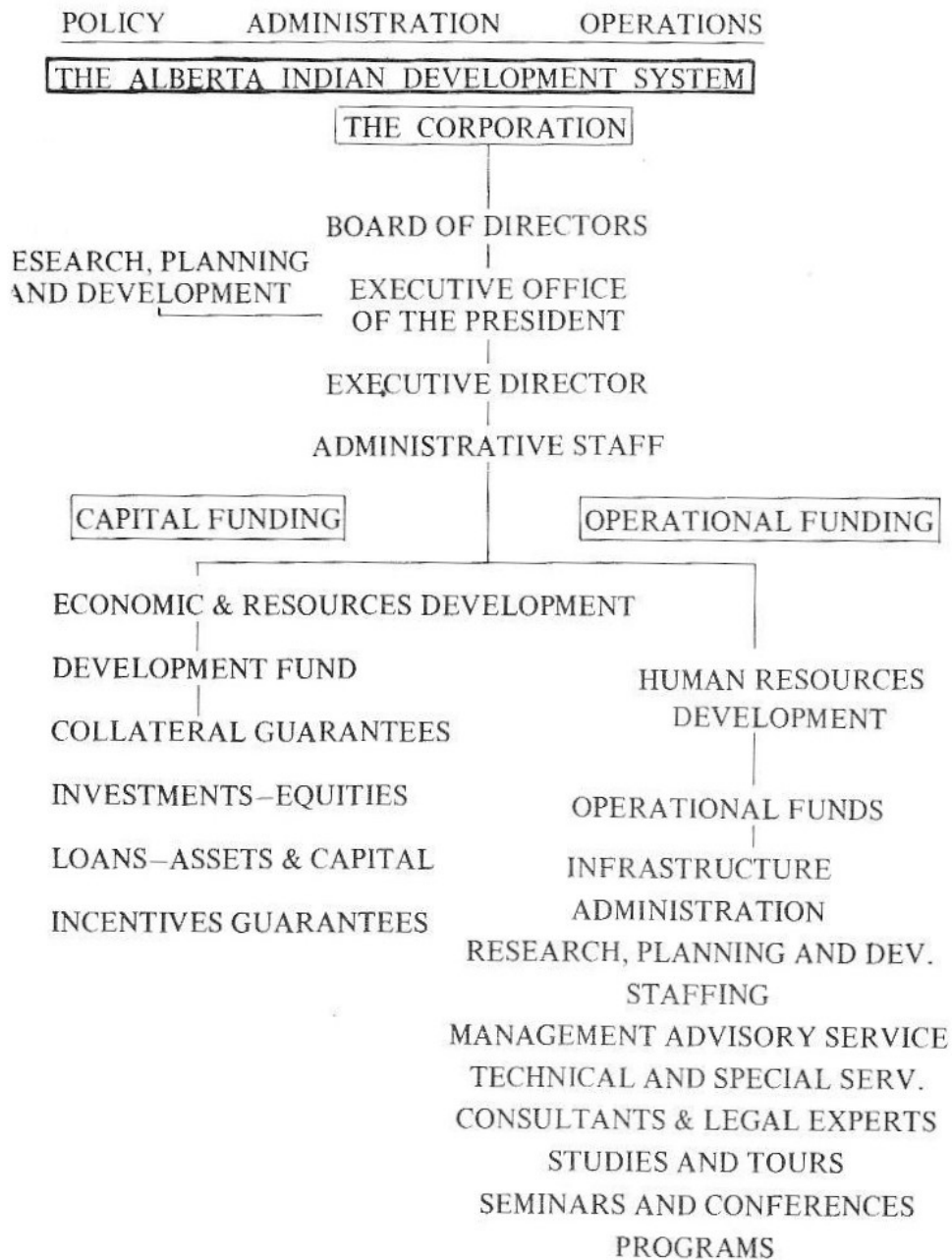
The principles of the Alberta Indian Development System will be applied through the dual corporation concept which in itself will be functionally simple in design. The various administrative strata are reduced to a bare minimum in order to allow for maximum of effect and communications so vital to grass-roots peoples and their problems; ease of two-way communications and efficient coordination is central to the development core – the decision and policy mechanism.

Operationally, the dual corporation concept will take the following form: two non-profit corporations, one composed of reserve people and one composed of people from private enterprise will be structured. The one formed by top native leaders from the reserve level will be responsible for the establishment of goals and priorities, and daily management of all projects. The other, made up of outstanding business leaders, drawn from the highest ranks of non-native corporate power, advises on economic development activity and seeks private investment, a supply of funds, job creation, and advises on the application of the Development Fund. Under this charter, their broad purposes are to promote, assist, participate in and coordinate the economic, physical and social developments.

The dual corporation structure, acting in partnership, will provide the necessary and effective vehicle for attacking problems of Indian Reserves in Alberta.

DUAL CORPORATION CONCEPT THE ALBERTA INDIAN DEVELOPMENT SYSTEM





THE RESERVE CORPORATIONS

The major activity of reserve development councils would be to recommend to the Development Corporation an economic development plan for each Band of the Province.

To achieve this objective, three steps would be involved:

1. A detailed analysis of each Band economy;
2. Formation of Band development strategy;
3. Development of specific programs.

1. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF EACH BAND ECONOMY

Much information already exists concerning the Band economy; this would be assembled at one point, its adequacy assessed, and steps taken to add to it where required.

Each Reserve Planning group would carry out the following analysis:

A. Sector Analysis of Major Economic Activities. Each regional group would, in conjunction with specialist assistance, carry out a detailed analysis of the basis economic sectors of a Band or group of Bands. Ultimately, a detailed and co-ordinated plan would be prepared for each sector.

Table A	
Economic Sector	Points to be covered by analysis of each sector
Forestry	1. Geographical Location
Fishing	2. Products and Processes
Mining	3. Manufacturing Costs
Manufacturing	4. Location of Markets
Tourism	5. Sources of Supply
Commercial	6. Labour Productivity
Services	7. Transportation Costs
Construction	8. Local Expansion Potential
Fur Industry	9. Export Potential
	10. Special Problems Restricting Development

Table B	
Economic Sector	Points to be covered by analysis of each other
Energy	
Transportation	
Water	1. Adequacy of Present Services
Education	2. Cost of Services
Housing	3. Indicated Improvements and Modifications
Other Community Services	

B. Infrastructure. Each reserve planning group would carry out an assessment of the infrastructure requirements of the band or bands. This would also include an assessment of the need for any improved community services. Any infrastructure would, if approved, be financed by the Federal departments concerned.

C. Population. Each reserve planning group would undertake any required demographic studies and projections.

D. Regional Summary. Studies would be carried out to cover regional employment, regional output and regional income of a band or group of bands.

E. Special Measures. If indicated by the analysis, the reserve planning group would investigate special measures to deal with the question of excess manpower. Such measures might include labour mobility and the possibility of utilizing induced industries.

2. FORMATION OF COMMUNITY PLANNING STRATEGY

The inter-disciplinary ‘global’ analysis outlined above constitutes a massive attempt to understand the total economic and social structure of a band or group of bands and takes the inevitable step in regional development. The

results of the analysis would contribute to a deeper insight into the basic problems facing a band, and would provide the indispensable factual basis on which a community group could recommend a soundly based community planning strategy. Such a strategy would consider band population and needs in relation to development potential, and would indicate ways to stimulate useful trends and eliminate barriers to growth. The regional strategy could be expected to answer the following questions:

- A. Which economic sectors can be expected to grow, at what rate, and how much employment is expected to be created?
- B. Which new industries could be introduced into the region and at what rate?
- C. What barriers to economic development need to be removed?
- D. What is the best spatial arrangement of towns and settlements in view of the expected pattern of development?
- E. What improvements to infrastructure are required? To what extent should social amenities be improved?
- F. How much surplus manpower is forecast, and how could such manpower be employed?
 - (i) To what extent is it practical to encourage labour mobility within a region or even to other regions as a means of utilizing excess manpower?
 - (ii) To what extent should industries be induced into reserves? Would it be to the long-term benefit of the people? Is the idea technically feasible?

3. DEVELOPMENT OF SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Once the over-all reserve planning strategy has been accepted by the Alberta Indian Development System Corporation, specific development programs can be formulated and introduced. Such programs would

have the best possible change of real success because they would address themselves to the total problems of each developing band. The need for such a total approach to development has been repeatedly stressed by development authorities.

HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT FUND (HELP)

The Home Education Learn Program (HELP) is basically, in its vital stages a job training orientation program – a grass-roots manpower program aimed at developing those areas of personal concern which must first require the necessary ministrations in order to prepare an individual for the greater goals. The program content in itself is geared to the armchair level and couched in terms, which are readily understandable, by the Indian Peoples at the reserve level.

There were programs that had been initiated by Government, but they tended to screen out the people who needed them most. They did not reach into the concentrated reserve areas where the most frustrated were. They demanded too high an “entrance” level, thereby excluding the people needing these programs most.

The “HELP” Program is a program of the people, by the people, for the people, in the beginning where the people were – where the people themselves would guide and control its destiny, its successes or perhaps, its failures. It is a program whereby Indian people will re-discover self confidence, dignity, pride, and self-respect. There is a need of Indian people to re-discover identity but to be able to meaningfully relate this identify to present society, to take their place in this society and with it, its responsibilities and the ability to discharge these same responsibilities.

The “HELP” Program will help develop an attitude in a person. It is not only important to give a person a skill, for a skill without the attitude still makes that person a poor employee or leader. Within the home unit, values must be learned – consumer values and the value of a dollar. The value of the country in which he was one of the original people and of which is still very much a part, the need to appreciate,

the need to build, the value of a job, the value of his relation to that job and industry, the value that he is an investment in the future, all these he must learn and the “HELP” program must teach this.

PROGRAM CONTENTS

- 1) Home Education Learn Program (HELP);
- 2) Dynamics of sensitivity and re-orientation programs;
- 3) Operational attitude, motivation and incentive programs;
- 4) Studies, tours, seminars, workshops, conferences;
- 5) Academic re-orientation, basic, and up-grading;
- 6) Assessment and evaluation programs;
- 7) Pre-vocational schedules;
- 8) Vocational and job-training;
- 9) Counselling;
- 10) Job placement
- 11) On job counseling and follow-up; and
- 12) Re-training, skills and specialist training.

THE DEVELOPMENT FUND

The capital pools' primary purpose will be to provide money based on the following objectives:

1. Guarantee fund to give the necessary incentives to provide and induce the favorable atmosphere to encourage private enterprise to locate on or near reserves and participation in joint or cooperative economic development.

2. Collateral fund to enable reserve corporations to borrow from conventional sources such as banks, credit corporations and other such financial institutions.
3. Provide loans for fixed assets, to encourage growth, to enable development of self-sufficiency and viability.
4. Provide working capital to encourage development of group enterprises and individual enterprises.
5. Provision of investment opportunities to bridge equity gaps of applicants.
6. Financing, as loans or collateral, of dual corporation developments of a major nature.

FUNDING: Participants

CAPITAL DEVELOPMENT FUND

It is proposed that the funding of the development pool and the operational fund should ideally take the following course based upon the area and degree of past, present, and future projections, particularly in terms of performance input as related to anticipated output, of the various participants concerned.

CAPITAL FUND – 50 Million dollars

Federal Government – 30 million dollars:

Indian Affairs and Northern Development

Department of National Health and Welfare

Department of Regional Economic Expansion

Department of Secretary of State

Department of Agriculture

Manpower and Immigration

Forestry and Rural Development
 Housing and Urban Renewal
 Industrial Development Branch
 Provincial Government – 10 million dollars:
 Human Resources Development Authority
 Provincial Health and Social Development
 Department of Education
 Department of Agriculture
 Department of Youth
 Department of Lands and Forests (Fish and Wildlife)
 Department of Industry and Tourism
 Private Industry – 8.7 million dollars
 Indian People of Alberta – 1.3 million dollars

OPERATIONAL FUND - BUDGET	ANNUAL AVERAGE	INFRASTRUCTURE FIVE YEARS
Policy and Administration		
Executive and Staff	\$ 100,000	\$ 500,000
Travel	\$ 25,000	\$ 125,000
Training and Publications	\$ 10,000	\$ 50,000
Technical, Feasibility, Management and Other Studies	\$ 20,000	\$ 100,000
Facilities and Maintenance	\$ 20,000	\$ 100,000
Equipment and Maintenance	\$ 35,000 (initial)	\$ 20,000 (4 yrs.)
Communications and Public Relations	\$ 10,000	\$ 50,000
Sub-Total	\$ 220,000	\$ 945,000
Planning Research and Development		
Consultants, Specialists, and Experts	\$ 150,000	\$ 750,000
Research, Programs, Evaluation	\$ 50,000	\$ 250,000
Sub-Total	\$ 200,000	\$ 1,000,000
Board of Directors (Corporate)		
Honorariums (10)	\$ 54,000	\$ 270,000
Travel and Tours, Studies and Evaluations	\$ 20,000	\$ 100,000
Sub-Total	\$ 74,000	\$ 370,000
Board of Directors (Native)		
Honorariums (20)	\$ 54,000	\$ 270,000
Travel and Tours, Studies and Evaluations	\$ 40,000	\$ 200,000
Sub-Total	\$ 94,000	\$ 470,000
TOTAL	\$ 588,000	\$ 2,785,000

SOCIO-HUMAN RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT	ANNUAL AVERAGE	FIVE YEARS
Resources Coordinators (Management)	\$ 225,000	\$ 1,275,000
General Counsellors (Field Staff - 42)	\$ 100,000	\$ 500,000
Leadership and Local Self-government (Health, Family Living, Community Structures, etc.)	\$ 100,000	\$ 500,000
Field Advisory and Consultants - Specialists (Include travel, etc.)	\$ 80,000	\$ 400,000
Youth and Recreational - Cultural Development (Facilities, Aids, Training Communication, Libraries, Arts, Crafts, Language, etc.)	\$ 200,000	\$ 1,000,000
Opportunities and Job Training Orientation (Manpower, Placement, Projects, etc.)	\$ 500,000	\$ 2,500,000
Recreation, Incentives, Travel, Interim Assistance (Based on 500 families @ \$1,500/family with 100 families a year anticipated in Relocation)	\$ 150,000	\$ 750,000
Travel, Studies, Tours, Conferences, Workshops	\$ 50,000	\$ 250,000
Other Programs	\$ 10,000	\$ 50,000
Vocational Training and Adult Education (HELP Programs - Residential and Facilities excluding IEC concept facilities)	\$ 800,000	\$ 4,000,000
Training Allowances (150 @ 3,6000)	\$ 540,000	\$ 2,700,000
Communications and Publications	\$ 10,000	\$ 50,000
TOTAL	\$ 2,765,000	\$ 13,975,000

SUMMARY OF OPERATIONAL BUDGET	ANNUAL AVERAGE	FIVE YEARS
Administration	\$ 220,000	\$ 945,000
Research, Planning and Development	\$ 200,000	\$ 1,000,000
Boards (Dual Corporations)	\$ 74,000	\$ 370,000
	\$ 94,000	\$ 470,000
Sub-Total	\$ 588,000	\$ 2,785,000
Socio-Human Resources Development	\$ 2,795,000	\$ 13,975,000
TOTAL	\$ 3,383,000	\$ 16,760,000

SPECIAL PROGRAMS

Aside from the conventional types of training programs used in their present form, the social development facet of the AIDS Corporation recognizes the fact that unique problems exist in so far as development of Indian people are concerned. We are faced with an area of development, which concerns all ages and all levels of reserve and off-reserve life, each with their own peculiarities.

In order to obtain development of human resources in total, special programs are devised. Specifically, these programs will enable the individual to once again come into tune, to enable him or her, within this

re-orientation; but now with a self-level of resources to suit individual requirements, to make the choice whether they will live in a reserve tribal society, that, while maintaining its differences, is an integral part of the dominant society or whether they will become a part of the mainstream.

An example of a special type program is one that will place emphasis on the senior citizen type, a potential contributory force that is discriminated only by an arbitrary definition. A program of this nature will include the basic fundamentals necessary to give a “new lease” on life in order that the senior Indian citizens may gain once more a meaningful existence. The program would include counselling, testing, job placement, training- referral, and job placement. The primary objective is to place such senior citizens in jobs that they can do best and in which they feel most at ease. It is envisioned that the majority will be employed in counselling in turn to others. Providing services in guidance and home counselling, family life and related community service jobs, rehabilitation, cultural development, and also helping other senior citizens and the handicapped to a better place in life.

Within any community, there is direct need for part time services, “filler” people, and seasonal services in which the older person, unable or not concerned with, ill-equipped to maintain full time positions, can serve a useful and functional purpose and feel pride and satisfaction in doing so. Generally speaking, the older people have a high productivity rate, better judgment, reliability and more often than not, more desirable characteristics.

Another type of special program is aimed at the so called “recoverable” human resources, the chronic hardcore jobless unemployable; the products of correctional institutions and reformatories who are usually totally alienated from both societies; the chronic welfare recipient who is probably third generation and has adopted this “out” from reality and life; the alcoholic who got his start on skid row because he was not properly equipped to cope with urban life after being lured there with the best of intentions because he wanted to escape the non-life of the past reserve resident; the products of broken homes, graduates of orphanages and foster homes, these and all others who do not or cannot fit into the conventional aspects of society. The program will

incorporate the practical concepts of all existing types, but will focus on the individual disadvantages of a special nature, be flexible to change in order to conform to changes of the individual involved and most important be “receptive” in nature.

A massive program of recreational and cultural development on a provincial basis and involving all Indian people will be initiated. A proposal within these guidelines will emanate from the reserve level, will involve resource personnel available locally and from the outside on a one to one basis. One objective of this program will be an all-Indian olympics, first on a provincial basis, then hopefully, on a national basis.

The suggested philosophy and spirit embodied in these and other special programs is based upon the concept that each individual has a meaningful place in life, first to himself, then the family unit, the community, the society as a whole, and be recognized on the basis of individual merit rather than be defined by race, colour or creed.

F.3. INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

Explanation: In March 1970 the Indian Association of Alberta submitted to the Government and the party caucuses in Ottawa two briefs which are very positive and hopeful outlines of action. The proposal for economic development was excerpted above in F. 2. Excerpts from the second proposal are presented below. This proposal is wide-ranging, and has implications for Indian education, the maintenance of Indian culture, and the development of Indian communities.

ALBERTA INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

THE OBJECTIVES

The ‘primary objective of the Indian Education Centre is to provide a setting and a learning environment in which Indian men, women and children may develop a deep understanding of themselves, of their history,

and of their individual potential. Through this understanding they may relate, as Canadian Indians, to the future of Alberta and to Canada as a whole.

To reach its objectives, the Centre, its staff, students and other participants will:

- (1) Develop ways of successfully applying to the modern Canadian milieu the ways of the Indian people, which have helped them to survive in Canada over the millennia.
- (2) Teach individuals the various beliefs, attitudes, skills, ceremonials, relevant to their past which will be necessary for the Indian people to continue to survive in the dominant Canadian society.
- (3) Teach individuals the modern skills and behaviours needed to utilize the dominant Canadian society's benefits for the good of the Indian people generally.

The Centre will concentrate in all of the specialized education areas, and, indeed, throughout the whole student program, on the development and maintenance of the Indian languages and heritage of the members of the forty-two (42) bands. Through these developmental activities, through the involvement of the students in these activities, individual awareness, sensitivity, and self-esteem will be built and maintained. Through the language, culture and self re-affirmation activities, spiritual strength will be developed. Spiritual strength will provide the motivation and the initiative for the students of the Indian Education Centre to compete successfully with their fellow citizens of Canada for the rewards of the modern affluent dominant society.

EDUCATION PROGRAMMES

COUNSELLING PERIOD

Students will enter the Centre by and through contact with their "Band Room" and the permanent Band Representative there. The

Band representative will attempt to guide the new student in his initial contact with the Centre and its programmes.

UNIT 1 Band Room orientation and counselling.

- (a) Introduction to Centre, registration, evaluation. Each new student will need to fulfill his immediate needs and to become familiar with the Centre's potential. The Band Representative will help the student to fulfill his most immediate needs and to locate his long term educational and personal goals. Each student will need minimal records of his entry and progress, at least. These will be begun by the Band Representative. Also, the Centre will have to know about the student (beyond the reason for his recruitment) so that both Band Representatives and instructional staff may advise him and guide him. Of course, each student must become aware of his student and staff co-members of the Centre.
- (b) Council Chamber - ceremony and communication. Each student should be welcomed appropriately to the Centre. Each student should become used to meeting with fellow students and staff in council on common needs and interests.
- (c) Residential Areas. Each student will, depending upon marital status, have to become familiar with group or family living facilities. The Band Representatives will attempt to help in developing working residential groups in the Residence Clusters. Group dynamics (sensitivity) training will be used to speed up interpersonal communication and understanding.
- (d) Orientation seminars and group counselling. Groups of incoming students will be used to discuss with Band Representatives and academic staff programme possibilities and to assist in developing individual "curricula" or development programmes.
- (e) Archival - museum - cultural seminars. Band Representatives and other counselling staff will assist in the orienting of the student to the cultural potential of the Band Rooms, archives, and

museum materials. The goal will be to begin the development of the student's sense of belonging to the Indian community and its educational Centre.

Time: Two – Four Weeks (the focus of the Band Representative, the Band Rooms, Council Chamber, and near-by archives and cultural displays should not end at any time during the student's stay at the Centre. All subsequent activities should refer in part to this early orientation).

LANGUAGE AREAS

Language programmes will be based upon the Indian languages spoken in the province. These are (tentatively):

Cree

Blackfoot

Stony

Chipewyan

Slavey

Sarcee

Beaver

Salteaux (Ojibway)

UNIT I Language Learning Skills

Language Laboratory Skills

Technical Skills

Learning how to learn languages using modern methods and modern technical tools will be basic in each language group.

(a) Language Learning.

Learning by using linguistic techniques, linguistic sound transcription, and linguistic analytical tools.

(b) Language Laboratory.

Learning by programmed instruction, listening labs, tape-recording, taped narrative listening, oral recording and re-recording.

(c) Technical Skills.

Learning by co-operative programmed instructional packages (for own group and others to follow). Videotape recording of speaking style and direction and preparation of Centre broadcast tapes will be used. of Centre broadcast tapes will be used.

Time: Six to Eight Weeks.

UNIT II Literature.

(a) Native narrative style - content.

Development of style and form in the telling of Indian history, religious stories, speech making, and other forms of formal speech. Listening to noted speakers and medicine men, construction of individual narratives, learning of stories and meanings, recording of noted speakers and of students, and the relationship of stories to musical narratives will be taught.

(b) Group recording of oral tapes and video-tapes.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT III Reading.

(a) Translation of Indian narrative into English.

The learning of the differences in style and content between the languages.

(b) Speed Reading (English).

Learn the technique of rapid reading to increase both volume and content retention.

(c) Topical Reading (English).

Novels, poems, news stories, government documents, financial statements, scientific reports will be read.

(d) Writing.

Creative writing using both Indian and English narrative style, preparation of oral presentations in both languages, preparation of briefs and submissions, financial reports, research reports, and legal submissions will be practiced.

Time: Six to Eight Weeks.

UNIT IV Comparative Literature.

(a) Comparison of folklore and oral traditions of Canadian Indian peoples.

(b) Comparison of North American folklore and literature including French, English, Ukrainian, Icelandic, etc...

(c) Canadian novels and poetry as compared to Old World literature (including some "classical" literature. literature of South America and other developing nations).

(d) Creative writing using themes and content of the literature of the dominant society.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT V Oral Communication.

(a) Develop communication skills in Indian and English languages.

(b) Develop awareness of styles appropriate to different communications media.

(c) Application of communications skills through A.N.C.S. educational broadcasting.

Time: Four Weeks (SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS FOR LANGUAGE LEARNING)

SPECIALIZED EDUCATION

Programmes in special areas of education are to be undertaken by students who are successfully coming to grips with the technical and learning problems of self-development and language learning. As they develop learning skills and the necessary self-awareness they may be advised by their Band Representative and members of the instructional and counselling staff that they may, if they wish, move to these more specialized training areas. Although the topics in these specialized areas relate directly to personal or individual success in the dominant society, they will be entered into by students who will be in continuing contact with the culture, the language, and the history of their people in their home communities. Each step in the learning of these specialized topics will be based upon the student's developing sensitivities for the meaning and substance of Indian life in his own community. For this reason each major step or programme will be based upon a progression from its meaning for him as an individual and as a member of a special Alberta Indian community.

The Student will be involved in many other Centre activities while learning about the specialized knowledge of the dominant society. In his residence, in council, in ceremony, and in many media of expression the Indian student will be presented opportunities to see himself, his Indian world, and the components of the dominant society in a variety of relationships, one to another. From these views he will be able to build the intimate yet separate relationship between himself and the complexity of modern Canadian society. From the specialized education he will receive he will recognize the nature of the necessary relationship between himself and the dominant society, and he will learn about what he must know to survive in that society. Yet, he will not lose himself in the complexity of education for life in that society.

SOCIAL RELATIONS AREA

(Students may begin this aspect of the programme as early as the 4th (12th) week of the Language area (Unit II, "Literature").

UNIT I Community and Group Relations.

(a) “T” Groups, encounter groups, sensitivity training.

Learning of group and individual psychology in group sessions based upon experience in early Centre Counselling period.

(b) Family living.

Learning of child development, family relations and responsibilities, the family in the kin group, from: 1) living in residential clusters, 2) the sociology of the family, 3) the Indian family in history, 4) the Indian family in the reserve.

(c) The local community and band today.

Learning of the development of and about the future of each student's local area from his Band Representative and from archival and contemporary resources. Learning how it fits in Canadian society.

(d) The tribe, today, yesterday and long ago.

Learning about various explanations of how the student's tribe came to be, learning about traditional relations within the tribe and between other tribes, learning about the meaning of the tribe today and tomorrow. The importance of tribal life to Canada today.

(e) Human evolution and change.

Anthropological explanations of how change has come about in the past and the major themes of life around the world.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

UNIT II Governmental Relations.

(a) Indian Treaties.

Studying the nature of Treaties today, their status in Canadian law, international law and in other countries. The history of Canadian Treaties and what they mean to Canadian Indians.

(b) Indian Act and Provincial Administrative codes.

Administrative law under either the parliament or legislature, constitutional meanings.

(c) Band by-laws, municipal by-laws, licensing and certification.

Learning about local law, and professional codes.

(d) Criminal law and courtroom procedures.

(See: Technical Relations, Advanced Technics, Unit II) Learning about the Criminal Code of Canada, procedures rights, and obligations.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

(Governmental relations may be expanded or specialized in Advanced Technics as either a Band Scout or Court Worker.)

UNIT III Economic and Political Development.

(a) Local politics and economics.

Learning about the present and future of each student's home community from the Band Representative and the archives. Learning about the relationship between kinsmen and neighbours and political and economic development. Group learning may be used.

(b) Alberta and Western Canadian politics and economy.

(Related to Unit I and Unit II of Social Relations) The politics and economics of Indians in Western Canada.

(c) North America and the Western Hemisphere; politics and economics.

(Also related to Units I and II) The politics and economics of both developed and underdeveloped countries, the politics of underdevelopment, the roles of government and business.

d) Group dynamics in politics and work; leadership of political and occupational groups.

Learning different forms of leadership and the psychology of different groups related to political action, economic achievement.

(See: Technical Relations, General Technics, Unit II.) Time: Four to Six Weeks.

(Economic and political development “may be expanded upon or extended in Advanced Technics as either a Community Worker or a Development Worker.)

UNIT IV Community Development and Leadership.

(a) “T” group study of human development and of individual psychology.

Learning about the psychology of persons as members of groups or as individuals. The political psychology of groups and communities.

(b) History and biographical study of Indian Leaders.

Historical and comparative study of Indian leadership of the past and the present.

(c) Structure of business leadership.

How leadership works in corporations, small businesses, and associations of independent contractors.

(d) Structure of Government leadership.

How leadership works in parliament, the legislature, among aldermen, in the civil service.

Time: Four to Six Weeks.

(FOUR TO SIX MONTHS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS LEARNING)

ACADEMIC RELATIONS AREA

(May begin as early as the 10th week of the language area; Unit III. “Reading”.)

General Education

Unit I Basic Skills.

(a) Speed reading, topical reading (See: Language, Unit III for topics includes high school, college, technical training textbook material).

(b) Programmed mathematics.

Both individual and group study of programmed maths for quick comprehension and conceptual learning.

(c) Laboratory techniques.

1) Biological sciences labs (applied biology and academic biology, zoology, ecology).

2) Physical sciences.

3) Medical and health sciences.

(d) Plastic Arts, Musical Arts, Dramatic Arts.

Creativity laboratories using various media and emphasizing the historic and contemporary Indian styles.

UNIT II Up-grading.

(a) Provincial curriculum concept analysis and personal acceleration programme

Isolating individual weaknesses and relating them to the Provincial curriculum demands.

To provide the standardized communication/examination skills. Time: Twelve Weeks.

Advanced Education

Unit I High School Matriculation Survey

Student needs in relation to obtaining matriculation or diploma status.

- a) Language requirements (student needs)
- b) Science - maths requirements (student needs)
- c) Social studies requirements (student needs)
- d) Fine arts requirements (student needs)
- e) Topical tutoring for individual student programmes

UNIT II University – College preparatory.

- a) University curriculum survey (from student needs)
- b) College curriculum survey (from student needs)
- c) Vocational training survey (from student needs)

UNIT III Testing and prerequisite preparation.

a) Ability testing and development of skills applicable to post-secondary education.

The development of those particular skills necessary for educational success in University, College, and Vocational education beyond high school.

UNIT IV Topical Education.

- a) Indian religion and practice.

A programme to develop in specific students the understanding necessary for the preservation of Indian religious life.

- b) Community and tribal communication.

A program to assist community workers in using the existing communications systems of Reserves. To train native communications workers.

- c) Social psychology and leadership.

Training in the psychology of successful leadership. The application of group techniques in contemporary political, occupational, developmental activities.

d) Human and general ecology.

A programme to train farmers, forestry workers, fishermen, hunters, guides, and trappers in modern ecological thinking.

e) Economics and politics of contemporary Indian communities.

The comparative study of Canadian Indians from both the economic and political views. Comparison to Indian life in the U.S.

f) Community recreation.

A programme for the study of the role of recreation and sport in Indian life. The importance of a strong physical side to the person.

Time: Twelve weeks or three months.

(Academic development programmes are generally not taken successively, indeed, no one need take them all. One is expected to concentrate on one's own interests and needs). Academic relations programmes are to be designed to operate concurrently with social and technical relations programmes as well as the language programmes.

TECHNICAL RELATIONS AREA

(May begin as early as the 16th week of the Language area Unit IV, "Comparative Literature")

General Technics

Unit I Tools; their meaning and their use.

A preparatory programme for vocational or technical education. The purpose will be to introduce various modern tools to trainees with limited employment backgrounds.

- a) Communications tools (See: Language, Unit I)
- b) Laboratory tools
- c) Instructional tools (See: Language, Unit I, Academic relations, Unit I, Unit III)
- d) Business (government - management) tools.
- e) Business (clerical - sales) tools
- f) Mechanical (stationary - mobile) tools
- g) Construction - Engineering tools
- h) Household and domestic tools

Unit II Social Relations and work.

(relates closely to Social Relations Units III and IV, and attempts to relate the worker to his environment)

a) The relationship between the community, the tribe, places of government, places of business to kinds of jobs and job opportunities. The social structure of economic opportunity.

b) The social World or work.

Group dynamics and work situations. The social psychology of the job situation and how to make it work for you.

c) Technical environments and work.

The effects of technology on work situations.

d) The Indian community and work.

Leadership, parenthood and other responsibilities as related to the work situation.

Time: Twelve to Sixteen Weeks.

Advanced Technics

Unit I Vocational Development.

(A programme to develop a general understanding of technical training and employment. Preparation for entering various business and technical training institutions.)

a) Technical trades and technical education.

Tutoring for technical education - apprenticeship.

b) Business skills and business education.

Tutoring for business education and employment.

c) Applied technology.

Tutoring for employment in jobs or trades already experienced by the trainee.

d) Household economy.

Technical training for the home.

UNIT II Vocational Preparation.

(A programme to provide the basic training for individuals who wish to work at vocations available within the Indian community.)

a) Band scout ~ constable training (See: social relations, Units I and II) The basic training in understanding the Indian community as a law enforcement officer.

b) Court worker - Penal counsellor training. (See: Social relations, Units I, II, and IV) Social work among Indian people in difficulty with the law, rehabilitation of ex-convicts.

c) A.V. Technician training.

Training for work in native communications, in audio-visual needs of Indian communities.

d) Native communications Worker training.

Training in the various mass media (journalism, radio, television, etc..)

e) Native Cultural Development Worker training.

Training in community development aspect of native arts and crafts.

f) Community Health worker training.

Training as a sub-professional hygienist, adult educator in matters of family and community health.

g) Community Recreation worker training.

Training in the development of community recreation and sports activities in Indian communities.

h) Community Youth worker training.

Training in the development and guidance of Indian Youth Groups.
Time: Twelve to Sixteen Weeks.

(Guidance and preparation of those trainees who wish to enter these fields at the professional level is provided in the Academic Relations area.)

SELECTION OF SITE FOR ALBERTA INDIAN EDUCATION CENTRE

GENERAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A survey of possible sites for the Alberta Indian Education Centre was undertaken by the research committee, considering many criteria that relate to the overall centre environment and educational and cultural programme development plans. Among the vital criteria are:

1. a primeval forest setting that is compatible with Indian cultural and aesthetic value;
2. location near the approximate geographical centre of Alberta;

3. accessibility by all modes of transportation on an intra-provincial as well as inter-provincial basis;
4. availability of supplementary educational facilities for students in training;
5. location near public utility services such as natural gas;
6. availability of broad community services such as shopping, business, professional;
7. convenient liaison with governmental and private agencies separate from A.I.E.C.;
8. Indian reserve vs. non-Indian reserve location.

With these major criteria in mind, the research committee gave consideration to a number of locations as sites for the A.I.E.C.:

In Defense of the Proposed Alberta Indian Education Centre

The following pages are intended to document some of the reasons underlying the proposal for the Alberta Indian Education Centre.

This section is not another critical or criticizing analysis of the past record of Indian education. The Indian people are becoming wary and weary of more research and surveys, as it seems to them, they are fast becoming in the apt words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., victims of “paralysis through analysis”.

Therefore, random references to various studies made are herein used simply to verify what to the Indian people are stark everyday facts of life.

The section is divided into six parts:

- A. The low educational standards of adult Indians.
- B. The high proportion of drop-outs for Indian school children.
- C. The root cause for the high drop-out rates.

D. Recommendations conventionally tendered for alleviating the educational problems.

E. The Alberta Indian Education Centre ~ a new concept.

F. Indicators of the workability of the Indian Education Centre.

A. The Low Educational Standards of Adult Indians.

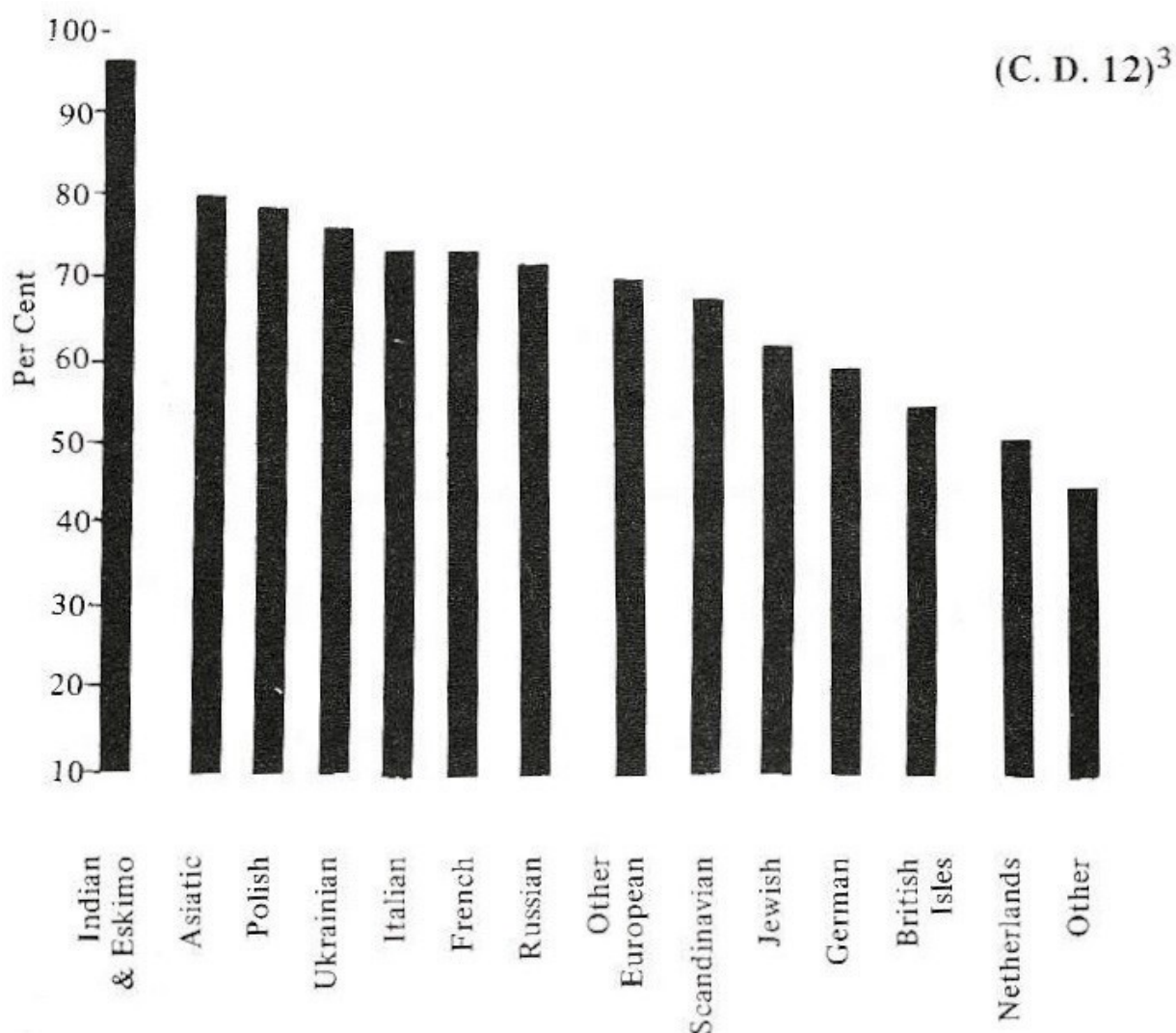
It is a truism that in Alberta, and in Canada generally, the educational level of adult Indians is well below the level of the dominant white society.

At one time not too long ago, it was considered that Indians were ineducable.

H. B. Hawthorn writes, “Before this time (the Second World War) education was not considered necessary for Indians in general”.¹

This attitude resulted in the existing situation in Alberta as described by C. W. Hobart in 1967, “the education of the adults and their mates is extremely low ...one third of the women and almost half of the men have no education at all. Less than ten per cent have had more than eight years of schooling”.²

In a 1966 survey done in Census Division No. 12 which is in the northeastern portion of Alberta by V. Jansen et al., it shows clearly that the Indian people have a low educational level.



PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION NOT ATTENDING SCHOOL WITH ELEMENTARY EDUCATION OR LESS BY ETHNIC ORIGIN (C. D. 12)³

The ethnic group with the least education is native Indian.

As education is an all important aspect of life in modern Canadian society the ramification of poor or no schooling presents very serious problems for Indians if they are to participate in and be able to benefit from and contribute to the many other aspects of living in today's society.

Other indices of Indians dysfunctioning in society are manifested in their high infant mortality rates, Shorter life span, disproportionately high committal rates to penal institutions, lower employment rates, greater proportions of welfare recipients, all of which have been

surveyed and recorded in many studies and statistical reports not catalogued in this paper.

In short, the Indian people in Canada are in serious social trouble, and the proposal embodied in the Alberta Indian Education Centre is one specific proposal conceived by Indian people to begin the ameliorative action they perceive to be necessary and emergent.

If Canada is not ready to begin corrective action the conditions are likely to worsen, rather than improve in the immediate future.

B. The High Proportion of Drop-outs.

It must be kept in mind that it was only following the Second World War that the education of the Indian people was given any serious thought, although, prior to that, schools were operated for Indians largely by various religious denominations.

Following the Second World War many Day Schools were built in Indian Reserves. In the mid-fifties the policy of integration was being implemented and is being carried on to this day.

The numbers of Indian children attending school continues to rise as the Indian population continues to burgeon. However, the numbers that actually complete the schooling process has not kept pace with the number of children who actually do start school.

E. R. McEwan, the Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, states, "Statistically, attainment runs as follows: About 50 per cent of Indian students do not go beyond Grade VI and about 61 per cent fail to reach Grade VIII; about 97 per cent fail to reach Grade XII".⁴

This reference is to the national scale. His contention is further borne out by the Hawthorn Report, which states: "Analysis of Table 1 shows that the repetition of grades and of drop-outs are extremely high. Retention is Grade I and the loss of students in any twelve year period is alarming.

TABLE 1: PROGRESS OF INDIAN STUDENTS THROUGH A TWELVE YEAR SCHOOL CYCLE

GRADE	YEAR	ENROLLMENT	LOSS (NO.)	LOSS (%)
1	1951	8782	--	--
2	1952	4544	4238	48.2
3	1953	3930	614	13.5
4	1954	3652	278	7.1
5	1955	3088	564	15.5
6	1956	2641	447	19.5
7	1957	2090	551	21.7
8	1958	1536	559	26.5
9	1959	1149	387	25.5
10	1960	730	419	36.5
11	1961	482	248	34.0
12	1962	341	141	29.3

In a period of twelve years, 8,441 Indian students out of 8,782 did not complete high school. Figures are not available which would specify the separate rates of retention and attrition. We are forced to use the gross figures, which indicate there is a 94% loss of school population between grades one and twelve. The national rate of drop-outs for non-Indian students is approximately 12 per cent”.⁵

If the picture is bad on the national scale, it is no better on the provincial scale. In Saskatchewan, Davis et al., described the situation as follows:

“(a) provincial schools in Northern Saskatchewan have a spectacular drop- out problem

(b) those treaty Indian children attending Provincial schools in Northern Saskatchewan have an appreciably less successful school career than all other Northern students in the same schools. If we compare the failure rate for all Northern students with that for Indian students, it appears that Indian students are failing twice as often as the Provincial school population in the Northern Métis-Indian settlements. In Grade I, 48.9 per cent of the Northern students fail, but 72.1 per cent of the Indian students fail. In Grade II, 21.4 per cent of the Northern

students fail, but 34.6 per cent of the Indian students fail. And so it continues through each grade.

(c) these particular Indian students in Northern Provincial schools are failing oftener, their discouragement is greater, and they drop out of school earlier”.⁶

The same also holds true for the Federal Indian Day and Residential in the Province of Saskatchewan, as reported in the same study.

**STUDENTS ENROLLED IN FEDERAL INDIAN DAY
SCHOOLS AND FEDERAL INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS
IN THE SASKATCHEWAN REGION, JANUARY 1961**

GRADE	DAY SCHOOLS	RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS	TOTAL
1	566	194	760
2	483	227	710
3	498	170	668
4	373	152	525
5	342	168	510
6	248	127	375
7	176	71	247
8	112	72	184
9	2	58	60
10	0	28	28
11	0	14	14
12	0	17	17

Source: Statistical Report in Promotion; Un-Promotion and Attendance, Educator Division, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration; March, 1962.

And in the province of Alberta, the situation is quite the same, as the following table, prepared by Dr. J. W. Chalmers in 1967 illustrates:

**GRADE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN AND OTHER PUPILS
(IN ALBERTA SCHOOLS)**

1966-1967	PUPILS IN INDIAN SCHOOLS	INDIAN PUPILS IN OTHER SCHOOLS	TOTAL INDIAN PUPILS
Elementary	83.6%	65.5%	72.4%
Junior High	15.4%	26.5%	21.4%
Senior High	1.0%	8.0%	6.2% (8)

If we use the tables showing the numbers of Indian Pupils attending the Federal Indian Day and Residential Schools, and in Alberta Provincial Schools, the figures appear as below:

**NUMBER OF STUDENTS IN FEDERAL and ALBERTA PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS
BY GRADES 1969-1970**

GRADE	FEDERAL SCHOOLS	PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS	TOTAL
K	522	193	768
1	538	637	1205
2	458	559	1040
3	438	524	979
4	440	528	978
5	324	492	832
6	292	484	786
7	198	448	651
8	136	355	527
9	86	340	481
10	36	266	342
	11 --	158	165
	12 --	125	134
	3468	5345	8996

Total (9)

students during the past years

In the Saskatchewan study, Davis et al., refers to schooling of Indian pupils as “education for failure”.¹⁰ Many other studies and surveys made

are replete with similar statistical findings. The problem is not confined to one area, but is national in scope.

It is in response to such a situation that the realization of having to take some corrective action; that the idea of the Alberta Indian Education Centre was born.

C. Cultural Differences . . . The Root Cause.

Ever since the coming of the White immigrants to this continent there has been some tension and conflict between them and the native people who inhabited the continent prior to their arrival.

In some areas, as in the western states of the U.S., there was open warfare. In Newfoundland, the Beothuks were actually exterminated. The relationship has been an unhappy one. As the immigrants increased in numbers, the natives decreased in numbers and the myth of the “vanishing Redman”¹¹ prevailed.

In the Forties the trend reversed itself and today the Indian people are the “fastest growing Ethnic group in Canada”.¹²

In analyzing the reasons for the great proportion of drop-outs, the surveys invariably point out a difference in cultural values as being at the root of the problem.

In Federal Indian Schools the content of the curriculum is usually that of the provincial school system, and the provincial school system is geared to the needs of the dominant White society. Very little about Indian people is taught in our schools, and what is taught has been very negative.

Walter M. Hlady describes it this way:

“Different Cultural Values – Our educational system is primarily geared to develop individuals who will operate in a highly competitive society. Many of our native groups are members of a culture which place the group above the individual and where the basic philosophy of life is more co-operative than competitive.”¹³

In his study of the Indians of B.C., H.B. Hawthorn makes the following analysis:

(a) “The processes of cultural transition still operate and their associated problems still beset the Indians.”

(b) “As a number of studies demonstrate, the Indian cultures persist importantly; variably in different regions and communities even though the outer and material aspects of life have changed obviously and dramatically.”

(c) “The teacher must accept the continued existence of Indian cultures, of special local modes of life, as a fact and should decide on his course of action in relation to this fact. But he cannot teach effectively while remaining ignorant of the cultures as they are today. They are by definition the environment and the major molding influences for the child.”¹⁴

The same was also to be found in Saskatchewan by Davis et al. An excerpt from their 1967 study reads:

(a) “The latent function — the actual, unintended results of the Northern (Saskatchewan) school effort is education of Métis-Indian children for failure”.

(b) “What are some of the factors which may account for poor achievement? **Cultural factors may be the dominant forces here. The language difficulty is obvious...** The school serves little or no purpose in the child’s world. Rather, it alienates him from his own people. When this alienation becomes intolerable, the child leaves school”.

And we find references to cultural differences in Alberta as well. In a 1962 report Rev. C. M. Mundy makes the following assertions:

“The Indians and Métis have been reared with a basically different cultural heritage than ours. His way of life, (to describe the archetype) places different emphasis on time, savings, sharing, work habits, and in general his orientation to nature. His was the way of adjusting to nature, rather than in shaping nature. His essence of life was found in being and not in becoming. His language would naturally facilitate,

these emphasis and thus, the Indian child would grow up in his society not only learning his native language but along with it the language emphasis of his culture (the way life is viewed and evaluated). These growing up and maturing processes occur long before he can appraise what is taking place, so that they are internalized and incorporated into his way of living as “the natural way of living.” This, of course is how we became the way we are and how we have obtained our values and our system of logic.

The Indians and Métis who come to Edmonton, in addition to being a unique and different cultural group, are essentially rural. Therefore, they have all of the adjustment problems that confront rurally-oriented people as they face urban living?”¹⁶

As we can see, cultural differences not only permeate the educational sphere but overlap into other social areas as well.

In a further such reference, C. A. Sauve reports in 1969:

“... research suggests that in rural development for native communities, Considerable attention will need to be given to cultural values, need for achievement, achievement orientation, acculturation, alienation and ecological distance. Measurement of these and other variables will permit the people and the development officers to design development programs which are adapted to people’s social, cultural, and psychological condition.”

As these several research papers indicate, Indian culture has not died out. It still exists despite persistent, attempts over the past four hundred years to suppress or supplant it. Like all cultures its form changed and changes, but there appears to be growing recognition that in dealing with Indian people much more consideration will have to be given to the differing cultural values and roots of Indian people by the Whites who are in the dominant position by sheer numbers.

It is, in part, to give a form and a framework to the recognition of the Indian cultures, in an educational setting, that the Alberta Indian Education Centre is proposed.

D. Usual Recommendations.

“As a result of our various studies, we have concluded - paradoxically - that the emphasis upon ethnicity as a factor in Métis-Indian disabilities should be sharply downgraded.”¹⁷

“The principle of integrated education for all Canadian children is recommended without basic questions ”¹⁸

These two quotations sum up the results of many man hours spent in surveying the Indian educational problems. Yet, the drop-out rates continue unabated; even in their own reports these and other learned gentlemen continually point out that the differences in Indian and White cultural values are at the base, at the root of the difficulties the Indian people have in adapting and adjusting to the present educational system.

It is illogical that after reading their own surveys and statistics they draw such conclusions. A hypothesis might be laid here, that perhaps, the conclusions were drawn by somebody else. (And the hypotheses will be let to lie.)

However, there are other unusual kinds of recommendations offered “...the frustrations and handicaps that Indian children must bear in the integrated schools, which they are attending with increasing frequency, will continue to produce high drop-out rates. Only a re-orientation of the curriculum so that is more explicitly oriented to the interests, limitations and needs of Indian ancestry youngsters will change this situation”. (underlining ours)¹⁹

“The **Adult Education Programs** that are designed for reserves are inadequate. Last years’s Adult Education Director attempted to use the program as a form of community development work ... Yet, the Ottawa office of the Indian Affairs Branch cut her budget and this forced her to leave the reserve and terminate her plans of the 1966-67 year.” (underlining ours)²⁰

“**Some texts** continue to include material about Indians which is inaccurate, over generalized and even insulting. Such texts **should be eliminated from the curriculum.**” (underlining ours).²¹

Other recommendations generally include:

- lowering the age for starting kindergartens, establishing nursery schools to teach English sooner where the native mother tongue is still used,
- orientation programs for teachers going into Indian Day and Residential schools,
- orientation programs for principals and teachers in “integrated” schools attended by Indian children.

These and a host of other suggestions are frequently offered.

One recommendation is seldom offered, and that is the strengthening of the Indian cultural base. Most researchers, who are themselves White may find it impossible but to look at the matter from their own cultural perspectives.

Studying the data of Hawthorn, Davis, Hobart, and several other reports, an Indian may come to a different (and more logical) conclusion: the educational system for Indian people should be more relevant to Indian values, mores, modes, customs and historical perspectives than is presently the case.

The proposal of the Alberta Indian Education Centre is an unusual recommendation, unusual in that it comes from Indian people.

E. The Alberta Indian Education Centre – A New Concept.

The idea of the Centre was started by Indian people; it will be run by Indian people for Indian people.

The Centre will serve as an educational complex where single people and family units will be able to attend and live in residence in order to learn about the history, culture and language of the different Indian Tribes in Alberta.

Great importance will be given to individual and group learning. By using modern tools the Indian people will re-discover their identity,

develop pride and awareness of what the Indian was, is today, and what may hold for the future.

The Indian people will learn about the other Tribes in the province, as well as the working of the white dominant society, and how the Indian can best relate to larger society.

The forty-two (42) bands will have a permanent representation at the Centre, as well as spaces to serve as information centres about the culture and history of the Bands.

The seven Tribal groups will have spaces where the Tribal languages may be learned and studied and where information about the different tribes will be kept in many forms - books, films, tapes, videos, photos, etc.

Spaces will be available where the Indian people can learn about the many educational, vocational, technical and professional training programs that are available, and what is needed in order to qualify for these courses.

The main emphasis will be on cultural learning that will go on in the Council Chamber, in the Band Rooms, in the Language Rooms, where the Indian students will develop a deep awareness of what it means to be an Indian, and how this awareness will help him in living in this society dominated by non-Indians.

From this knowledge and even at the same time, learning and experiences will be going on in what are called Social Relations, Academic Relations and Technical Relations areas.

The Social Relations area is designed to develop knowledge of the processes of history as they relate to Indian tribes, to Alberta society, to Canadian society and to mankind generally.

The Academic Relations area is designed to develop an education geared for success in the future and to prepare students for successful vocational careers.

However, the Centre will not duplicate any programs now being run at other institutions. Rather, it will serve in a supplementary and complementary way – students may attend courses at other institutions and other institutions will be asked to run some courses at the Centre.

An Inter-Tribal Community Day School will be run for the school age children of the adult students and staff who will live together in Residences on the Centre site, not separately, but intermingled.

Office spaces will be available for administrative purposes of the Centre and for liaison activities with various agencies and institutions.

The location of the Indian Education Centre will be near enough to a large urban setting to use its many services and facilities, but not so near as to be enveloped in urban sprawl.

This latter is necessary for the many adult students who will be coming from rural and isolated northern communities.

The Alberta Indian Education Centre could serve as a beacon in the long dark night of the Indians' wanderings in the Whiteman's educational wilderness.

F. Indicators of the Workability of the Indian Education Centre.

Will it work?

Probably, a more specific corollary of that question will arise in the minds of many non-Indian people; "Can Indian people make it work?"

There are some indications that Indian people can indeed manage their own education system, as the following excerpt from the Carnegie Quarterly indicates: "Community control of schools by minority ethnic or racial groups is not new as either an idea or a practice. (Affluent majority communities have controlled their schools for a long time, of course). Through out most of the nineteenth century, two great American Indian nations, the Choctaw and Cherokee Republics, operated their own school systems. It is said by those who have studied the matter that they are the only two formal educational systems for Indians that have ever been clearly successful. Certainly what is reported of their results is impressive.

The Choctaw system included boarding schools, community day schools, Sunday School literacy classes, and college scholarships.

Angie Debo, a historian of Oklahoma, writes: “As a result of its excellent public school system the Choctaw nation had a much higher portion of educated people than any of the neighbouring states; the number of college graduates one encounters in any contemporary record is surprising; and the quality of written English used by the Choctaws in both their official and private correspondence is distinctly superior to that of the white people surrounding them.”

As for the Cherokees, it is estimated that in the 1830’s they were about 90 per cent literate in their own language, and by the 1880’s, the western Cherokees had a higher literacy level in English, than the white population of either Texas or Arkansas.”²²

More recently the Navahos in the United States have operated the Rough Rock Demonstration School. This unique educational facility is operated entirely by a Navaho Board of Directors, only one of whom has been to school, and he only to fifth grade level. It stresses the Navaho cultural background but also provides for transitional learning to present day academic and technical skills.

While there is no similar record of Indian control of their own education system in Canada, and since the control of the education system of the White population in Canada rests in White’s hands, the time is opportune to break old barriers and give the Indian people the chance to run their own educational system.

Let us put into actual practice the promise embodied in the newly-emerging folk saying: “The future and destiny of the Indian people lies in the Indians own hands”.

Let us do this now, lest this brave new saying became. a hoary old Canadian cliché by the time this newly-born decade out.

F. 4. EDUCATION OF INDIAN CHILDREN

Explanation: During the 1970 Session of the Alberta Legislature, the Honourable R.C. Clark, Minister of Education, introduced a bill providing an entirely new School Act. The Indian Association of Alberta presented a brief consisting of two main parts. The discriminatory treatment of

Indian children was documented with 20 examples. Objection was expressed to certain sections of the new School Act. The objectionable sections were subsequently removed by the Honourable Minister, in keeping with the commitment of the Alberta Government to refrain from intervening in any way in Federal-Indian relationships until asked by the Indians to do so. Excerpts from the brief submitted on Bill 35 are presented here.

EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY AND THE ALBERTA HUMAN RIGHTS ACT

Treaty Indian children in Alberta attempt to gain their education in integrated schools in spite of social, economic and linguistic handicaps that other children generally do not have to face. Integrated schooling usually means that reserve children are obliged to be transported into towns or cities where not only the ordinary rural-semi-urban social distinctions are magnified, but where other differences based on disparities in standard of Living and language spoken are also accentuated. As the following pages of this brief honestly demonstrate, treaty Indian children are subjected to various types of discriminatory behaviour and educational policies that have the effect of emphasizing the social gap between Indian reserve communities and town populations, and of deterring Indian students from attending school regularly and earning the academic achievements of their non-Indian counterparts.

The problem of Indian pupils dropping out of school before they have sufficiently prepared themselves to make their way economically is a national problem. Research data provided by Mr. E.R. McEwan, the past Executive Director of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, states: 'Statistically, attainment runs as follows: About 50 per cent of Indian students do not go beyond grade VI and about 61 per cent fail to reach Grade VIII; about 97 percent fail to reach Grade XII.' Amongst the non-Indian population of Canada, only about 12 percent of those students who enter Grade I fail to make it as far as Grade XII.

In Alberta, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (Saddle Lake Indian Agency Inspectorate) made studies in 1964 and 1965 of Grade IX and Grade XII examination results for all students, Indian and non-Indian, attending eleven provincial junior and senior high schools. It was found that Indian students in the two grades made results in the departmental examinations that placed them generally in the lower quartile of their classes. This marked lack of achievement at that time indicated quite clearly that the school environment must not have been one that was conducive to average or better scholastic attainment.

The Indian Association of Alberta has now gathered sufficient documented evidence (part of which is described herein) to show that one of the very serious deterrents to Indian children getting a complete education in this modern world is the fact that the Indian pupils too frequently face various kinds of discrimination during their educational careers. In some instances this discrimination is distinctly racial in nature. Deleterious effects result when school boards, school administrators and teachers set policies or commit personal acts, which result in racial discrimination against students of Indian origin. Regardless of whether or not such acts are committed deliberately or inadvertently, the effects are the same: Indian students acquire inferiority feelings and terminate their educational careers prematurely.

At the present time the Alberta Human Rights Act does not apply to situations in the public and separate schools of Alberta wherein treaty Indian students are degraded and humiliated because of discriminatory acts committed by adults associated with the school systems. At this time Indian parents and/ or older students have no legal recourse when subjected to discriminatory acts in Alberta's schools. Our Association feels that school boards anti hired personnel should be given no immunity to prosecution if they commit unseemly racial acts against Indian students.

It is our sincere recommendation that the Alberta Human Rights Act be amended to ensure legal recourse for Indian students and/or parents who are the victim of racial discrimination. We believe the scope of the Alberta Human Rights Act should be such that policies set by boards

and acts committed by them which are socially detrimental to the Indian people (or members of other non-white racial or ethnic groups) would be subject to investigation and prosecution through the cooperation of the Alberta Human Rights Branch. Similarly, discriminatory acts committed by principals, teachers and other educational staff should be under the purview of the Alberta Human Rights Act. We are not of the opinion that racial discrimination committed by one minor aged students towards another can be within the scope of the latter Act.

We would like to reiterate our position stated in a letter of February 24, 1970, to the Honourable Minister of Education, Robert Clark, that our recommended revision to the Alberta Human Rights Act must be restated in the Alberta School Act because far too many school trustees and educational staff are unacquainted with the content of the Human Rights Act and therefore run the risk of violating its provisions.

ACTS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST INDIAN PUPILS IN ALBERTA SCHOOLS

PUPIL HEALTH SERVICES

(1) Public School District "A": In this school district there was quite a serious epidemic of peticulosis (head lice) involving non-Indian and Indian children. Employees of the local health unit treated the non-Indians, but refused to treat the Indians. This refusal necessitated sending all of the affected Indian children on a 34-mile bus trip to the Indian and Northern Health Services Reserve nursing station where they were treated and later returned to town. Very precious school time was lost in the process of treatment.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

(2) Public School District "A": Pupils in various grades, following a period of "trial" school attendance had their attendance in school terminated when the school principal arbitrarily sent letters to the

respective parents saying: “Your children are not ready for integration, so send them to the reserve day school”. Action such as this not only caused much consternation among Indian parents, but disrupted the progress of the children in school. These letters were sent out during the school year or at the end of the school year.

(3) County “A”: Five students of compulsory school attendance age were expelled indefinitely for truancy offences; this was a direct contravention of the Alberta School Act which provides for compulsory attendance (the Canadian Indian Act has similar attendance provisions). After six weeks of negotiation the children were re-instated, but only after valuable school time had been lost.

(4) Public School District “A”: A quota system was established whereby Indian children could be admitted only on the basis of 10% of the total school enrolment and 20% of the population of a given English-speaking integrated class.

(5) Public School District “A”: School Policy dictated that no Indian children could be admitted to grade one unless they had first of all completed one- half year of kindergarten instruction; this was in opposition to the Alberta School Act which requires no kindergarten attendance as a pre-requisite to grade one.

(6) County “A”: Due to enrolment restrictions in this county, Indian children who wished to “integrate” were transported to far distant schools, being bussed past provincial schools nearer to their homes.

(7) School Division “C”: This school division which has admitted several hundred Indian pupils, threatened to nullify its agreement with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development unless that Department took action to help the division solve its critical age-grade retardation problems involving Indians. To partially remedy this ‘problem and save the total integration program, the federal Department committed itself to the building of an approximately half-million dollar nursery-kindergarten facility off the reserve. The Indian Band Council were not made aware of this critical situation, and were not involved in resolving the problem.

(8) County “B” — County “C”: Indian pupils were transported to school in antiquated school buses. Although the buses were ten to eleven years old, they did pass Province of Alberta school bus safety inspections. On the bus routes in the reserves, however, the buses frequently broke down and there were failures of braking apparatus, engines, etc. Modern equipment for transportation was provided for non-Indians attending the same schools.

(9) County “C”: A school principal refused delivery of school lunch supplies to be distributed to Indian students. The basis of this action was a complaint by an indignant non-Indian parent who complained that the Indian children were getting better lunches than the non-Indians. Although the Indian band concerned was paying for a substantial part of the lunch supplies, and the project had been initiated during a welfare emergency, the non-Indian parent protested to the County School Committee and this led to discontinuance of deliveries to the school.

(10) County “B”: An Indian student in grade IX, over-aged for his grade, was given badly worn textbooks, while other students received better quality books. He perceived this to be an act of discrimination. The school principal related that the old books were issued to the lad because he expected him to “drop out” anyway.

(11) County “B”: Indian students entering junior high school at the grade VII level were placed in grade VI of elementary school because they were judged not to be up to grade for their age.

(12) Separate School District “B”: Indian students were isolated within the school for a special lecture assembly concerning truancy problems. They were told by the principal: “Why can’t you Indians attend like everyone else does?”

(13) Public School District “A”: In junior high school a teacher seated all the Indian children in the back of the classroom. The students interpreted this to mean rejection of them by the teacher. The teacher’s explanation was that she placed them all in the back because they would be quiet back there. The action conjured up discrimination in the minds of the students.

ACTS OF OPEN CONFRONTATION

(14) County “B”: Treaty Indian students were accused of stealing lunches from non-Indian pupils. The irate chairman of the county school committee called the district school superintendent from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, threatening him with adverse action unless the Department immediately instituted a full-scale lunch program. There was no conclusive evidence that the Indian students were guilty of stealing.

(15) Public School District “A”: A grade IX teacher encouraged over-age Indian students to “drop out” because she felt they had no prospect of passing the departmental examinations; the students felt rejected and discriminated against as Indians; the teacher justified her action because she wanted to personally maintain high grade IX results for her class-at-large.

(16) Separate School District “A”: In a junior high school class a student was told by the teacher: “You’re a dumb Indian”. The Indian pupil immediately attacked the teacher physically. The student, about fourteen years of age at the time (still under compulsory school attendance laws) was expelled and placed in a hostel about 250 miles from her home. In the new hostel situation she unfortunately ran into more prejudice and hostility from the supervisor and eventually her whole school career was ruined. No action was taken against the teacher who committed the original tragic act.

(17) Public School District “C”: A grade IX Indian student who had been truant returned to his classes only to be confronted by an irate grade IX teacher who told him: “Go back to the dirt where you belong”. The lad in question was known to be of good intelligence and came from a good home. Since he was of school-leaving age when he met this mean and destructive verbal attack, he quit school never to return again.

(18) County “D”: As a result of a playground dispute, a non-Indian child lambasted a young Indian pupil saying: “Give me that swing, you dirty little Indian.”

CURRICULUM CONTENT AND ORGANIZATION

(19) Separate School District “C”: A large elementary school had its population constituted as follows: 50 per cent non-Indian; 25 per cent treaty Indian; 25 per cent Métis. Regardless of the great preponderance of children of Indian descent, the school principal and his staff had done virtually nothing curriculum—wise to accommodate the cultural background of the Indian children. Because these steps had not been taken the drop-out rate has been extremely high, students of Indian descent have had to be diverted to opportunity or remedial classes, and amongst the teachers turn-over has been very high.

PSYCHOMETRIC TESTING

(20) County “B”: In an integrated school which enrolled 40 per cent pupils of Indian descent, and in which there was extremely poor progress on the part of the Indian pupils, all the students were obliged to write group intelligence tests. The school principal found that in the case of the Indian children, practically all had made poor showings, most of them falling into intelligence categories of below average to extremely dull. The results of the testing were mailed to the district office of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development with the inference that this was the valid reason why the Indian children could not make scholastic progress. (The students made poor showings because they had not yet learned to read. They had not yet learned to read because the school curriculum reflected little in the way of vital Indian content and cultural values.)

RECOMMENDATIONS IN REGARD TO 1970 BILL 35

In our letter of February 24, 1970, to the Honorable Minister of Education, Robert Clark, the Indian Association of Alberta stated: “We hold absolute objections to this complete section. Our attitude is that passing of this section would permit new, advanced involvement between

Indian reserve representatives and provincial education jurisdictions at a time when we as treaty Indians have not yet had our legal status and educational rights reconfirmed by the Government of Canada.”

PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO SECTION 158, 1970 BILL 35

On numerous occasions Indian chiefs, band councillors and school committee members have voiced serious concern because the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development executes legal agreements between itself and various school jurisdictions in Alberta without first of all obtaining the bona fide consent of legally constituted reserve bodies. The effect of completing such agreements without the sanction of Indian communities serves to reduce the degree of power which Indian communities may bring to bear in a wide range of political and/or business circumstances, thereby causing loss of leadership status for Indians in their own communities. The ultimate effect is limiting the ability of an Indian community in determining its own social, educational and political development.

During the past few months the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development executed agreements with school jurisdictions in Alberta without carrying out complete consultation and reaching consensus with Indian band councils in the respective communities.

Indians of the Saddle Lake band are now contesting the commitment of the Dept. I. A. N. D. to contribute approximately one-half million dollars in capital funds toward the construction of the St. Paul Regional High School.

The Blood band of southern Alberta have initiated an enquiry concerning the validity of the capital contribution of the Dept. I. A. N. D. towards the construction of a major nursery school – kindergarten complex in the town of Cardston without the consensus of the Blood band council and education committee. Funds amounting to approximately \$1,500,000 were committed to expansion of the Cardston school facilities without the concurrence of the Blood band of Indians.

In order that such undemocratic procedures be eliminated in future negotiations involving Indian bands of Alberta, the Indian Association of Alberta proposes the following two amendments to Section 158 of the 1970 Bill 35:

1. “A local school board is **prohibited** from entering into a tuition agreement with the Government of Canada for the education of treaty Indian pupils without the written sanction of the Indian band council and/or school committee to that school board”,

2. “A local board is **prohibited from** entering into an initial or subsequent capital construction agreement with the government of Canada for the education of treaty Indian pupils without the written sanction of the Indian band council and/or school committee to that school board”.

APPENDIX FOOTNOTE REFERENCES

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3. Morris, pp. 234-5, underline added.
4. Morris. p. 16, underlining added.
5. Morris, p. 25, underlining added.
6. The extra negotiations needed to revise Treaties One and Two are described fully in Morris, Chapter 7.
7. Quoted in Morris, pp. 34-5, underline added.

8. Morris, p.
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22. Newman, Martin, Appendix F, Indians of the Saddle Lake Reserve Community Opportunity Assessment, (Presented to Human Resources Research and Development Executive Council - Government of Alberta), Edmonton, Alberta, March, 1967.
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>Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

To be an Indian is to be a man, with all a man's needs and abilities. To be an Indian is also to be different. It is to speak different languages, draw different pictures, tell different tales and to rely on a set of values developed in a different world.

Canada is richer for its Indian component, although there have been times when diversity seemed of little value to many Canadians.

But to be a Canadian Indian today is to be someone different in another way. It is to be someone apart - apart in law, apart in the provision of government services and, too often, part in social contacts.

To be an Indian is to lack power - the power to act as owner of your lands, the power to spend your own money and, too often, the power to change your own condition.

Not always, but too often, to be an Indian is to be without - without a job, a good house, or running water; without knowledge, training or technical skill and, above all, without those feelings of dignity and self-confidence that a man must have if he is to walk with his head held high.

All these conditions of the Indians are the product of history and have nothing to do with their abilities and capacities. Indian relations with other Canadians began with special treatment by government and society, and special treatment has been the rule since Europeans

first settled in Canada. Special treatment has made of the Indians a community disadvantaged and apart.

Obviously, the course of history must be changed.

To be an Indian must be to be free - free to develop Indian cultures in an environment of legal, social and economic equality with other Canadians.

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FOREWORD

The Government believes that its policies must lead to the full, free and nondiscriminatory participation of the Indian people in Canadian society. Such a goal requires a break with the past. It requires that the Indian people's role of dependence be replaced by a role of equal status, opportunity and responsibility, a role they can share with all other Canadians.

This proposal is a recognition of the necessity made plain in a year's intensive discussions with Indian people throughout Canada. The Government believes that to continue its past course of action would not serve the interests of either the Indian people or their fellow Canadians.

The policies proposed recognize the simple reality that the separate legal status of Indians and the policies which have flowed from it have kept the Indian people apart from and behind other Canadians. The Indian people have not been full citizens of the communities and provinces in which they live and have not enjoyed the equality and benefits that such participation offers.

The treatment resulting from their different status has been often worse, sometimes equal and occasionally better than that accorded to their fellow citizens. What matters is that it has been different.

Many Indians, both in isolated communities and in cities, suffer from poverty. The discrimination which affects the poor, Indian and non-Indian alike, when compounded with a legal status that sets the Indian apart, provides dangerously fertile ground for social and cultural discrimination.

In recent years there has been a rapid increase in the Indian population. Their health and education levels have improved. There has been a corresponding rise in expectations that the structure of separate treatment cannot meet.

A forceful and articulate Indian leadership has developed to express the aspirations and needs of the Indian community. Given the opportunity, the Indian people can realize an immense human and cultural potential that will enhance their own wellbeing, that of the regions in which they live and of Canada as a whole. Faced with a continuation of past policies, they will unite only in a common frustration.

The Government does not wish to perpetuate policies which carry with them the seeds of disharmony and disunity, policies which prevent Canadians from fulfilling themselves and contributing to their society. It seeks a partnership to achieve a better goal. The partners in this search are the Indian people, the governments of the provinces, the Canadian community as a whole and the Government of Canada. As all partnerships do, this will require consultation, negotiation, give and take, and co-operation if it is to succeed.

Many years will be needed. Some efforts may fail, but learning comes from failure and from what is learned success may follow. All the partners have to learn; all will have to change many attitudes.

Governments can set examples, but they cannot change the hearts of men. Canadians, Indians and non-Indians alike stand at the crossroads. For Canadian society the issue is whether a growing element of its population will become full participants contributing in a positive way to the general wellbeing or whether, conversely, the present social and economic gap will lead to their increasing frustration and isolation, a threat to the general well-being of society. For many Indian people, one road does exist, the only road that has existed since Confederation and before, the road of different status, a road which has led to a blind

alley of deprivation and frustration. This road, because it is a separate road, cannot lead to full participation, to equality in practice as well as in theory. In the pages which follow, the Government has outlined a number of measures and a policy which it is convinced will offer another road for Indians, a road that would lead gradually away from different status to full social, economic and political participation in Canadian life. This is the choice.

Indian people must be persuaded, must persuade themselves, that this path will lead them to a fuller and richer life.

Canadian society as a whole will have to recognize the need for changed attitudes and a truly open society. Canadians should recognize the dangers of failing to strike down the barriers which frustrate Indian people. If Indian people are to become full members of Canadian society they must be warmly welcomed by that society.

The Government commends this policy for the consideration of all Canadians, Indians and non-Indians, and all governments in Canada.

SUMMARY>

1 BACKGROUND

The Government has reviewed its programs for Indians and has considered the effects of them on the present situation of the Indian people. The review has drawn on extensive consultations with the Indian people, and on the knowledge and experience of many people both in and out of government.

This review was a response to things said by the Indian people at the consultation meetings which began a year ago and culminated in a meeting in Ottawa in April.

This review has shown that this is the right time to change long-standing policies. The Indian people have shown their determination that present conditions shall not persist.

Opportunities are present today in Canadian society and new directions are open. The Government believes that Indian people must not be shut out of Canadian life and must share equally in these opportunities.

The Government could press on with the policy of fostering further education; could go ahead with physical improvement programs now operating in reserve communities; could press forward in the directions of recent years, and eventually many of the problems would be solved. But progress would be too slow. The change in Canadian society in recent years has been too great and continues too rapidly for this to be the answer. Something more is needed. We can no longer perpetuate the separation of Canadians. Now is the time to change.

This Government believes in equality. It believes that all men and women have equal rights. It is determined that all shall be treated fairly and that no one shall be shut out of Canadian life, and especially that no one shall be shut out because of his race.

This belief is the basis for the Government's determination to open the doors of opportunity to all Canadians, to remove the barriers which impede the development of people, of regions and of the country.

Only a policy based on this belief can enable the Indian people to realize their needs and aspirations.

The Indian people are entitled to such a policy. They are entitled to an equality which preserves and enriches Indian identity and distinction; an equality which stresses Indian participation in its creation and which manifests itself in all aspects of Indian life.

The goals of the Indian people cannot be set by others; they must spring from the Indian community itself - but government can create a framework within which all persons and groups can seek their own goals.

2 THE NEW POLICY

True equality presupposes that the Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

The government believes that the framework within which individual Indians and bands could achieve full participation requires:

1. that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed;
2. that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life;
3. that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians;
4. that those who are furthest behind be helped most;
5. that lawful obligations be recognized; 6 that control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people.

The Government would be prepared to take the following steps to create this framework:

1. Propose to Parliament that the Indian Act be repealed and take such legislative steps as may be necessary to enable Indians to control Indian lands and to acquire title to them.
2. Propose to the governments of the provinces that they take over the same responsibility for Indians that they have for other citizens in their provinces. The take-over would be accompanied by the transfer to the provinces of federal funds normally provided for Indian programs, augmented as may be necessary.
3. Make substantial funds available for Indian economic development as an interim measure.
4. Wind up that part of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development which deals with Indian Affairs. The residual responsibilities of the Federal Government for programs in the field of Indian affairs would be transferred to other appropriate federal departments.

In addition, the Government will appoint a Commissioner to consult with the Indians and to study and recommend acceptable procedures for the adjudication of claims.

The new policy looks to a better future for all Indian people wherever they may be. The measures for implementation are straightforward. They require discussion, consultation and negotiation with the Indian people - individuals, bands and associations and with provincial governments.

Success will depend upon the co-operation and assistance of the Indians and the provinces. The Government seeks this cooperation and will respond when it is offered.

3 THE IMMEDIATE STEPS

Some changes could take place quickly. Others would take longer. It is expected that within five years the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development would cease to operate in the field of Indian affairs; the new laws would be in effect and existing programs would have been devolved. The Indian lands would require special attention for some time. The process of transferring control to the Indian people would be under continuous review.

The Government believes this is a policy which is just and necessary. It can only be successful if it has the support of the Indian people, the provinces, and all Canadians.

The policy promises all Indian people a new opportunity to expand and develop their identity within the framework of a Canadian society which offers them the rewards and responsibilities of participation, the benefits of involvement and the pride of belonging.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The weight of history affects us all, but it presses most heavily on the Indian people. Because of history, Indians today are the subject of legal discrimination; they have grievances because of past undertakings

that have been broken or misunderstood; they do not have full control of their lands; and a higher proportion of Indians than other Canadians suffer poverty in all its debilitating forms. Because of history too, Indians look to a special department of the Federal Government for many of the services that other Canadians get from provincial or local governments.

This burden of separation has its origin deep in Canada's past and in early French and British colonial policy. The elements which grew to weigh so heavily were deeply entrenched at the time of Confederation.

Before that time there had evolved a policy of entering into agreements with the Indians, of encouraging them to settle on reserves held by the Crown for their use and benefit, and of dealing with Indian lands through a separate organization a policy of treating Indian people as a race apart.

After Confederation, these well-established precedents were followed and expanded. Exclusive legislative authority was given the Parliament of Canada in relation to "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" under Head 24 of Section 91 of the British North America Act. Special legislation - an Indian Act - was passed, new treaties were entered into, and a network of administrative offices spread across the country either in advance of or along with the tide of settlement.

This system - special legislation, a special land system and separate administration for the Indian people - continues to be the basis of present Indian policy. It has saved for the Indian people places they can call home, but has carried with it serious human and physical as well as administrative disabilities.

Because the system was in the hands of the Federal Government, the Indians did not participate in the growth of provincial and local services. They were not required to participate in the development of their own communities which were tax exempt. The result was that the Indians persuaded that property taxes were an unnecessary element in their lives, did not develop services for themselves. For many years such simple and limited services as were required to sustain life were provided through a network of Indian agencies reflecting the authoritarian tradition of a colonial administration, and until recently

these agencies had staff and funds to do little more than meet the most severe cases of hardship and distress.

The tradition of federal responsibility for Indian matters inhibited the development of a proper relationship between the provinces and the Indian people as citizens. Most provinces, faced with their own problems of growth and change, left responsibility for their Indian residents to the Federal Government. Indeed, successive Federal Governments did little to change the pattern. The result was that Indians were the almost exclusive concern of one agency of the Federal Government for nearly a century.

For a long time the problems of physical, legal and administrative separation attracted little attention. The Indian people were scattered in small groups across the country, often in remote areas. When they were in contact with the new settlers, there was little difference between the living standards of the two groups.

Initially, settlers as well as Indians depended on game, fish and fur. The settlers, however, were more concerned with clearing land and establishing themselves and differences soon began to appear.

With the technological change of the twentieth century, society became increasingly industrial and complex, and the separateness of the Indian people became more evident. Most Canadians moved to the growing cities, but the Indians remained largely a rural people, lacking both education and opportunity. The land was being developed rapidly, but many reserves were located in places where little development was possible. Reserves were usually excluded from development and many began to stand out as islands of poverty. The policy of separation had become a burden.

The legal and administrative discrimination in the treatment of Indian people has not given them an equal chance of success. It has exposed them to discrimination in the broadest and worst sense of the term a discrimination that has profoundly affected their confidence that success can be theirs. Discrimination breeds discrimination by example, and the separateness of Indian people has affected the attitudes of other Canadians towards them.

The system of separate legislation and administration has also separated people of Indian ancestry into three groups - registered Indians, who are further divided into those who are under treaty and those who are not; enfranchised Indians who lost, or voluntarily relinquished, their legal status as Indians; and the Métis, who are of Indian ancestry but never had the status of registered Indians.

THE CASE FOR THE NEW POLICY

In the past ten years or so, there have been important improvements in education, health, housing, welfare and community development. Developments in leadership among the Indian communities have become increasingly evident. Indian people have begun to forge a new unity. The Government believes progress can come from these developments but only if they are met by new responses.

The proposed policy is a new response.

The policy rests upon the fundamental right of Indian people to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada.

To argue against this right is to argue for discrimination, isolation and separation.

No Canadian should be excluded from participation in community life, and none should expect to withdraw and still enjoy the benefits that flow to those who participate.

1 THE LEGAL STRUCTURE

Legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination must be removed.

Canada cannot seek the just society and keep discriminatory legislation on its statute books. The Government believes this to be self-evident. The ultimate aim of removing the specific references to Indians from the constitution may take some time, but it is a goal to be

kept constantly in view. In the meantime, barriers created by special legislation can generally be struck down.

Under the authority of Head 24, Section 91 of the British North America Act, the Parliament of Canada has enacted the Indian Act. Various federal-provincial agreements and some other statutes also affect Indian policies.

In the long term, removal of the reference in the constitution would be necessary to end the legal distinction between Indians and other Canadians. In the short term, repeal of the Indian Act and enactment of transitional legislation to ensure the orderly management of Indian land would do much to mitigate the problem.

The ultimate goal could not be achieved quickly, for it requires a change in the economic circumstances of the Indian people and much preliminary adjustment with provincial authorities. Until the Indian people are satisfied that their land holdings are solely within their control, there may have to be some special legislation for Indian lands.

2 THE INDIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

here must be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian society.

It is important that Canadians recognize and give credit to the Indian contribution. It manifests itself in many ways; yet it goes largely unrecognized and unacknowledged. Without recognition by others it is not easy to be proud.

All of us seek a basis for pride in our own lives, in those of our families and of our ancestors. Man needs such pride to sustain him in the inevitable hour of discouragement, in the moment when he faces obstacles, whenever life seems turned against him. Everyone has such moments. We manifest our pride in many ways, but always it supports and sustains us. The legitimate pride of the Indian people has been crushed too many times by too many of their fellow Canadians.

The principle of equality and all that goes with it demands that all of us recognize each other's cultural heritage as a source of personal strength.

Canada has changed greatly since the first Indian Act was passed. Today it is made up of many people with many cultures. Each has its own manner of relating to the other; each makes its own adjustments to the larger society.

Successful adjustment requires that the larger groups accept every group with its distinctive traits without prejudice, and that all groups share equitably in the material and non-material wealth of the country.

For many years Canadians believed the Indian people had but two choices: they could live in a reserve community, or they could be assimilated and lose their Indian identity. Today Canada has more to offer. There is a third choice - a full role in Canadian society and in the economy while retaining, strengthening and developing an Indian identity which preserves the good things of the past and helps Indian people to prosper and thrive.

This choice offers great hope for the Indian people. It offers great opportunity for Canadians to demonstrate that in our open society there is room for the development of people who preserve their different cultures and take pride in their diversity.

This new opportunity to enrich Canadian life is central to the Government's new policy. If the policy is to be successful, the Indian people must be in a position to play a full role in Canada's diversified society, a role which stresses the value of their experience and the possibilities of the future.

The Indian contribution to North American society is often overlooked, even by the Indian people themselves. Their history and tradition can be a rich source of pride, but are not sufficiently known and recognized. Too often, the art forms which express the past are preserved, but are inaccessible to most Indian people. This richness can be shared by all Canadians. Indian people must be helped to become aware of their

history and heritage in all its forms, and this heritage must be brought before all Canadians in all its rich diversity.

Indian culture also lives through Indian speech and thought. The Indian languages are unique and valuable assets. Recognizing their value is not a matter of preserving ancient ways as fossils, but of ensuring the continuity of a people by encouraging and assisting them to work at the continuing development of their inheritance in the context of the present-day world. Culture lives and develops in the daily life of people, in their communities and in their other associations, and the Indian culture can be preserved, perpetuated and developed only by the Indian people themselves.

The Indian people have often been made to feel that their culture and history are not worthwhile. To lose a sense of worthiness is damaging. Success in life, in adapting to change, and in developing appropriate relations within the community as well as in relation to a wider world, requires a strong sense of personal worth - a real sense of identity.

Rich in folklore, in art forms and in concepts of community life, the Indian cultural heritage can grow and expand further to enrich the general society. Such a development is essential if the Indian people are again to establish a meaningful sense of identity and purpose and if Canada is to realize its maximum potential.

The Government recognizes that people of Indian ancestry must be helped in new ways in this task. It proposes, through the Secretary of State, to support associations and groups in developing a greater appreciation of their cultural heritage. It wants to foster adequate communication among all people of Indian descent and between them and the Canadian community as a whole.

Steps will be taken to enlist the support of Canadians generally. The provincial governments will be approached to support this goal through their many agencies operating in the field. Provincial educational authorities will be urged to intensify their review of school curriculae and course content with a view to ensuring that they adequately reflect Indian culture and Indian contributions to Canadian development.

3 PROGRAMS AND SERVICES

Services must; come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians.

This is an undeniable part of equality. It has been shown many times that separation of people follows from separate services. There can be no argument about the principle of common services. It is right.

It cannot be accepted now that Indians should be constitutionally excluded from the right to be treated within their province as full and equal citizens, with all the responsibilities and all the privileges that this might entail. It is in the provincial sphere where social remedies are structured and applied, and the Indian people, by and large, have been non-participating members of provincial society.

Canadians receive a wide range of services through provincial and local governments, but the Indian people and their communities are mostly outside that framework. It is no longer acceptable that the Indian people should be outside and apart. The Government believes that services should be available on an equitable basis, except for temporary differentiation based on need. Services ought not to flow from separate agencies established to serve particular groups, especially not to groups that are identified ethnically.

Separate but equal services do not provide truly equal treatment. Treatment has not been equal in the case of Indians and their communities. Many services require a wide range of facilities which cannot be duplicated by separate agencies. Others must be integral to the complex systems of community and regional life and cannot be matched on a small scale.

The Government is therefore convinced that the traditional method of providing separate services to Indians must be ended. All Indians should have access to all programs and services of all levels of government equally with other Canadians.

The Government proposes to negotiate with the provinces and conclude agreements under which Indian people would participate in and be served by the full programs of the provincial and local systems.

Equitable financial arrangements would be sought to ensure that services could be provided in full measure commensurate with the needs. The negotiations must seek agreements to end discrimination while ensuring that no harm is inadvertently done to Indian interests. The Government further proposes that federal disbursements for Indian programs in each province be transferred to that province. Subject to negotiations with the provinces, such provisions would as a matter of principle eventually decline, the provinces ultimately assuming the same responsibility for services to Indian residents as they do for services to others.

At the same time, the Government proposes to transfer all remaining federal responsibilities for Indians from the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to other departments, including the Departments of Regional Economic Expansion, Secretary of State, and Manpower and Immigration.

It is important that such transfers take place without disrupting services and that special arrangements not be compromised while they are subject to consultation and negotiation. The Government will pay particular attention to this.

4 ENRICHED SERVICES

Those who are furthest behind must be helped most.

There can be little argument that conditions for many Indian people are not satisfactory to them and are not acceptable to others. There can be little question that special services, and especially enriched services, will be needed for some time.

Equality before the law and in programs and services does not necessarily result in equality in social and economic conditions. For that reason, existing programs will be reviewed. The Department of Regional Economic Expansion, the Department of Manpower and Immigration, and other federal departments involved would be prepared to evolve programs that would help break past patterns of deprivation.

Additional funds would be available from a number of different sources. In an atmosphere of greater freedom, those who are able to do so would be expected to help themselves, so more funds would be available to help those who really need it. The transfer of Indian lands to Indian control should enable many individuals and groups to move ahead on their own initiative. This in turn would free funds for further enrichment of programs to help those who are furthest behind. By ending some programs and replacing them with others evolved within the community, a more effective use of funds would be achieved. Administrative savings would result from the elimination of separate agencies as various levels of government bring general programs and resources to bear. By broadening the base of service agencies, this enrichment could be extended to all who need it. By involving more agencies working at different levels, and by providing those agencies with the means to make them more effective, the Government believes that root problems could be attacked, that solutions could be found that hitherto evaded the best efforts and best-directed of programs.

The economic base for many Indians is their reserve land, but the development of reserves has lagged.

Among the many factors that determine economic growth of reserves, their location and size are particularly important. There are a number of reserves located within or near growing industrial areas which could provide substantial employment and income to their owners if they were properly developed. There are other reserves in agricultural areas which could provide a livelihood for a larger number of family units than is presently the case. The majority of the reserves, however, are located in the boreal or wooded regions of Canada, most of them geographically isolated and many having little economic potential. In these areas, low income, unemployment and under-employment are characteristic of Indians and non-Indians alike.

Even where reserves have economic potential, the Indians have been handicapped. Private investors have been reluctant to supply capital for projects on land which cannot be pledged as security. Adequate social and risk capital has not been available from public sources. Most

Indians have not had the opportunity to acquire managerial experience, nor have they been offered sufficient technical assistance.

The Government believes that the Indian people should have the opportunity to develop the resources of their reserves so they may contribute to their own well-being and the economy of the nation. To develop Indian reserves to the level of the regions in which they are located will require considerable capital over a period of some years, as well as the provision of managerial and technical advice. Thus the Government believes that all programs and advisory services of the federal and provincial governments should be made readily available to Indians.

In addition, and as an interim measure, the Government proposes to make substantial additional funds available for investment in the economic progress of the Indian people. This would overcome the barriers to early development of Indian lands and resources, help bring Indians into a closer working relationship with the business community, help finance their adjustment to new employment opportunities, and facilitate access to normal financial sources.

Even if the resources of Indian reserves are fully utilized, however, they cannot all properly support their present Indian populations, much less the populations of the future. Many Indians will, as they are now doing, seek employment elsewhere as a means of solving their economic problems. Jobs are vital and the Government intends that the full counselling, occupational training and placement resources of the Department of Manpower and Immigration are used to further employment opportunities for Indians. The government will encourage private employers to provide opportunities for the Indian people.

In many situations, the problems of Indians are similar to those faced by their non-Indian neighbours. Solutions to their problems cannot be found in isolation but must be sought within the context of regional development plans involving all the people. The consequence of an integrated regional approach is that all levels of government federal, provincial and local - and the people themselves are involved. Helping overcome regional disparities in the economic well-being of Canadians is the main task assigned to the Department of Regional Economic

Expansion. The Government believes that the needs of Indian communities should be met within this framework.

5 CLAIMS AND TREATIES

Lawful obligations must be recognized

Many of the Indian people feel that successive governments have not dealt with them as fairly as they should. They believe that lands have been taken from them in an improper manner, or without adequate compensation, that their funds have been improperly administered, that their treaty rights have been breached. Their sense of grievance influences their relations with governments and the community and limits their participation in Canadian life.

Many Indians look upon their treaties as the source of their rights to land, to hunting and fishing privileges, and to other benefits. Some believe the treaties should be interpreted to encompass wider services and privileges, and many believe the treaties have not been honoured. Whether or not this is correct in some or many cases, the fact is the treaties affect only half the Indians of Canada. Most of the Indians of Quebec, British Columbia, and the Yukon are not parties to a treaty.

The terms and effects of the treaties between the Indian people and the Government are widely misunderstood. A plain reading of the words used in the treaties reveals the limited and minimal promises which were included in them. As a result of the treaties, some Indians were given an initial cash payment and were promised land reserved for their exclusive use, annuities, protection of hunting, fishing and trapping privileges subject (in most cases) to regulation, a school or teachers in most instances and, in one treaty only, a medicine chest.

There were some other minor considerations, such as the annual provision of twine and ammunition.

The annuities have been paid regularly. The basic promise to set aside reserve land has been kept except in respect of the Indians of the Northwest Territories and a few bands in the northern parts of the Prairie Provinces. These Indians did not choose land when treaties

were signed. The government wishes to see these obligations dealt with as soon as possible.

The right to hunt and fish for food is extended unevenly across the country and not always in relation to need. Although game and fish will become less and less important for survival as the pattern of Indian life continues to change, there are those who, at this time, still live in the traditional manner that their forefathers lived in when they entered into treaty with the government. The Government is prepared to allow such persons transitional freer hunting of migratory birds under the Migratory Birds Convention Act and Regulations.

The significance of the treaties in meeting the economic, educational, health and welfare needs of the Indian people has always been limited and will continue to decline. The services that have been provided go far beyond what could have been foreseen by those who signed the treaties.

The Government and the Indian people must reach a common understanding of the future role of the treaties. Some provisions will be found to have been discharged; others will have continuing importance. Many of the provisions and practices of another century may be considered irrelevant the light of a rapidly changing society and still others may be ended by mutual agreement. Finally, once Indian lands are securely within Indian control, the anomaly of treaties between groups within society and the government of that society will require that these treaties be reviewed to - how they can be equitably ended.

Other grievances have been asserted in more general terms. It is possible that some of these can be verified by appropriate research and may be susceptible of specific remedies. Others relate to aboriginal claims to land. These are so general and undefined it is not realistic to think of them as specific claims capable of remedy except through a policy and program that will end injustice to Indians as members of the Canadian community. This is the policy that the Government is proposing for discussion.

At the recent consultation meeting in Ottawa representatives of the Indians, chosen at each of the earlier regional meetings, expressed concern about the extent of their knowledge of Indian rights and treaties.

They indicated a desire to undertake further research to establish their rights with greater precision, elected a National Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties for this purpose and sought government financial support for research.

The Government had intended to introduce legislation to establish an Indian Claims Commission to hear and determine Indian claims. Consideration of the questions raised at the consultations and the review of Indian policy have raised serious doubts as to whether a Claims Commission as proposed to Parliament in 1965 is the right way to deal with the grievances of Indians put forward as claims.

The Government has concluded that further study and research are required by both the Indians and the Government. It will appoint a Commissioner who, in consultation with representatives of the Indians, will inquire into and report upon how claims arising in respect of the performance of the terms of treaties and agreements formally entered into by representatives of the Indians and the Crown, and the administration of moneys and lands pursuant to schemes established by legislation for the benefit of Indians may be adjudicated.

The Commissioner will also classify the claims that in his judgment ought to be referred to the courts or any special quasijudicial body that may be recommended.

It is expected that the Commissioner's inquiry will go on concurrently with that of the National Indian Committee on Indian Rights and Treaties and the Commissioner will be authorized to recommend appropriate support to the Committee so that it may conduct research on the Indians' behalf and assist the Commissioner in his inquiry.

6 INDIAN LANDS

Control of Indian lands should be transferred to the Indian people.

Frustration is as great a handicap as a sense of grievance. True co-operation and participation can come only when the Indian people are controlling the land which makes up the reserves.

The reserve system has provided the Indian people with lands that generally have been protected against alienation without their consent. Widely scattered across Canada, the reserves total nearly 6,000,000 acres and are divided into about 2,200 parcels of varying sizes. Under the existing system, title to reserve lands is held either by the Crown in right of Canada or the Crown in right of one of the provinces. Administrative control and legislative authority are, however, vested exclusively in the Government and the Parliament of Canada. It is a trust. As long as this trust exists, the Government, as a trustee, must supervise the business connected with the land.

The result of Crown ownership and the Indian Act has been to tie the Indian people to a land system that lacks flexibility and inhibits development. If an Indian band wishes to gain income by leasing its land, it has to do so through a cumbersome system involving the Government as trustee. It cannot mortgage reserve land to finance development on its own initiative. Indian people do not have control of their lands except as the Government allows and this is no longer acceptable to them. The Indians have made this clear at the consultation meetings. They now want real control, and this Government believes that they should have it. The Government recognizes that full and true equality calls for Indian control and ownership of reserve land.

Between the present system and the full holding of title in fee simple lie a number of intermediate states. The first step is to change the system under which ministerial decision is required for all that is done with Indian land. This is where the delays, the frustrations and the obstructions lie. The Indians must control their land.

This can be done in many ways. The Government believes that each band must make its own decision as to the way it wants to take control

of its land and the manner in which it intends to manage it. It will take some years to complete the process of devolution.

The Government believes that full ownership implies many things. It carries with it the free choice of use, of retention or of disposition. In our society it also carries with it an obligation to pay for certain services. The Government recognizes that it may not be acceptable to put all lands into the provincial systems immediately and make them subject to taxes. When the Indian people see that the only way they can own and fully control land is to accept taxation the way other Canadians do, they will make that decision.

Alternative methods for the control of their lands will be made available to Indian individuals and bands. Whatever methods of land control are chosen by the Indian people, the present system under which the Government must execute all leases, supervise and control procedures and surrenders, and generally act as trustee, must be brought to an end. But the Indian land heritage should be protected. Land should be alienated from them only by the consent of the Indian people themselves. Under a proposed Indian Lands Act full management would be in the hands of the bands and, if the bands wish, they or individuals would be able to take title to their land without restrictions.

As long as the Crown controls the land for the benefit of bands who use and occupy it, it is responsible for determining who may, as a member of a band, share in the assets of band land. The qualifications for band membership which it has imposed are part of the legislation - the Indian Act governing the administration of reserve lands. Under the present Act, the Government applies and interprets these qualifications. When bands take title to their lands, they will be able to define and apply these qualifications themselves.

The Government is prepared to transfer to the Indian people the reserve lands, full control over them and, subject to the proposed Indian Lands Act, the right to determine who shares in ownership. The Government proposes to seek agreements with the bands and, where necessary, with the governments of the provinces. Discussions will be initiated with the Indian people and the provinces to this end.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW POLICY

1 INDIAN ASSOCIATIONS AND CONSULTATION

Successful implementation of the new policy would require the further development of a close working relationship with the Indian community. This was made abundantly clear in the proposals set forth by the National Indian Brotherhood at the national meeting to consult on revising the Indian Act. Their brief succinctly identified the needs at that time and offers a basis for discussing the means of adaptation to the new policy.

To this end the Government proposes to invite the executives of the National Indian Brotherhood and the various provincial associations to discuss the role they might play in the implementation of the new policy, and the financial resources they may require. The Government recognizes their need for independent advice, especially on legal matters. The Government also recognizes that the discussions will place a heavy burden on Indian leaders during the adjustment period. Special arrangements will have to be made so that they may take the time needed to meet and discuss all aspects of the new policy and its implementation.

Needs and conditions vary greatly from province to province, since the adjustments would be different in each case, the bulk of the negotiations would likely be with the provincial bodies, regional groups and the bands themselves. There are those matters which are of concern to all, and the National Indian Brotherhood would be asked to act in liaison with the various provincial associations and with the federal departments which would have ongoing responsibilities.

The Government proposes to ask the associations act as the principal agencies through which consultation and negotiations would be conducted, but each band would be consulted about gaining ownership of its land holdings. Bands would be asked to designate the association through which their broad interests would be represented.