WAHBUNG
Our Tomorrows
By The Indian Tribes of Manitoba

October, 1971

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PROLOGUE

The four Indian tribes of Manitoba — the Cree, Ojibway, Chipewyan and Sioux — by united effort through the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, present to the Canadian people through their government our position on policies necessary to achieve a just and honourable and mutually satisfactory relationship between the people of Canada and the Indian people of Manitoba.

It is sad that in this enlightened age in this democratic country, a people necessarily must declare themselves. But we, the Indian tribes from all the Indian lands in Manitoba, hope that there will follow an understanding and commitment by everyone so that there will be a better future for all in the land we all love.

We approach the non-Indian people of Canada as men of honour speaking to another honourable people. We hereby declare our confidence in the integrity and goodwill of the majority of the people of Canada. The integrity and goodwill of their representatives have been tried in the past and found badly wanting, and we live today with the results. But until proven otherwise, we trust that this is a new age in which the Canadian public will clearly encourage and support their political representatives in working with us to achieve an honourable relationship with the original people of this land.

Canada will not long maintain a position of respect in the councils of the world so long as her first citizens live in degradation and despair.

She will not long maintain that position of respect so long as she attempts to force changes upon her first citizens irrelevant to the situations in which they find ourselves.

We are prepared to work with the government of Canada, the government that represents the people of Canada. But we are no longer prepared to be manipulated by it, however enlightened and well intentioned that manipulation might be.
The history and past policies regarding the Indian people cannot and must not be ignored, for their effects are with us all in the present Indian fact. To deny the past and to refuse to recognize its implications, is to distort the present; to distort the present is to take risks with the future that are blatantly irresponsible.

Consultation & negotiations with Indian people are finally underway. As co-signers of the International Declaration of Human Rights, Canadians can do no less:

Article 1
1. All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of the right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
2. The peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon the principle of mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

The States Parties to the Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realization of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

Appendix 2, Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Without justice there can be no freedom, and without freedom there can be no peace. To the Canadian public and to their government, this proposal for changes in policy is directed.
SIGNATORIES

OJIBWAY

ANDERSON, Walter
Chief, Little Saskatchewan Band
St. Martin P.O., Manitoba

ANDERSON, Joe
Chief, Fairford Band
Fairford, Manitoba

BEAULIEU, Alfred
Chief, Ebb & Flow Band
Ebb & Flow, Manitoba

BLACKBIRD, Reuben
Chief, Keeseekowenin Band
Elphinstone, Manitoba

BRUCE, Phillip
Chief, Poplar River Band
Nepigon P.O., Manitoba

CAMERON, Richard
Chief, Swan Lake Band
Indian Springs, Manitoba

CATCHWAY, Donald
Chief, Waterhen Band
Skownan, Manitoba

DANIELS, Victor
Chief, Jackhead Band
Dallas, P.O., Manitoba

EDWARDS, Edwin
Chief, Lake Manitoba Band
Vogar P.O., Manitoba

FELIX, Evaryn P.
Chief, Berens River Band
Berens River, Manitoba

GUIMOND, George
Chief, Fort Alexander Band
Pine Falls, Manitoba

LEVEQUE, John Bones
Chief, Little Grand Rapids
Little Grand Rapids, Manitoba

MARTIN, Roland
Chief, Roseau River Band
Dominion City, Manitoba

MOAR, James
Chief, Crane River Band
Crane River, Manitoba

MYRAN, William
Chief, Long Plain Band
Edwin, Manitoba

McKAY, Hugh
Chief, Waywayseecappo Band
Lizard Point
Rossburn, Manitoba

McPHERSON, Ernest
Chief, Little Black River
O' Hanley P.O., Manitoba
NEPINAK, Daniel  Chief, Pine Creek Band  Camperville, Manitoba

PRINCE, Edward Roy  Chief, Brokenhead Band  Scaletbury, Manitoba

QUILL, Roy  Chief, Shoal River Band  Pelican Rapids  VIA, Mafeking, Manitoba

RAZOR, Alex  Chief, Valley River Band  Timberton, Manitoba

SHANKACAPPO, James  Chief, Rolling River Band  Erickson, Manitoba

SMOKE, Ernie  Headman, Long Plain Sioux Band  Edwin, Manitoba

STARR, Howard  Chief, Sandy Bay Band  Marius P.O., Manitoba

THUNDER, James  Chief, Buffalo Point Band  Warroad, Minnesota, U.S.A.

TRAVERSE, Mark  Chief, Lake St. Martin Band  Gypsumville, Manitoba

WILLIAMS, Arnold  Chief, Hollow Water Band  Wanipigow P.O., Manitoba

BEARDY, Fred  Chief, York Factory Band  York Landing, Manitoba  VIA, Ilford, Manitoba

BEE, Maxwell  Chief, God's Lake Band  God's Narrows, Manitoba

COLON, George  Chief, Oxford House Band  Oxford House, Manitoba

COOK, Harry  Chief, Bloodvein Band  Bloodvein P.O., Manitoba

GEORGE, Gordon  Chief, Chemawin Band  Easterville, Manitoba

HARPER, Angus  Chief, Red Sucker Lake  Red Sucker Lake, Manitoba

HARPER, Johnny  Chief, Wasagamack Band  St. Theresa Point, Manitoba

HART, Dominique  Chief, Mathias Colomb Band  Pukatawagan, Manitoba
KIRKNESS, Daniel  
Chief, Split Lake Band  
Split Lake, Manitoba

KNOTT, Charlie  
Chief, Garden Hill Band  
Island Lake, Manitoba

LATHLIN, David  
Chief, Moose Lake Band  
Moose Lake, Manitoba (Rep.)

LATHLIN, Gordon  
Chief, The Pas Band  
The Pas, Manitoba (Rep.)

LINKLATER, Nelson  
Chief, Nelson House Band  
Nelson House, Manitoba

MONIAS, Walter  
Chief, Cross Lake Band  
Cross Lake, Manitoba

NEEPITABO, Tommy  
Chief, Fox Lake Band  
Gillam, Manitoba

SINCLAIR, Charles  
Chief, Fisher River Band  
Koostakak, Manitoba

THOMAS, Zacharias  
Chief, Shamattawa Band  
Shamattawa, Manitoba

THOMPSON, Albert E.  
Chief, Peguis Band  
Dallas P.O., Manitoba

TURNER, John  
Chief, Grand Rapids Band  
Grand Rapids, Manitoba

WOOD, Campbell  
Chief, St. Theresa Point Band  
St. Theresa Point, Manitoba

FOLSTER, Jean  
Norway House Band  
Norway House, Manitoba

SIoux:

MAZIWASICUNA, Vernon  
Chief, Sioux Valley Band  
Griswold, Manitoba

WASTASTE, Wilfred  
Chief, Birdtail Sioux Band  
Box 75 Uno, Manitoba

YUHAHA, Jerome  
Chief, Oak Lake Sioux Band  
Pipestone, Manitoba

CHIPEWYAN:

HYSLOP, Patrice  
Chief, Barren Lands Band  
Brochet, Manitoba

THORASSIE, Peter  
Chief, Churchill Band  
Churchill, Manitoba
MESSAGE OF THE GRAND CHIEF

We, the first people of this land now called Manitoba, are a people of indomitable will to survive, to survive as a people, proud, strong and creative.

During the centuries in which we lived on this land, we faced many times of struggle, for the land is not always kind, and our people like any other people had to find ways to adapt to a changing environment.

These last one hundred years have been the time of most difficult struggle, but they have not broken our spirit nor altered our love for this land nor our attachment and commitment to it. We have survived as a people.

Our attachment means that we must also commit ourselves to help develop healthy societies for all the peoples who live upon this land. But we will not be able to contribute unless we have the means first to develop a healthy society for ourselves. Since the signing of the Treaties one hundred years ago, we have been constantly and consistently prevented from doing so.

Three fundamental facts underlie this paper and are reflected in all aspects of it.

First, we are determined to remain a strong and proud and identifiable group of people.

Second, we refuse to have our lives directed by others who do not and who cannot know our ways.

Third, we are a 20th-century people, not a colourful folkloric remnant. We are capable and competent and perfectly able to assess today’s conditions and develop ways of adjusting positively and successfully to them.

Other Canadians must recognize these three facts.
We ask you for assistance for the good of all Canada and as a moral obligation resulting from injustice in the past, but such assistance must be based upon this understanding. If this can be done, we shall continue to commit ourselves to a spirit of cooperation.

Only thus can hope be bright that there might come a tomorrow when you, the descendants of the settlers of our lands, can say to the world, Look, we came and were welcomed, and then we wrought much despair; but we are also men of honour and integrity and we set to work in cooperation, we listened and we learned, we gave our support, and today we live in harmony with the first people of this land who now call us, brothers.

We hope that tomorrow will come.

Chief Dave Courchene
Grand Chief of Manitoba
"IT WOULD BE WRONG TO CONSIDER THE INDIAN INCAPABLE OF DEEDS OF DESPAIR IF DRIVEN TO EXTREMES OF EXASPERATION"
INTRODUCTION

Prior to the coming of the white man and for a considerable period after his arrival, we lived as independent tribes. The tribe was a viable and organic structure through which power over whole territories was exercised. This power included the right to make laws and engage in war. Our tribes possessed other powers which evolved from the absolute ownership of land and these conditioned all aspects of our life: religious, social, medical, cultural, economic and political.

The coming of the white man started the process of change in our historic life style that was only vaguely understood by either Indian or white man, and its progress was so rapid that its effects were incalculable. The commercialization of the fur trade sounded the first warning that the character of Indian life was departing from its historic pattern, never to reach it again. That early period of exploitation of nature was carried out according to a relationship in which the white man was the buyer and the Indian, the gatherer.

The subtle shift from the fur trade into the beginnings of the agricultural evolution of this country, and the early beginnings of white immigration presented the Indian with new problems, problems whose magnitude could not be measured in the context of their times. This created an atmosphere within which the white man imposed by his avarice and deceit, a way of life which was alien to, and unwanted by, the Indian people. The vast, unconsidered changes which produced a century of deprivation for our ancestors and ourselves were effected in large measure by the Treaties.

Both the written treaties and their negotiations do not represent an honorable settlement of our historic claims and grievances. Moreover, none of our treaties can be considered to have been a conscionable agreement in which two parties fully understood the significance of their commitment.
It is the position of the Manitoba Indian people that the treaties as negotiated in the context of their time and as they exist today, are in fact, unconscionable agreements. They were negotiated by the Crown, on its part, in the full knowledge of the potential of this country, in the flowery language of its time and in an incomprehensible and foreign tongue that was not understood by our fathers. The terms of the treaties were unconscionable in that they did not ensure fair and equitable treatment to us and must rank in history as one of the outstanding swindles of all time.

The Indian people of that day could not possibly have anticipated the massive immigration of white settlers to this country that would in fact, in the end, make a mockery of many of the promises of the Crown. A simple example is the extension of hunting and fishing rights on unoccupied Crown lands from time immemorial, accepted by the Indian on the false assumption that all lands are unoccupied and would, in effect, remain so. The concept of private property was alien to Indian people. The increasing encroachment of white settlers into the historic lands of the Indian people imposed more and more restrictions upon the freedom of movement and freedom of access of Indian people until a hundred years later, all that was left were essentially small areas set aside as reserves for Indian people, areas totally incapable of offering even minimal support or subsistence to those who once possessed the entire country.

One example of the obvious inequity of the treaty settlement is the fact that while the Indian was given 160 acres of land for each family of five at the time of treaty, prior commitment had been made with respect to white settlers in much more generous terms. Regulations respecting public lands in Manitoba were approved on March 1st, 1871 and provided that,

"Any person who is the head of a family or has attained the age of twenty one years shall after the first day of May, 1871, be entitled to be entered for one quarter section (160 acres) or less quantity of unappropriated public lands, for the purpose of securing homestead right in respect thereof"
It is to be noted that these regulations were passed some five months prior to the signing of the Indian treaties.

In addition, following the signing of treaty in 1871, in the year 1874, provision was made for an additional entitlement in the amount of one-quarter section. A further provision was included in the amendment lowering the age requirements from 21 to 18 years of age.

Despite the fact that certain treaty stipulations were confirmed by both Indians and Government in 1875, no attempt was made to correct obvious unequal land distribution through an adjustment in land entitlement by Indian people.

Notwithstanding the fact that most of the lands assigned to Indian people proved to be literally worthless, the major deplorable aspect was the parsimonious attitude on the part of the Crown in settling a mere 400,000 acres upon the Indian people, while at the same time, giving 1.4 million acres to the Metis; 1.9 million acres to the railroads, and 45 million acres (eventually 7 million) of the “Fertile Belt” to the Hudson’s Bay Co.

The misery approach of the Crown is tragically emphasized by the recent proposed settlement of the Alaskan Indian Lands question proffered by the President of the United States. President Nixon in a recent announcement indicated that he felt that the native peoples of Alaska should be offered $1 billion dollars and 40 million acres of land. In considering the land mass of Alaska 40 million acres represents approximately 11% of the total acreage of that state. The Indians of Manitoba, today, after having made adjustments for land extensions made following 1871, were granted a total of 512,521 acres, an amount of land that represents 38% of the total land mass of Manitoba. The Alaska settlement would provide for each native person of the state of Alaska, some 727 acres of land while the Manitoba Indian can claim possession on a per capita basis of only 14 acres per person. When one considers the total amount of land available in the province of Manitoba at the time of the signing of the treaty, and the limited population, one can hardly accept that the Crown was either considerate or
generous in their negotiations, or that the amount of land set aside for the use of Indian people represented a conscionable settlement between two parties.

The history of land transactions with respect to Indian lands under the trusteeship of the Crown, is at best hazy and often questionable. The disposition of certain Indian lands with or without the implied permission of the Indian people should be the subject of legal inquiry, for there is sufficient reason to believe that some Indian lands may have been fraudulently disposed of.

The period between the signing of the treaties and today is one which is particularly noted by its tragic effects on Indian people. The establishment of the reserve system and its negative effect upon a nomadic people through the imposition of restrictions to the traditional mobility of the populace brought changes in the character of life of the Indian. The first and most tragic consequence of this set was to create static breeding grounds of disease, disease largely brought to this land by the white settler. The subsequent change in dietary activity lowered resistance to the dreaded diseases of the white man and as a consequence were followed by epidemic upon epidemic which decimated the Indian population.

Even the efforts to educate the Indian resulted in schools that became incubators of disease, where if you didn’t succumb to the dread tuberculosis epidemics, you were sent home to infect the populace of the reserve.

The record of the Crown with respect to health services is not one that any government could be proud of, particularly in the light of the fact that most of the concern expressed by the Crown and the activities that resulted therefrom were motivated by a concern for the protection of the white populace and not basically a reflection of concern for the survival and growth of the Indian people.

The historic pattern of educational activities has reflected the paternalism of both government and church, in that, between the
two, the educational requirements of Indian people were defined without reference to the Indian who represented the need. The pattern of educational development was predicated upon the false belief that to educate the Indian child, you must separate him from the parents and the environment in which he lived. Early educational emphasis was placed on the residential school concept, a concept that imposed upon the Indian, rigid regimentation both in terms of scholastic activities and in terms of work programs designed to assist in the maintenance of the school buildings, stables and land.

Tragically, the net result of the experiences and experimentation was to generate feelings of bitterness and frustration amongst the student body and the parents. After a century of an educational system that was in fact, irrelevant to the environment and culture of Indian people, it goes without saying that the Indian has been thereby denied the means to participate in the resources and development of our land.

A century of government administration and government and church control increasingly restricted the social and physical mobility of Indian people. The effects of living in an atmosphere of state dependency, where virtually all decisions relating to your life and your future are made by others, has brought about a situation where the psychological barriers to change are such that it will require a conscious effort on the part of Indian people to effect change in a manner consistent with their own objectives. From a life of productivity and harmony with nature the Indian has been forced to marginal economic activity, with all its uncertainties and tragedies.

In developing new methods of response and community involvement it is imperative that we, both Indian and Government, recognize that economic, social and educational development are synonymous and thus must be dealt with as a “total” approach rather than in parts. The practice of program development in segments, in isolation as between its parts, inhibits if not precludes, effective utilization of all resources in the concentrated effort
required to support economic, social and educational advancement.

In order that we can effect change in our own right, it will be necessary to develop a whole new process of community orientation and development. The single dependency factor of Indian people upon the state cannot continue, nor do we want to develop a community structure that narrows the opportunities of the individual through the transferral of dependencies under another single agency approach.

It is generally recognized that the strength of society rests with the inter-dependency of people, one upon the other, and the development of the community of interest that exists between all people to pursue progress and a better way of life. For the Indian this will mean a conscious effort to develop inter-relationships that have for a century been inhibited by continued state control.

To effect such a change will require the development within the community of a broad range of organizations devoted to and concerned with the advancement of people. These would include local government, school boards, community clubs and recreation organizations plus the evolution of spontaneous organizations. They would effect change through the voluntary nature of activities which spring from the Indian community.

The transition from paternalism to community self-sufficiency may be long and will require significant support from the state, however, we would emphasize that state support should not be such that the government continues to do for us, that which we want to do for ourselves.

We would emphasize for the purpose of clarity and to avoid any misunderstanding that the Indian tribes of Manitoba are committed to the belief that our rights, both aboriginal and treaty, emanate from our sovereignty as a nation of people. Our relationships with the state have their roots in negotiation between two sovereign peoples.
There can be no delegation of authority or responsibility by the federal state to the province without our consent. There can be no deviation or alteration in this relationship without mutual consent. The Indian people enjoy "special status" conferred by recognition of our historic title that cannot be impaired, altered or compromised by federal-provincial collusion or consent.

We regard this relationship as sacred and inviolate.
ON-GOING
RELATIONSHIPS
"THE DISTORTION OF HISTORY CANNOT SHIELD TRUTH FROM THE GLARE OF HONEST EXAMINATION — OLD RIGHTS MUST BE ATTESTED TO — OLD WRONGS MADE RIGHT"
1. TREATY AND ABORIGINAL RIGHTS

"Today, we heard about the problem of Indian treaties. I have said many times that we intend to respect all aspects of these treaties."


Our treaties by the very fact of the Crown's negotiating and signing them, were and are recognition of our aboriginal title to this land. Our treaties were and are unconscionable by virtue of the distortions, inequities, and the inconsistencies implicit in the negotiations. The demonstrable lack of any intention to implement the potentially beneficial aspects of the treaties confirms the cynicism and deceit which attended a one sided treaty making process.

The apparent dogmatic attitude of the present federal government with respect to treaties and aboriginal rights perpetuates the inequities of centuries and shuts the Indian off from forms of just redress. The Indian people of Manitoba submit that for any government to turn its back on historic obligations to the native people of this country would be an insult to and a degradation of the integrity of the Canadian people as a whole.

The treaties negotiated in Manitoba in the 1870's were in part the products of distant precedents established by the British and Canadian governments. The first of these was the Royal Proclamation of 1763 which confirmed the Indian ownership of land as possessed at that time. The second was a series of suggestions, adopted by the government in 1830, which came to embody the reserve policy.

The Proclamation of 1763, in addition to confirming Indian title, also required that,
"all persons whatsoever, who had either wilfully or inadvertently, seated themselves upon any lands . . . which not having been ceded to, or purchased by us . . . forthwith to remove themselves from such settlements. . ."

Thus the treaty negotiations began in the midst of a violation of the Proclamation itself, for settlers already lived on this land not yet ceded to nor purchased by the government. As Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote in 1872,

"White people settled here in Red River long before a treaty was made, but the Indians were dealt with last year just as if these white men had not settled."

Suggestions made in 1829, which became reserve policy from 1830 onward, were made by Sir James Kempt in a letter to Secretary of State Colbourne:

1. To collect the Indians in considerable numbers, and to settle them in villages with due portion of land for their cultivation and support.

2. To make such provision for their religious improvement, education and instruction in husbandry, as circumstances may from time to time require.

3. To afford them such assistance in building their houses, rations, and in procuring such seed and agriculture implements as may be necessary commuting when practicable, a portion of their presents for the latter.
The application of this policy to the Indians of Manitoba in 1871 was at the very least unrealistic, and had inevitable destructive effects upon all aspects of Indian life. At that time the Indians of Manitoba had already suffered from the influx of civilization however, a contemporary comment on the Ojibway in southeast Manitoba indicates the existence of a still viable way of life.

This way of life consisted of fishing and hunting, accompanied by the preservation of meat, fish and fruit. The harvesting of wild rice was another major occupation and source of food for many Manitoba Indians, and maize and potatoes were grown. The harvesting of wild rice was the occasion for the Chiefs to decide disputed claims and dispense justice to all the band members. In many instances, the office of Chief was hereditary. We had beautiful, meaningful and complex religions despite being characterized by the white man as "heathens".

Our life prior to the 1870's was not necessarily secure nor idyllic. Food was sometimes scarce; the buffalo, long prey to non-Indian hunters, was becoming extinct, clothing was in demand for the winter Indians in Manitoba, long before the treaties, had begun to suffer from epidemic diseases like small-pox. Thus, if the treaties are said to have had a destructive and dramatic impact upon Indian life, that impact should not be measured against an idealized vision. Certain Indians in the early 1870's desired to treat with the Dominion Government in order to improve what in certain instances were conditions of acute deprivation. The autonomy of their life had already been undermined partly by a sporadic exposure to an aggressive civilization.

It is quite clear that the Indian people of Manitoba, on the threshold of treaty signing, were better off than they were to be during the next 100 years. That is why the treaties are suspect. Had their meaning and foreseeable effects been explained honestly to the Indians of Manitoba, it is most unlikely that the treaties would, as initially written, have been signed. Our ancestors would not have solicited the loss of their autonomy and the dismemberment of their culture.
The object of the treaties was to change the Indian from a hunter to a farmer by confining him to reserves on which he would have land to cultivate with implements, animals and instruction provided by the government. This objective is not embodied in all of the treaties covering the Indians of Manitoba. There was no stipulation in either Treaty One nor in Treaty Two by which the reserves were explicitly set aside for the purpose of agriculture. However, in the negotiations, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald told the Indians that,

"Your Great Mother wishes the good of all races under her sway. She wishes her red children to be happy and contented. She wishes them to live in comfort. She would like them to adopt the habits of the whites, to till the land and raise food, and store it up against a time of want. She thinks that this would be the best thing for her children to do, that it would make them safer from famine and distress and make their homes comfortable."  

Also not included in either of the first two treaties but included in the negotiations, was the promise that,

"As each Indian settled down upon his share of the reserve, and commenced the cultivation of his land, he was to receive a plough and harrow."  

However in Treaty Five, it is stated explicitly that,

"Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside reserves for farming lands."  

The assignment of land to the Indian people was based partly upon this policy of making us into agriculturalists. However, hav-
ing assumed the monumental task of transforming a nomadic people into farmers, the government thereupon allotted lands without even evaluating their agricultural potential. As a result, there was no correlation between the primary objectives of the treaties or negotiations, and the government's alleged attempts to secure those objectives. One authoritative study of the agricultural situation in 1870 indicates that farming was a barely profitable undertaking only in areas directly adjoining the Red River.

"By 1870 the best farmers of the Red River had shown little sign of being able to farm away from the River."

The cynicism of a half-hearted effort to make farmers of our forefathers under such circumstances is obvious.

The reports of Indian agents, commissioners, and land surveyors, reveal innumerable instances of assignments of land which were utterly devoid of agricultural value. As the years passed Indian complaints about the poor lands which they were assigned were noted, but rarely acted upon by the government. The Department of Indian Affairs was aware of the validity of the complaints, so many of which were confirmed by Indian agents and inspectors in Manitoba. At times the Department reacted positively. In one instance the Department permitted the Indians more land than that allowed by treaty as compensation for having received land that was not arable. In another instance the government, by Order-in-Council, permitted a band of Sioux Indians "due allowance for inferior land not adopted for agriculture." The result was that the band secured nearly twice the acreage it was entitled to by treaty.

Not only was the quality of the land assigned bad, but the amount: 160 acres per family of five was unjustly small. The white settler received much larger. Indians, except those under Treaty Five, who signed treaties after 1871, received four times the amount of land allotted in Treaties One and Two. Nearly thirty
five years after these treaties were signed, the Department itself acknowledged in regard to one Manitoban reserve that,

"An area of 160 acres for each family of five persons is small in any case, and especially so where the land is not of good quality, and where, as in the present instance the band is reported to be making considerable progress in agriculture."

With this in mind, and noting the great difference between the acreage allotted to Indians in Manitoba and the amount allotted by later treaties, the Department secured an addition of land to the reserve which brought its total acreage to an amount exceeding that prescribed by treaty.10

When it came to supplying us with promised farming implements, the government was often negligent. Thus, one reads in the 1880 report of one Inspector, whose travels took him to nearly all of the Manitoban reserves,

"Some were disappointed last summer in consequence of not receiving any grub hoes, so indispensable to them in the cultivation of their little farms—on almost every reserve visited Indians represented that they have not enough of hoes and axes for working to advantage in enlarging and improving their gardens, and they request that their requirements, in this respect may be favorably considered by the governments, as the supply in many instances, of these articles already received are nearly worn out."11

The treaty making process was filled with many paradoxes. In the first place, it is quite apparent that Treaties One and Two were never intended to embody all of the points upon which the government and our ancestors had apparently reached
agreement. This is demonstrable in the case of the agricultural designs of the government, and also in the instance of providing us with animals and agricultural implements. These arrangements were made outside of the body of the treaties, but nevertheless formally, although not consistently, adhered to as if they were integral parts of the treaties.

Another curious feature was that the government committed itself to the fulfillment of outside promises and treaty stipulations when, in fact, it was obvious that such promises and stipulations could not be fulfilled. For instance, the government was not prepared to offer us protection against intruders, and it was never prepared to set aside lands upon which crops could be grown. In the instance of surveying, it should be noted that a uniform method of surveying reserves was not even suggested until 1889, or 18 years after the first treaties were signed.  

When one considers the consistency of the government in its statements of purpose regarding a program for Indians, the situation becomes even more irregular. In 1880 when Indian Affairs was trying in haphazard fashion to implement an agricultural program for Indian people in Manitoba, Prime Minister John A. MacDonald announced to the Commons that, “You cannot make an agriculturist of the Indian.”

Had we been assigned the best agricultural lands, the best implements, and the healthiest and most prolific farm animals, the treaties would still have constituted an abridgement of an ascendant right. By Treaties One, Two and Five which cover nearly all of the Manitoban bands, the Indian was assigned 160 acres per family of five. This land was assigned because we were ceding hundreds of millions of acres of land to the Dominion Government. Presumably, the reserve land assigned in the exchange should have been more than the amount of land which the white settler received for free.

Nevertheless, it was declared by an Order-in-Council, given effect before the treaties were negotiated or signed that,
“Any person who is the head of a family, or has attained the age of twenty-one years, shall, after the first day of May, 1871 be entitled to be entered for one quarter section (160 acres) or a less quantity of unappropriated public lands, for the purpose of securing a homestead right in respect thereof.”

This land was free although a $10.00 office fee was charged to verify and record the assignment of free land.14 The settler, by further legislation in 1874, was also able to acquire another 160 acres free.15 And in 1874, the age requirement was lowered to 18.16 There was no mention to our ancestors during the negotiations preceding Treaties One, Two and Five, as to the treaties' abridgement of their right to hold as much land as the white man held for free and without having made major land cessions.

In 1874, provision was also made for the free occupation of as much as an entire townsite for large groups of settlers with common interests.17

In addition, the Indian people remained apparently uninformed of the prejudicial aspects of section 70 of the Indian Act, 1876, which stated that,

“No Indian or non-treaty Indian, resident in the Province of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories or the territory of Keewatin shall be held capable of having acquired or acquiring a homestead of pre-emption right to a quarter section or any portion of land in any surveyed or unsurveyed land in the said Province of Manitoba, the Northwest Territories, of the territory of Keewatin.”18

There were other developments at this time which indicate that the Indian treaties had an almost punitive effect. We were, for instance, the last group in Manitoba to which land was
reserved. 1.4 million acres were reserved to the Metis, 1.9 million acres to the railroad, 45 million (and eventually 7 million acres of "fertile belt" land to Hudson's Bay Company). We received, last, an amount of less than 400,000 acres of land of the poorest quality. 

Although it has been stated that the treaties negotiated in 1871 were revised in 1875, they have in fact remained unaltered since 1871. In 1875 the Memorandum which embodied the "outside promises" of Treaty One was discovered. The government denied the existence of such a Memorandum for a period of four years. As Lieutenant-Governor Morris explained it,

"When Treaties Number One and Two were made, certain verbal promises were unfortunately made to the Indians, which were not included in the written text of the treaties. On examination of the original Treaty No. One, the Minister of Interior reported that a memorandum was found attached to it signed by Mr Commissioner Simpson, His Honor Governor Archibald, Mr St. John and the Hon. Mr McKay, purporting to contain their understanding of the terms upon which the Indians concluded the treaty."

The memorandum provided that each Chief was to get a dress distinguishing him a Chief, a buggy, a cow and saw; the councillors and braves were supposed to get a dress and buggy, the reserve was to get a bull, a boar and male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers.

Thus what was signed in 1875 was a memo written on August 3, 1871 and called at that time a supplement to Treaty One. Indian protests in regard to the question of the size, quality and assignment of the reserves were ignored. Nor have we ever gained satisfaction for the effects that flowed from the deceit exercised on us in 1871 and thereafter. Having us sign the memo was simply a
way of avoiding a re-negotiation of treaties on a comprehensive basis.

Although our ancestors are often characterized as having been nobly quiet in their acceptance of the treaties, their conduct conformed to no stereotype. They confronted a welter of inexplicable directives and pronouncements with tenacious good judgment. Their problem was that they were dealing with a new bureaucracy, so vague that the bureaucrats themselves did not understand its operation.

For example, in Treaties One and Two it is quite clear that our negotiators were dealing almost exclusively with Lieutenant-Governor Archibald. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote the treaties and conducted the negotiations; the Indian Commissioner, Wemyss Simpson, played a minimal role at best. Even according to the instructions of the Secretary of State for the Provinces, the Lieutenant-Governor was formally assigned a degree of discretionary power in the treaty-making process.

Further, for psychological purposes we were confronted during negotiations with the full impressive array of governmental power presented without careful regard to distinction in terms of office, function and jurisdiction. In fact the role of the Indian Commissioner was purposely distorted by the government when he was instructed to wear a uniform for no other purpose than to impress the Indians.21

In making the treaties, the government suspended those very distinctions which, when it came to the implementation of the treaties, it was to invoke for the purpose of confusing and stalling us.22

After the treaties were signed and it became incumbent upon the government to fulfill the stipulations, the situation reversed itself. Lieutenant-Governor Archibald insisted that he had nothing to do with the implementation of the treaties. This position might have been barely logical, had there been an operative government
agency present in Manitoba to carry out the treaties. But there was not. The Indian Commissioner had absented himself. Archibald, in a letter to the Secretary of State, described his own and our dilemma.

"It would seem a mere mockery in reply to their requests for explanations for aid to say that they may apply to a commissioner distant a thousand miles from here. It seems to me that if Mr. Simpson continues to reside, the greater part of the year, where he is inaccessible, it will be proper that there should be some persons duly authorized to represent him in the Province."23

This situation persisted for a long time after the treaties were signed. Alexander Morris, Archibald’s successor, commented as late as 1875,

"But I would add that it becomes all the more important that a better system of Indian administration should be devised so as to secure the prompt and rigid carrying out of the new terms of the treaty."24

The Right Hon. Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Prime Minister of Canada, and the Hon. Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, have on occasion, contested the Indian perspective on treaties. However, on June 9th, 1970 the Prime Minister in his response to Alberta’s Red Paper indicated to the Indian leaders of Canada that his government will and wants to settle this controversial subject honourably.

It is the belief of the Indian people of Manitoba that no person of sincere and honest intent can ignore the fact that the Indian people were dealt with unfairly and inequitably and that the wrongs of the past must be redressed.
The outstanding issue of Aboriginal Rights and the Crown's obligations, the unfulfilled promise of both the spoken and the written words of that treaty time one hundred years ago remain as a slur on the honor of Canada. For if Canada cannot deal in honor and honesty with the Indian people of this country, then the sincerity of its word in the councils of the world must remain open to question. Its actions do not match its intent, and its denial of its obligations to those who were dependent upon its honor stand as a monument to its callous disregard for the rights of a minority.

The Indian people of Manitoba are resolved:

That the treaties of the Dominion Government with the Indians of Manitoba be recognized as unconscionable agreements.

That a restructuring of the treaties be of a comprehensive nature, first by resolving the immediate obligations of the federal government and second by addressing long range problems.

That the right of a full and continuing redress of grievances created by the treaties and by the failure of the government to implement the beneficial aspects of the treaties be admitted.

That the federal government recognize the full scope of the damage inflicted upon Indian people of Manitoba by the treaties. This should include the acknowledgment that the treaties and non-implementation of their beneficial stipulations have had and continue to have an adverse effect upon the Indian people of Manitoba.

That the federal government acknowledge as basic to a restructuring of treaties the following:

1. A flexible standard of compensation for losses incurred by the treaties.

2. A similar standard for losses resulting from a lack of implementation of the beneficial stipulations of the treaties.
3. A recovery of rights such as those of hunting and fishing, which are identified as traditional and inherent to the Indian way of life.

4. A revision of land allotment to redress the obvious quantitative and qualitative deficiencies imposed upon Indian people with the assignment of reserves.

5. Compensation in land, money, programs, etc. for the assignment of uncultivable land.

6. Confirmation of the principle that land assignment be adjusted to population growth and economic realities.

7. Negotiation of other issues and factors which may be discovered through research and communication with the reserve.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Today, these and many other grievances of the Indian people remain unappreciated by the federal government. This is particularly true in regard to questions of treaties and aboriginal title. Past expressions of grievances have met with either arbitrary rejection or the exploitation of the Indians' unfamiliarity with legal processes. We are determined that a settlement which will fit the entire range of grievances relating to treaties and aboriginal title be secured. Accordingly we demand full and continuous participation in the establishment of structures and processes which will provide a full and comprehensive redress. The bitter experience of centuries dictates that such structures and processes unfold from a knowledge of the Indian reality, as articulated by Indian people.


4. The Hon. Alexander Morris, The Treaties of Canada with the Indians, including the Negotiations on which they were based, and other information relating thereto (Toronto, 1880), 29.

"5. Ibid., 39.

6. Ibid., 344.


8. Public Archives of Canada, Manuscript Division, Department of Indian Affairs Files, Black Series, No. 5217/2, A. M. Burgess, Secretary, Department of Interior, to Hayter Reed, June 18, 1894.


10. Department of Indian Affairs, (Ottawa) Land Surveys and Titles Section, File No. 96411, J D McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, to P G Keyes Secretary, Department of the Interior, March 14, 1906. The request for additional land made in this letter was agreed to by Keyes in a letter dated July 31, 1906, File No. 96411.


16. Ibid.

17 Ibid., Section 14.


20. Morris, Treaties, 126.

21. About a week before negotiations for Treaty One were begun, Lieutenant-Governor Archibald wrote, “I have asked Major Ir-
vine to detail a few of his troops to be present at the treaty. Military display has always a great effect on savages, and the presence even of a few troops, will have a good tendency.” Morris Treaties, 32.

22. Over six months after Treaties One and Two were signed, Archibald wrote, “It is vain for me to disclaim to these poor sons of the soil any responsibility for, or power to deal with Indian Affairs. They are not politician enough to distinguish between the representative of Her Majesty in one capacity and Her representatives in another. They say that they made the Treaty with the Queen and they feel they have the right to look to me, as Her representative to see that the stipulations contained in the Treaties are kept. They say I was present and took part in the negotiations.” Public Archives of Manitoba, Archibald Despatch Book Number Three, Despatch Number 28, Archibald to the Secretary of State, February 17, 1872.

23. Ibid., Despatch Number 3, Archibald to the Secretary of State, February 12, 1872.

24. Public Archives of Manitoba, Alexander Morris Papers, Ketcheson Collection, Letter Book “M”, Lieutenant-Governor Morris to the Honourable Minister of Interior, October 26, 1876.
"TO DEPRIVE US
OF OUR LAND
IS TO DEPRIVE US
OF OUR INDEPENDENCE"
2. LAND

Our land is as sacred to us today as it was centuries ago.

Though many white people may find it hard to understand the fundamental attachment that Indian people have to their land and while it may be that in quantitative and qualitative terms the land base of the Indian is inadequate and often of limited monetary value, it is important that people remember that the Indian has always had a strong and very personal attachment to land and his environment. It must also be remembered that while we once had much we today have little, not by our own choosing but as a result of devious and deceitful negotiation by white negotiators of 100 years ago. Land settlements extended to Indian people can hardly be classified as just or generous and by no stretch of the imagination can they be classified as conscionable actions on the part of the negotiators.

Compounding our problem further has been a diminishment of our land over the years through often questionable land sales and disposals that often bordered on the fraudulent if not actually being so. The Government of Canada in living up to its obligations as trustees of the land of the Indians have done little to enhance its value and have often done much to compromise its integrity.

At the outset, we must stipulate as we have earlier that the treaties themselves were unconscionable agreements and that the land settlements as part of those treaties are unacceptable and unconscionable. We would accept no act on the part of government that would compromise that position, we will give up not one acre of that which we have nor can we accept that, that which we have is an extinguishment of our title and reserve the right to pursue our claims through Parliament or the courts to obtain justice and equitable treatment on the question of land entitlements.

We recognize, however, that negotiations and court actions will take time and will require much research on the part of the Indian people. In the meantime we are human beings who have a
right to an existence, a right to independence, a right to freedom and the pursuit of happiness. We must live and we must progress, but to do so we must do so in a manner compatible with our own objectives.

There are three basic considerations that must be dealt with now in order to ensure progress in immediate terms.

The first is the question of control and utilization of land. Historically, the administration of use and occupancy has been handled by the Department of Indian Affairs with little reference or little authority on the part of band council. We would seek an end to external administrative control over use and utilization. The transfer of such control to the band councils who are directly responsible to their electors is imperative. It is inconsistent to perpetuate a system whereby lease agreements and matters related to land must be referred to the Minister.

By the same token, we would seek to continue a trust relationship with the government in order to protect the integrity of those lands to save them against alienation or sale to be held for all time for the benefit of Indian people. We would further seek to protect our lands from expropriation without consent and this connection would suggest that consent can only be given by referendum of the people with a clearly established majority of all electors being required to constitute a mandate.

The second factor of particular importance to us is the question of development and use of existing lands. For nearly a century the productive capability of Indian lands has remained relatively undeveloped. The amount of time and money directed by the Department towards the development of our land resources has been both inadequate and ineffective. If we, as people, are to attain a level of self-subsistence then it becomes obvious that our resources both human and physical, must be developed to their maximum potential. It becomes obvious that without significant financial inputs on the part of the Department, we are both denied that benefit and because of a lack of resources are unable to pursue development in our own right.
It is essential that the government recognize its responsibilities to Indian people in that having established us on such meagre portions of land that they also have a responsibility to ensure that that land is developed to its maximum capability to support our people. It is an unconscionable abdication of that responsibility that 100 years have passed with little positive action to bring this about.

The third important factor related to land is the simple fact that the amount of land assigned to us was hopelessly inadequate in the first place and, we believe, an unconscionable and deceitful ruse played upon a people who neither understood your language nor your motives. Much of the land assigned to Indian people consisted of rock and swamp and much of it, we are aware, cannot be effectively developed. The question of assignment of land should be relative to the ability of land to support its population and it is our opinion, as the Indian people of Manitoba, that steps must be taken to bring about a land adjustment that more realistically relates to our economic and social requirements. It is essential to our future independence and indeed our future participation in the larger society that we collectively review this whole question of land and bring about an adjustment in land allocation that provides for Indian people an opportunity for self-support consistent with our needs and our requirements and compatible with that extended to white society. We must address ourselves, both the Indian people and the government, to the solution of this problem for there can be no effective development and no real independence without the resources to obtain that objective.

To bring this about, we recommend to the government of Canada that there be established a joint commission equally representative of both parties to examine the question of land allotment and land development, whose principal responsibility would be to make recommendations to the government for a land adjustment policy consistent with good sense, reflecting a conscionable understanding of our land requirements. This commission should be established immediately so that it can pursue its work at the earliest opportunity. It should be required to file a report with both the government and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood by April 1, 1973.
"OUR TRADITIONAL RIGHT TO HUNT CANNOT BE COMPROMISED — DENIAL OF OUR RIGHTS CAN ONLY BRING DISHONOR TO THOSE WHO WOULD DENY US"
3. HUNTING, FISHING, TRAPPING AND GATHERING RIGHTS

For us, the Indian tribes of Manitoba, to hunt, fish, trap, and gather is a right which has been vested in Indian people from time immemorial. This is and always has been considered a sacred gift from the Creator. Yet, today, there are many regulations and laws which attempt to prevent us from this right.

The Government of Canada owes it to the people of Canada to honour the Treaties by which the non-Indian settlers acquired title to the land on which they now live. The integrity of the Canadian public in general is in question in international eyes, if the government does not do so.

Yet, although our Treaties provide for our hunting and fishing rights to be assured us for all time for domestic purposes (food), the Parliament of Canada has since enacted another Treaty, this one with Mexico, United States, and Canada as it pertains to migratory birds, i.e., ducks, geese, etc.

The Migratory Birds Act prohibits any person from hunting such water-fowl at certain times of the year. This is contradictory to our Treaty. The Migratory Birds Convention Act, in effect, has abrogated our inalienable right to hunt food for our subsistence and has placed restrictions on this right. The Migratory Birds Convention Act must be amended to exempt us from its provisions so as to carry out the full intentions of the promises made by Her Majesty the Queen to the Indian people in negotiations leading up to the Treaties.

This is to us not only a question of honour and integrity, of recognition of our rights, this is our food. This is where we get the protein we need to balance the starches that are so unnutritious but so cheap, protein which we can afford because we get it ourselves. Ducks are taken out of our very cooking pots.

The government on the one hand, pretending our Treaty rights are being honoured, cuts for example, our country food al-
lowance and not the whiteman's on the assumption that we can obtain good food by hunting. The government on the other hand hauls us into court when we are trying to do precisely that: makes us pay licences for fishing and hunting as if the Treaties had never existed. It takes us to court if we do not.

It makes us pay trapline fees and takes us to court if we do not. The provincial government makes game preserves adjacent to our reserves and forces us to accept their limitations, as if the Treaties did not exist. It gives provincial game wardens the right to haul us into court if we have the wrong size nets at the wrong depth, and we are caught with the fish.

In parts of Manitoba where there are many ravens, ravens get to many of our snares and traps before we do, but the government turns around and protects the raven.

We never surrendered the waters, we never surrendered the wildlife, we never surrendered the fish, we did in fact in our negotiations, insist upon the opposite, and the government agreed.

"Her Majesty further agrees with Her said Indians, that the said Indians shall have right to pursue their avocations hunting and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as here before described subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by Her Government of Her Dominion of Canada."

During negotiations, we were told the Crown agreed to a right to pursue hunting and fishing throughout surrendered unoccupied land, we were certainly never told of the line that was afterward written in, "subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made."

Today, there are other factors which imperil our rights. There are the inexorable diminution of unoccupied crown lands and slow annihilation of wildlife. Our intention is not to secure rights, only to see them become nominal and inoperative. It is incumbent upon the federal Government in conjunction with the Province
provide measures that make these rights viable and operative.

It is our position that the Government of Canada act immediately to restore these sacred rights, and protect our livelihood.

The present confusing legislations which encroach on these rights have not only acted to create confusion in courts, but also to complicate and immobilize the Indian person in his pursuit for survival. The Migratory Birds Convention Act is one of these. In spite of the fact that the Judges of Appeal who have researched the subject have condemned this abrogation of the Indian Treaties as a breach of faith, our people are being taken to courts and even abused for pursuing a livelihood and practicing a sacred right.

The Wildlife Act, Chapter 9, Section 46, Subsection 3 (a) and (b) states:

"Any Indian who:

a) sells or barters a wild animal, pelt, hide, meat or any part thereof; or

b) gives it or the pelt, hide, meat, or any part thereof to a person who is not an Indian is guilty of an indictable offense and is liable to summary conviction of a fine not exceeding $300.00 or two months in jail or both."

This legislation produces many frustrating situations, especially in respect to enfranchisement clauses in the Indian Act. A man whose mother may have been enfranchised through remarriage, who gives some meat as a gift to her may be charged under this Act. There are many other situations:

— There are certain restrictions by provincial regulations which should exempt Indian people. (i.e. the size of nets for those whose livelihood is that of fishing.) The interesting question this poses, is who is to be conserved? — The Indian people or the fish?
There are some difficulties encountered by tribes such as those territorial, hunting, fishing, as well as other rights which have been and are confused by the imposition of provincial boundaries, drawn without regard to these rights.

— Traditional trapping and hunting lands are being flooded by dam construction projects.

— Economic exploitation is being experienced by Indian people in respect to sale of furs.

— Traditional gathering grounds for seneca root have been prohibited to Indian people. Example: Riding Mountain Nation Park: File No. 217/18-IR.D Ragan, May 31, 1956, The Pas, Manitoba. Circ. Letter No. 15 A/Regional Superintendent of Indian Affairs states: “The privilege of digging seneca root in the RM Park is contrary to Park regulations and this privilege has been rescinded and Indians as of this date and until further notice, will not be allowed to dig seneca root from any National Park. St and Indians alike are to please take note of this regulation so that Indians will not enter any National Park for the digging of seneca root.”

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We maintain that the government must recognize hunting, trapping, fishing and gathering rights of Indian people and the need to protect these rights.

2. We urge the Minister to mobilize his resources to rest the right of Indian people to hunt exempt from the Migratory Birds Convention Act.

3. Just compensation must be made for flooded traditional hunting, trapping or gathering lands in kind or in financial terms.
4. It should be possible for Indians to hunt across provincial boundaries where traditional pursuit of game has continued.

5. All registered Indian people should be exempt from having to have a licence when hunting for domestic purposes or otherwise. Further that guiding licenses be supplied free of charge to registered Indian people, by the appropriate Department.

6. It is further recommended that the protection of hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering rights be enshrined in the constitution and in the Indian Act.

7. We submit that Subsection 3 (a) and (b), section 48, Chapter 9, the Wildlife Act should be deleted from legislation as contrary to human and social rights. It is recommended further that this and other provincial regulations which encroach on Indian rights be reviewed by a committee consisting of:

   a) Federal representatives

   b) Provincial representatives

   c) Two elected representatives of the Indian people

   d) Legal advisors

and that this committee research and have recognized powers to recommend to both governments on methods to resolve these conflicts of inter-provincial, intra-provincial conflicts of law, and provincial-federal conflicts.
"OPPRESSIVE LEGISLATION
RESTRICTING FREEDOM
FOR A MINORITY IS A
PARADOX IN DEMOCRACY

PROTECTION SHOULD NOT BE
EQUATED WITH PATERNALISM

FREEDOM WITH JUSTICE MUST
BE THE OBJECTIVE OF
ENLIGHTENED LEGISLATION"
4. INDIAN ACT

The Indian Act must be amended, not abolished. Some of the contents of the Indian Act have become restrictive, and contradictory to the progress of the Indian communities not only in Manitoba, but in Canada as well. It must become a document providing opportunity to overcome the conditions of poverty under which Indian people are forced to live. It must also become a document which clearly ensures treaty and aboriginal rights, as well as protecting our land base.

The Act should be an entrenched, constitutional protection of Indian rights.

The Act must contain an atmosphere to allow meaningful social development for Indian people according to their own guidelines.

There has been much preoccupation in the past few years on the question of the Indian Act. These discussions have often masked the key issues relating to the conditions under which Indian people are forced to live, because many important topics have been ignored and left out of the existing Indian Act. But there is one fact which cannot, and must not, be ignored: Our people need and want legislation that will protect and guarantee our treaty and aboriginal rights. The first step is clearly that the Government of Canada must recognize the treaties that were made between the Crown and our people. It must recognize that the Indian people were a part of the development of this nation, and while we are of the Canadian nation, we are also of the Indian nation. We are Indians, and we are also Canadians. These do not contradict. We must be recognized as both. The status of nationhood was recognized when the treaties were signed.

Historically, the Indian Act was intended to administer to a colonized people. It is ironic that the Cree tribe's name for themselves in "Ininiwuk", meaning human beings. The Chipewyan call themselves Dene (human beings); the Ojibwa call themselves A-
Nishina-Be (human beings); and the Sioux's name for themselves was Dakota, meaning "human being" or "the men". The Indian Act of 1886, section 2, paragraph C. states:

"The expression "person" means any individual other than an Indian."

The basic philosophy behind the Act is demoralizing and dehumanizing. It is patronizing and paternalistic in tone. It is the group imposing restrictions and prohibitions upon another "inferior group."

The Indian Act must be changed so that it will become a document protecting Indian land and ensuring civil, human, treaty and aboriginal rights. These should be enshrined in the constitution of the country. The Indian Act should reflect that the Government honors and sanctions the rights of Indian people. It is clear from consultations that our people do not want the Indian Act abolished, but changed to a document offering opportunity for development and on-going progress, rather than restricting this. The wish of the people that the Indian Act become a document that provides for creating opportunities to combat the spectrum of poverty conditions that we are facing today. Certain restrictions in the Act should be subject to immediate revision, and other subject to review as changes indicate in future development, a future wishes of the Indian people.

In its present form, the Indian Act creates many confusing political, social, and legal situations respecting human rights. One of the most glaring issues which need immediate attention is the clause that provides for abritrative enfranchisement of an Indian woman who marries a person who is not registered as an Indian. The Wildlife Act prohibits any Indian person from giving meat to a non-Indian. What of farm units some of whose members are enfranchised — a man can make a gift of meat to his enfranchised sister. It goes without saying that this not only jeopardizes the family and kinship unit,
it violates a basic human right. In Article 12, Appendix 1 of the International Protection of Human Rights, it states:

1. "Everyone has the right to a nationality."
2. "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality."

Article 16 in the same document states:

1. "Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality, or religion, have the right to marry and found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage, and at its dissolution."

Recommendations:

The whole of the Indian Act must be revised and corrected in consultation with the Indian people. It must be changed so that it will become a document providing for the encouragement and facilitating progress of Indian communities.

We recommend that the new Indian Act must clearly become a document that will:

1. Protect our land base,
2. Ensure trapping, fishing, hunting, and gathering rights,
3. Ensure the recognition of aboriginal rights, as well as honoring the treaties,
4. Ensure federal responsibility in areas such as education and medical care.
As the Act should be changed so should the regulations made under the Act.

There should be more concentration on the People — the community, as viable entities under any Indian Act and not to concentrate on the Minister and Governor in Council as is done in the existing legislation.

The immediate changes which are required are:

1. Membership:
   
   — The responsibility for decision of membership should lie with the communities themselves, and the individual concerned.
   
   — All enfranchisement clauses should be deleted from the Act.
   
   — Status of Indians, Children, Women is mishandled in the existing Indian Act. Status should depend on birth. An Indian woman should remain an Indian for the rest of her life whether she marries an Indian or a non-Indian.

2. Land:

   — There must be protection of Indian land. The government must recognize its trusteeship relationship in so far as it protects these lands. The administration of these lands must be left to the discretion of the people and their elected representatives. Lands have sometimes been taken from Indian people without consent. Reserve lands should never be subject to seizure, sale, or forfeiture under legal process. Reserve lands are inalienable.
3. Elections of Chief and Council:

— The method of elections must be left at the discretion of each community, except that it is recommended that the terms of office of elected Chief and council be extended to four years. Further, we submit that a mediation board be available to communities consisting of:
1. a representative of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood,
2. One lawyer,
3. A representative of the Indian Affairs Branch.

The board would be responsible for adjudicating charges brought by a majority of band members against any elected member or members. If charges are proven, then the board may take appropriate steps for the removal of the offending member from office.

3.

4. Wills:

— This must come under the Powers of Chief and Council. This clause should be deleted in the Indian Act. The Minister should have no control. It should be up to the Chief and Council to adjudicate the validity of the will and the administration of the estate in accord with the general laws of the tribe.

5. Health.

— These sections in the Act must be reworded to provide for complete and total medical services for all Indian people in any circumstance. Medical Services are not mentioned in the existing Indian Act. It should be an entrenched benefit. It is not a matter of government policy. There should be complete and total medical ser-
services including dental, optical, hearing, drugs, transportation, hospital care and public health services.

6. Education.

— The right to free and total educational assistance should be formally recognized in legislation.

7. Compensation:

— Provision should be made in the Indian Act for a section dealing with compensation for the destruction of our livelihoods through flooding, pollution, or industrial development.

8. Trespassers:

— Trespassers include anyone on a reserve without permission of a member of the band.

— The band should be able to have its own laws, enforcement agencies and courts for these summary proceedings.

9. Welfare:

— This is not mentioned in the existing Indian Act to a substantial degree. It should be an entrenched benefit to be exercised in the manner deemed best by the community.

10. Hunting, Fishing, Trapping, and Gathering Rights:

— These rights should have entrenched protection under the Constitution. They have been totally omitted from the existing Indian Act and this is inexcusable.
11. Economic Development:

   This is ignored in the existing Indian Act. Provision should be made to encourage training and development in industries on and off reserve land.

12. Policing:

   There should be community laws, police, courts — Benefits should go to Band not to the Canadian sector.

13. Housing:

   The existing Indian Act does not refer to housing — merely to Certificate of Possession. These sections must be amended as the attitude reflected in dehumanizing and degrading and by policy, depriving. The commitment and responsibility of the government to provide original adequate housing for each Indian must be entrenched. The method of instituting this policy must rest with each community. Housing provided must meet with Canadian standards, e.g., CMHA approved.


   Section 86 of the Indian Act should be retained. It does provide some immunity for Indian people from taxation but this is not broad enough. All property and all income wheresoever situated should be exempt from all taxation, direct, indirect, federal, provincial, municipal or otherwise. In fact Indian Companies, Co-operatives and enterprises should not pay taxes. Moreover, enterprises Indian communities have invited onto their lands should receive exemption from taxation.
15. Band Government:

— The system of band government should be at the
descretion of each community, and this right
must be ensured.

16. Indian Act:

— Must be an entrenched constitutional document
protecting and guaranteeing benefits to the In-
dian people. The Act should be immune from
Parliamentary amendment for 10 years. But
every 10 years the Act should be reviewed by the
Indian communities in Canada and amendments
made as they deem and advise are necessary.

17. Indian Monies:

— Are to be used by Band or by the individual as
he or it deems best — no approval necessary.
Money not used in any year to bear interest at
current Bank of Canada prime rate — com-
ounded semi-annually. Government expenses
should come out of Consolidated Fund and not
money set aside for Bands.

18. Pollution:

— Is a whiteman's problem caused by him — yet
the Indian suffers for the whiteman's reck-
lessness. This should not be incorporated
specifically in the Indian Act but should be cov-
ered in a section dealing with Compensation.

19. Reserve Government:

— The sections of the Indian Act dealing with
reserve community government should recog-
nize the responsibility which rests with the
leaders. These leaders are unable to fulfill their day-to-day activities because they must devote time and effort to their new positions in the community. Consequently, the principle should be set out in the new Indian Act that the leaders, however chosen by the community, should be paid a salary, salary to come from government not Band funds. Regulations should set forth the uppermost limits of the salaries.

20. Age of Majority

Another pressing issue requiring immediate attention is the establishment of the age of majority at eighteen years of age.

Major recommendations:

The major issues relating to this Act should be dealt with by a structure that has the power to recommend changes according to consultations with the people, as well as having the resources to do so.

We recommend the continued review of the Act as progress and development dictate on the request of the Indian people through their elected representatives, such review to be carried out by a committee with the powers to recommend changes to the Government of Canada. Such a committee should consist of:

1. Federal representative

2. Elected representative of the Indian people

21. — No changes in the Act should be written into it without consent by referendum of the Indian people of Canada.
"ASSIMILATION BY COERCION
OR PARTICIPATION BY
CONSENT — THEREIN LIES
THE FUTURE OF OUR
CULTURE. THE FORMER
UNACCEPTABLE, THE LATTER
DESIRABLE, THE CHOICE
WEIGHS HEAVILY UPON
BOTH CULTURES"
5. CULTURE

Culture means a way of life. It is the sum total of learned, integrated behaviour patterns of an individual or a group. In the broad sense and of most importance, culture has to do with how we live from day to day, the quality of our daily lives.

Indian culture existed in all its tradition and institutions developed through centuries up till fairly recent times. Far too many Indian groups have had their old institutions almost obliterated by new “orientations” such as the “Christian” concept. In others, by virtue of their remoteness or inaccessibility, or because of stronger leadership and a more determined nationalism, such orientation was not quite as effective.

Studies have indicated a long history of occupation and movement of various tribes in Manitoba. The culture areas in Manitoba are the Barren Lands, the Precambrian shield, the Boreal forest area, and the Plains. The various cultures of these tribes mainly conformed to the area, but they had one common way of life — and that was the tribal way of life.

Historically, Manitoba has been occupied predominantly by the Sioux (Dakota), the Cree, the plains Ojibway, and the Chipewyans. The Sioux are the most recent arrivals to the province, and presently occupy the Southwest corner. The Ojibway are in the Southwest area up to the central area. The central area to the north is the Cree, and the Chipewyans occupy the far north of Manitoba. Today, there are almost 36,000 treaty Indians in Manitoba comprising 54 bands.

Many, of course, oversimplify the conflict between the two cultures which met head-on on this continent. But the impact which that white culture that introduced the horse and the rifle had on the culture of the Canadian Indian was in many ways one of the great tragedies of history.

The Indian made valuable contributions to the life of the early
colonists, many more than most people realize, and the European is indebted to the Indian who allowed him to set his foothold on this continent in the first place, and who showed him the way west. The horse-drawn carriages and cumbersome barges of France were no use in our country where there were trails, not roads, fast-flowing rivers with rapids instead of canals. Indian canoes, Indian trails, Indian know-how of geography and other kinds of knowledge made it possible for the whiteman to master Canada's wilderness in a reasonably short time.

Not only did we enrich the fur-trading companies with valuable pelts, but we gave the traders foods and other means of survival as well. A list of over 200 medicines and herbs could be identified. From wild vegetables and berries came foods now staples of the North American diet. Indian words were absorbed into the English language. Useful articles such as moccasins, snowshoes, toboggans and canoes were contributed by Indian people.

In exchange, the whiteman contributed many items from European culture, the most significant of which were the wheel, steel, the horse, and firearms. All these brought mixed blessings. The horse for example, put some hitherto relatively peaceful people, on the warpaths; the firearms helped to kill game more efficiently. Other gifts brought from across the great ocean were smallpox, typhus, influenza, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and alcohol.

The fur trade corrupted the lives of the Indian people because it gave us a sudden source of income which virtually disappeared after several generations of our people had built their lives around the trading post and this income. The furs ran out, leaving us worse off than our forefathers had been in the old days. We could not return to the wild to resume our old self-sufficient lives. Our old skills lost, few of us had enough of the new skills to compete in the whiteman's world.

Customs on which whole societies and systems of authority had been built were almost obliterated by non-Indian legislators.
Religious beliefs, medicine men, sun-dancing, even our language were written off as irrelevant for the new "civilization" in our own land. New forms of education systems were devised without consultation with us, which were irrelevant to our situation and were designed to alienate Indian people from their own societies. No wonder our pride and spirit were sorely tried resulting in many dejected human beings.

Treasury Board minutes of the federal government T.B. 635419 of January 15, 1964, authorized payment of cultural grants to individual Indians and Indian groups for "(1) (c) the development of Indian cultural expression in the Arts and Sports Activities" and "for the payment of grants or contributions for the development or advancement of Indian Culture".

The Manitoba government has a director of "Cultural Affairs" and is also at present involved in research of arts and crafts of the Indian people of Manitoba. This would seem to indicate that both senior governments now recognize that the cultural dimension in a community development program is important and essential along with any community's social and economic dimension.

Thus only recently has there been an official, planned, preoccupation with long range programs aimed at preservation of culture as requested by people of Indian ancestry. But "preservation" can be a restrictive concern in that it could exclude growth and expression. We speak not of "pickled meat or fruit" and Indian regalia displayed in a locked glass enclosure housed in provincial or national museums. What the Indian people of Manitoba wish to point out is that in devising means of preserving any culture, there is an implied program of growth, a normal outpouring of expression. Programs must be extremely adaptable, readily molded to individual circumstances, aware of geographical locations and personal needs, and faithful throughout its whole operation to a guiding formula, "the preservation, growth, and the expression of Indian culture in Manitoba".

The policies of both governments at the present seem to emphasize the commercial aspect. The federal government has a
program of arts and crafts of Indian people involving some 1.25
millions of dollars per year. In its cultural grant program it allots
some $300,000 for all the status Indian people in Canada. This
means just over one dollar per capita.

The Manitoba government is helping to sponsor research in
arts and crafts of Indian people of Manitoba with the idea of as-
sessing its commercial potential. Both governments in their
programs have good intentions of making them commercial, via-
ble undertakings and enterprises.

"Commercializing" Indian arts and crafts raises questions of
good taste such as, Art vs craft, beauty vs profits, cultural integ-
rety. But nonetheless, the development of native arts and crafts
could create an economic opportunity so that many Indian people
could regain their Indian pride and identity in ways that cannot
be done by welfare. We state again that culture cannot remain
static. We grow and adapt to new environments and knowledge;
we cannot disregard changes. But we will retain and revive those
aspects of Indian culture important to us.

Indian arts and crafts programs are still being controlled and
policy dictated from Ottawa headquarters. True there is an ad-
visory body composed of Indian people that meet periodically
with the headquarters people. It is true also that arts and crafts
funds are being decentralized to some regional offices in Canada.
But the dissemination of these funds and policies are still con-
trolled largely by the white men in Indian Affairs.

It would appear to us logical that the preservation and prom-
totion of the Indian culture should be under two categories: (1) Non-
commercial and (2) Commercial.

The following list of activities could fall under both categories
and it would be the responsibility of the individual Indian person
or group of people to determine whether the cultural activity is to
be commercial or non-commercial.

The performing arts represent in many cases a greater com-
munity effort and have a great impact on Indians as a group, particularly in what concerns the traditional performances. The form can very well be termed the basis of Indian expression. They must be considered also as a prime factor in the perpetuation of Indian pride and identity.

Categories:

a) Traditional Dance Troupes — Indian people (costumes) teepees, native drums, rattles, dances particularly related to their tribal origin and/or the dances of other Indian origins.

b) Traditional Individual Dancers — individuals who have achieved recognition as single performances and also dancers, e.g. solo dancers, hoop dancers, competition dancers, eagle dancers, etc.

c) Pageant Groups — expressing the traditional concepts of the scenario.

d) Traditional Singers, Song Writers and Musicians — pow-wow singers, etc. perpetuating their traditional Indian singing.

The creative arts can be defined as "all efforts of individuals to express their talents or develop their particular skills"

Categories:

a) Traditional painters — expressing through modern or ancient techniques the visual aspects of their tribes or national imagery

b) Traditional carvers in all media, regarded by their own as continuing a tradition (wood carvers, bone carvers, stone carvers, etc.)
c) Sculptors — related to traditional expression such as is being done at Island Lake.

d) Story Tellers — recognizing the traditional or oral story tellers and having no exigencies normally applied to creators of the written word.

e) Poets — expressing themselves in all forms, classical or modern, but able to relate to Indian subjects.

f) Other forms of creative art (exceptional quality) fine Artistic weaving, leather weaving, beadwork, etc., restricted category open to very high merit.

g) Linguistics — language is the vehicle in which a culture is expressed and transmitted. The Manitoba Indian people speak mainly four languages (and many more dialects within them). We need support for our own linguistic authorities.
POSITION

We, the Indian people of Manitoba, are of the opinion that we achieve a place of honour and responsibility in Canadian society by enhancement and understanding of our culture.

We achieve our place by combining basic and relevant aspects of our traditional way of life, with those aspects of a different culture in a way that permits us to establish a meaningful Indian identity in a changing world. It is our responsibility to determine that relevancy.

Your culture, we say to non-Indian Canadians, is not the culture of your ancestors of one or of five hundred years ago. Nor is ours. Upon us both impinge cultural forces which our traditional societies have not prepared us to face: technological advances in all areas; through modern communications, cultural forces from many very different societies all over the world.

Our identity must be clear; our culture is creative. We are developing a twenty and twenty-first century culture. And it is and will be, an Indian culture.

1. Each culture has a dignity and value which must be respected and preserved.

2. Every people has the right and the duty to develop its culture.

3. In their rich variety and diversity, and in the reciprocal influences they exert on one another, all cultures form part of the common heritage belonging to all mankind.

Article I
International cultural co-operation shall cover all aspects of intellectual and creative activities relating to education, science, and culture.

Article III
Declaration of the Principles of International Cultural Co-operation (UNESCO)
We, the Indian people of Manitoba wish to preserve our culture by reviving for fellow Indians of all ages, the language and the rich array of ancient traditions, by reteaching lost skills by striving for tribal authenticity of arts and handicrafts. Our Indian pride will be stimulated by virtue of this identification with the past. We need funding so that we can revive Indian arts and crafts and restore them to their proper place. We pledge that we will endeavour to preserve and stimulate the growth and expression of Canadian Indian culture so that the Indian people of Manitoba and elsewhere might be recognized for the significant contributions that have been made and continue to be made to the mosaic of the Canadian community in Manitoba.

A program must be developed that will document and catalogue traditional expressions of Indian culture as a basis for programs designed to preserve and stimulate the growth of the Indian contributions to Canadian culture.

This is not to say that we must be encouraged to go back in time nor is our idea to take part in the Canadian society as a folkloric native.

The Indian people of Manitoba invite the governments to become partners with them to preserve, protect, promote, and stimulate the Indian cultural heritage. Without closing doors to Indian people desirous of competing in the white man's world, we ask the Canadian people to help us perpetuate what has been for millenniums, the expression of our own culture. The quality of the Canadian mosaic will benefit. We believe that in promoting arts and crafts, we contribute to social well-being. Arts and crafts development is a long-range and worthwhile investment. Recommendations:

The contributions of the Indian people to the historical development of this country must be recorded.

The federal government must recognize its responsibility for the near destruction of the Indian culture due to past policies and
must realize its obligation to encourage the survival and revival of the arts and of those other institutions whose importance is determined by us.

1. We recommend a program of research, preservation, promotion and expression of the traditional Indian culture and its dissemination through publication of books and pamphlets, films, radio and television.

— This program should have adequate funding designed to subsidize Indian people of Manitoba encouraging them to promote and facilitate the development of various forms of Indian cultural expression in the arts including painting, sculpture, music, sports, special radio and TV series and special publications.

— This program should produce eventually elementary language text books to be made available to Indian groups who wish to perpetuate or relearn their own tribal language or dialect. Our view is that there is still a vital role for the native language which must be preserved as the soul of cultural identity.

— This program should arrange scholarships in the arts, and assist in the organization of local exhibitions and other displays and provide consultation services as required and requested by Indian people.

2. Training facilities must be made available to Indian people who want to specialize in their cultural expression and activities.

3. Public funds now available to Indian people in Canada must be decentralized to representative local or provincial Indian organizations. Furthermore, such organiza-
tions will be held responsible to discuss policies and use such funds for the benefit of the artists in their areas.

4. In training, this program should encourage Art Craft schools and workshops and University art departments to provide courses in marketing techniques and business techniques; institute programs for training craftswork, craftsmen, and encourage businesses to train new workers or retain older workers; improve teaching techniques and methods of selection, establish standards of training; organize and co-ordinate on a local, regional, provincial and national level.

5. In production, it should provide technical assistance in production techniques, design, and business management.

6. In marketing, it should provide technical assistance and training in marketing and encourage able entrepreneurs to enter the field, establish regional warehouses and showrooms to aid in distribution and to serve as regional centres for information and advice; publish a catalogue of arts and crafts products. This program must not become another source of impressive salaries for non-Indian administrators working on programs predestined to fail in their stated intent because they are basically irrelevant to our lives. Although we see co-operation with many interested non-Indians and perhaps direct involvement by some we will select, this program must be devised and directed by Indian people themselves.

7. We recommend that an Arts and Crafts Board of Indian people be established in Manitoba whose specific function will be to formulate and implement policies for the purpose of developing Indian Arts and Crafts.
DEVELOPMENT AREAS
1. HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

By far the majority of Indian people in Canada live in dire poverty. By all scales of measurement, and all across the spectrum — health, welfare, housing — most of us exist in conditions well below the basic level acceptable to a nation with one of the highest standards of living in the world. Throughout this country, Indian people more than any other group, are engaged in a constant, unremitting, daily struggle to survive.

The infant mortality rate for Indian people is twice as high as that for the general population (including Indians) of Manitoba. (See graph No. 1). Mortality among young adults is four times that of this general population. The Manitoba Indian population's morbidity rate from tuberculosis is appalling in itself, and ten times that of the general population (again including Indians). (See graph No. 2).

Causes of death of Indian people point directly to poverty conditions. The three main killers are accidents or violence, respiratory, and circulatory diseases. In contrast, the first three causes of death of the non-Indian Manitoba population are heart disease, cancer and intracranial vascular lesions.

In 1968, federal nurses visiting reserve homes saw over 1,700 cases classed as malnutrition, anemia, underweight.

Why? The factors are physical and social.

Housing. Drafty houses contribute to making Indians susceptible to the full range of respiratory conditions. The house plan itself is based on the use of some form of central forced air heating. Yet in Indian homes the primary source of heat is a stove (wood, oil, coal) in the centre of the house which cuts off the escape route if fire should start while we are sleeping.

Registered Indians in Manitoba have been the victims of sporadic and haphazard minimal dental care. It would be safe to say
INFANT MORTALITY RATE (Per 1000 LIVE BIRTHS)

MANITOBA RESIDENTS

REGISTERED INDIANS

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<td>Rate</td>
<td>90</td>
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that we are dental cripples. The 1963 Annual Report states that
the number of patients seen was 4,443 of a total population of
approximately 34,000. 111 restorations were performed. There is
no staff dentist working full time to develop a dental program.

Overcrowding. Large families in small houses — lead to tense
social situations affecting accidents or violence, and also facilitate
the spread of contagious diseases.

Sanitary Facilities. Only very recently have some few of our
larger reserves been able to acquire water and sewage facilities. If
before, our nomadic way of life made such facilities irrelevant, the
reserve system has made them essential.

Food. The cheapest food is starchy food. Where income is
on or below the poverty level, the cheapest food is what is
bought. Malnutrition is the result of a diet based upon starches.
Our protein comes from our traditional hunting and fishing, yet
our food supplies are constantly threatened by the destruction of
our traditional way of life; by the restriction of law and by the con-
stant life threat of environmental pollution. At this time we do not
know the exact number of reserves in Manitoba whose waters are
unfit for human consumption and whose fish are inedible.

There are no discount supermarkets on reserves: there is
often only one store, and extra transportation costs are added to
retail profit margins that appear to vary according to the whims
of the store manager. The cost of food in northern areas would be
evidence in itself. One example: In Norway House, 25 pounds of
flour costs $2.39. In God's River, the same costs $4.25. It is no
wonder that there are nutritional problems.

The Fact of Poverty. Shortage of jobs, lack of capital, discrimi-
nation from employers and inadequate skills lead to 89% of Indian
family units whose breadwinners work existing on or below a
poverty level income. To indicate the extent of this poverty of the
32% of employables living on reserves, male and female, ages 15-
64 who have an earned income, only 4% earned in excess of $4,000
in 1969. The balance of the population must depend completely or in part on social allowances or other state support.

### TABLE 1

**INDIAN PEOPLE WITH EARNED INCOME LIVING ON RESERVES**

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<th>NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN INCOME</th>
<th>ON RESERVE POPULATION AGES 15-64</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under <em>1.000</em></td>
<td><em>1.000-1,999</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15%</td>
<td>7%</td>
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TOTAL WORK FORCE 12,443 32%

The Welfare System. There are irrationalities and inconsistencies in administration of welfare programs to Indian people. One example is the “country food” concept where allowances are cut. “Northern living allowances” given to in-migrating (usually white families) would be a seeming contradiction to the “country food” allowance cuts. There are many examples of Indian people at the mercy of the whims of welfare administrators.

Clothing. With restriction to reserves, depletion of game in surrounding areas and continued curtailment of hunting rights, the supply of hides for warm clothing has dwindled. Money being scarce and welfare policies inconsistent, it is not easy to obtain adequate clothing. To see women on reserves without coats over cotton skirts in the outdoor winter weather is not rare.
Facilities. Norway House, which has a population of 2,300 people, the hospital serving a population of 10,000 people, has an obsolete hospital which is a fire trap. There are no resident dentists nor is there a pharmacist or a departmental medical officer of health. Occasionally, a dentist may visit Norway House and when he does, he only does emergency dental extractions. The nursing stations near Norway House are visited by a general practitioner once a month. The nursing stations out of The Pas are visited by doctors once a month. Some smaller communities of 100-200 people never have a doctor visit them. Here the nursing stations may be visited by a dentist every three months. Only emergency extractions are done. It is common to see young people with no teeth.

In Southern Manitoba Indian people living on reserves do not have a dentist or a doctor visit. They must first try to get an appointment with a dentist, and then beg a ride 40 to 50 miles to a town. Some dentists have refused to treat Indian people.

There are no mental health, psychiatric or physiotherapy services available in any isolated community either in the North or the South. Patients who have become violently mentally ill are taken to a mental hospital. When they improve and return to their reserve they often become ill again because there are no psychiatrists to adjust or change their medicine when it is necessary.

Manitoba has one medical doctor to supervise public health, medical and dental treatment for almost 36,000 Indians scattered throughout the Province. There is no regional nurse or health educator. One nutritionist must service 54 bands. She cannot hope to visit any band more often than once in three years. The two sanitary inspectors visit a reserve once every 18 months. There are 21 community health workers and 7 community aides. In some cases the Indian community is on the mainland and the nursing station is on an island. During break up and freeze up the people cannot receive nursing care nor are they able to get medical care.

There are no social workers to take care of children and
adults brought into Winnipeg for treatment. Often children are kept in Winnipeg longer than is necessary. Some remain from 6 months to six years. The child becomes a misfit — neither a white person nor an Indian, and fits into neither community.

Patients from isolated areas who need followup care and adjustment of medicine levels, are being left out of present planning. An Indian living in an isolated area and who is not getting any better, cannot go to see another doctor as can a person living in the city. Only if the visiting doctor wishes to send him in, can he obtain the service of a specialist.

Two years ago the Federal Government arbitrarily withdrew its money from tuberculosis and mental health care. This year, the Federal Government is ceasing its funding of acute care hospitals in Manitoba.

There are situations where the communication gap has been neglected, and patients and medical personnel have been hampered because there are no interpreters nor hospital visitors available.

The Federal Government pays the premiums for medicare and hospitalization for registered indigent Indians living on reserves. All those working — no matter how low their income or how large their families have to pay their own premiums whether or not they can afford it. In many cases a non-Indian on welfare in the city is better off than an Indian who works part or even full time.

The question of aboriginal and medical rights must be solved. The Director General of Medical Services has purposely refrained from issuing a directive as to what treatment an Indian can receive. There are no uniform regulations across Canada. Whether an Indian receives medical or dental treatment, and how much, is left to the whims of the Regional and Zone medical and administrative officials. The Indian people are deliberately kept ignorant of what medical and dental treatment they can expect to receive, and are seldom if ever consulted.
Beginning in the period immediately following the signing of the treaties, the Canadian government did provide free medical treatment to the Indian people of Manitoba.

Undeniably, there were humanitarian motives involved, but the most evident and determining factor was the protection of the whites, for historical data indicate that where contagious diseases were concerned, the government considered treatment of the Indians to be in its own interest and in that of the white community.

And so, despite an absence in the treaties of Manitoba of specific provisions for medical services, the government applied a program of free medical services principally to safeguard the white population from the ravages of the diseases affecting Indians.¹

The especially precarious health of the Indian was caused by the coming of the white man. In the 1870's, the Indian people of Manitoba were subject to a protracted bacteriological invasion of unimaginable proportions, an invasion that was brought by, and was the product of the ignorance of, the white man. He did not then know that each human community is preyed upon by a constellation of microbes and viruses peculiar to that community, and to which community members become almost resistant, suffering only minor effects. When two communities with the same life pattern come into contact, the interchange of microbes and viruses has no notable effect because both communities have built up this resistance. However, when one group, relatively free from such a constellation of alien microbes and viruses, comes into contact with a community that has a history of these diseases, the relatively free community falls prey to the alien microbes.

The white man's long experience with a multiplicity of diseases resulted in his having acquired parasites which, increasingly virulent to himself, had a morbid effect when transmitted to the Indian.

To aggravate this phenomenon was the white man's imposition upon the Indian people in Manitoba of a combination of res
trictive factors which intensified the morbid effects of the diseases carried by the white man.

Thus, the Indian suffered untold tragedy from mere contact with the white man. The scope of this tragedy hinged upon the latitude of freedom accorded him by the treaties. Were the Indians permitted a nomadic existence of hunting and fishing, the effects of his contact would have been diluted. Since, however, the treaties immobilized the Indian as a potential agriculturalist, he was predestined to suffering epidemic after epidemic of white man's diseases. By concentrating the Indian population into limited areas, contagion became more inevitable and widespread.²

In addition, the Indian was deprived of the means of building his resistance to disease by a radical change in diet.³ In fact, had our people fully acquiesced to the treaties' invocation, ie. become farmers, it is possible that Manitoban Indians would now be extinct. Most of the lands assigned by treaty were not arable, and had we not persisted in hunting, we would have had no nutritional food. By hunting, we were able to obtain the minimal amount of protein required for sustaining and perpetuating life. Quite logically, we found moose meat preferable to potatoes, even if the preference defied the prescriptions of the government.

Beginning in the 1870's, when the Indians treated with the white man, our diet deteriorated to one more and more devoid of protein, and more and more characterized primarily by carbohydrates or starches. Even in its encouragement to farm, the government focused on potatoes, a patently unnutritious staple, as the major crop. Meanwhile, it persisted in curtailing our hunting activities.

This change was also due to the white man's ignorance and the white man's preoccupation with efficiency and economics: it is cheaper and more convenient to supply 500 pounds of white flour, than to supply an equal amount of meat and vegetables.

If a bacteriological invasion occurred because of the
norance of an intruding white community, the destruction of Indian medicine came as the product of intolerance and arrogance on the part of the white community. Blind to his own ignorance of medicine, the white man categorically repudiated Indian medical knowledge, aspects of which he would later adopt. He initially stereotyped the Indian medicine man as a sort of institutionalized figure of insane irresponsibility encouraged by the Indian community. Only later did he discover that the extinct medicine man was a gifted person whose status was justly honorable and secured only through a process of exhaustive examination, preceded by a process of long and tedious training.

The accomplishments and talents of the medicine man included:

1. An advanced use of herbs for therapeutic and preventative effects,

2. The use of medication to produce analgesia, circulatory stimulation, duress, as well as carminative and laxative effects,

3. A knowledge of vitamins generations before the white man knew of their existence,

4. Effective methods of handling bone fractures, haemorrhage and asphyxiation,

5. The practice of mouth-to-mouth resuscitation,

6. Hypnosis and post-hypnotic suggestion,

7. Caesarian section.

8. Trephination, or a type of skull surgery

This aptitude was peremptorily destroyed. Simultaneously, in the 1870’s and 1880’s, the Manitoba Indian was deprived of both
his health and an effective institution sacred to him. As one Indian Agent characterized the situation in 1839, "At their heathen religious ceremonies (Me-ta-win) every summer the principle work was the teaching of medicine to the younger generation, this is almost done away with now, and with it the knowledge of medicine, a great loss of the Indians. And as they must have medical attention, having so many hereditary diseases among them, and as few can afford to pay a professional man, I am afraid that the expense will have to be borne by the Department. The Medicine Chest supplied by the department has been of great service."  

As a feeble substitute for Indian medicine and as an inadequate remedy for increasingly poorer health, the Government supplied free medical services in the form of the Medicine Chest. This was done from the very beginning. The Medicine Chest is not explicitly mentioned in Treaties One, Two and Five. However, the above mentioned factors, plus the immediate employment of Medicine Chests on our reserves after the treaties were signed, and usage indicate that the demand for free medical services is justified from innumerable points of view.

In the 1870's, smallpox was a special problem, so the Department provided vaccinations and other forms of medical attention. Not only were medical men dispatched to distant reserves to vaccinate the Indians, but as early as 1877, and in 1878 by an Order-in-Council, a Dr. Hogarty was appointed Medical Superintendent to the Indians within the Superintendency of Manitoba. His salary, $1,800.00 plus travelling expenses, indicate that he was not simply to administer vaccine and isolated services. Relatively large, which is not to say adequate, amounts of money for medical purposes were expended by the Department of Indian Affairs in Manitoba on a continuing basis since the 1870's.

In ensuing generations, the conduct of the Department regarding Indian health services was often characterized by irresponsibility. It was not until 1905 that the office of General Medical Superintendent was instituted. The man appointed to fill
this office was Dr P H. Bryce. Dr Bryce began by questioning the medical policies of the Department in a thorough-going manner, thus incurring the enmity of his superiors. In one report on Indian schools, he revealed that within one 15-year period of time that "24% of all the pupils which had been in the schools were known to be dead, while of one school 75% were dead at the end of 15 years since the school opened." In 1909 he discovered, after investigating 243 children of 8 schools in Alberta, that "tuberculosis was present equally in children at every age". When he sought to remedy the situation, the Deputy Minister ignored him. His complaint that a $2.00 per capita expenditure on health services for Indians was insufficient, was also ignored. The same was true with his study in which he demonstrated that the Indian population from 1904 to 1917 should have shown a normal increase of 20,000, but instead showed a decline of 1,639 persons.

During the period 1910 to 1917, Indian Affairs made only minimal efforts to treat epidemic diseases among the Indian population. This is not to assign guilt to that Department since the Department, during that and subsequent periods, had little money to work with. At best, the Department had "about one-half the amount per capita expending by the Canadian population at large." In 1934, the per capita cost for Medical Services was 9.60 per Indian, 31.00 per white.

On July 24, 1944, the Department of Health and National Welfare was created. By Order-in-Council the Indian Health Services Division of the Department of Mines and Resources was transferred as of November 1, 1945, to the Department of National Health and Welfare.

In 1946, National Health announced an improved program of Indian health services, accompanying this announcement with an assessment of Indian Health that revealed "the first three causes of death in order of number are tuberculosis, pneumonia and diseases of the first year of life." These, of course, were the very
diseases which came to afflict the Indians upon exposure to the white man. They were also the same diseases whose epidemic effects were intensified by the restriction of the Manitoba Indian population to reservations and by the radical change in diet precipitated by the Department's quixotic agricultural policy. Although in its 1946 pronouncements the Department of Health reiterated the position that the Federal Government had never been formally obliged to establish a health service for Indians and Eskimos, it did advert to the fact that the diseases which afflicted and had afflicted Indians emanated, and continued to emanate, from the white community. The Honourable Brooke Claxton stated,

"It is a well known fact that completely isolated groups of people provide fertile ground for the spread of infectious diseases to which they are not accustomed. The isolated Indian because of his non-exposure to our infections does not acquire immunity."\(^\text{14}\)

Mr. Claxton also observed that,

"It is the view of the medical officers of the service, who have been long experienced in caring for Indians, that they are inherently as able to resist disease as white Canadians, given the same conditions, including similar exposure."\(^\text{15}\)

He did not state whether it was incumbent upon a specific government agency, in view of the continuing affliction of Indians with white man's diseases, to effect those conditions which would strengthen Indian resistance to disease. He did, however, indicate that the achievement of such conditions depended upon many factors which involved primarily the Indians' general welfare and economic standing. Although Mr. Claxton had disengaged his own Department from any formal responsibility for free medical service, he concluded that,
"Government assistance should as far as possible aim at putting the Indian and Eskimos in a condition in which they can themselves gain a better living as the basis for good health, greater welfare and a better life."\(^{16}\)

His position, although circuitous in its logic, would seem to have been that as an abstract principle free medical services was not an obligation. However, Indian health as an inextricable, substantial feature of Indian life was the indirect object of improvement through government assistance aimed also at improving other aspects of Indian existence.

Mr Claxton did not dwell upon the moral and humanitarian motives which the government earlier associated with its medical services to Indians. Thus, the question unanswered in 1946, as at present, is at what point the government determines its moral and humanitarian obligations to cease. Perhaps this would involve determining that juncture at which the factors which initially provoked a moral and humanitarian response, ceased to have effect. The present exceptionally high incidence of tuberculosis, pneumonia and other respiratory ailments, as well as the high rates of infant mortality, suggest that such factors are still palpable.

As late as 1946, the Federal Government indicated that it was imposing itself the following task:

"In view of the susceptibility to disease of isolated bands consideration is being given to means of providing for the medical examination of all persons going into remote territories. The purpose of this would be to insure that they are free from diseases which might start epidemics"\(^{17}\)

At the same time the Government demonstrated an active preoccupation with regard to influenza, whooping-cough and
measles — as epidemic diseases. A similar preoccupation was manifested toward the question of Indian diet, particularly as associated with the high infant mortality rate. Thus, in each instance the government was dealing with diseases which were virtually identical, in regard to causes and effects, as those which ensured contact with the white man and whose effect were intensified and perpetuated by the reserve policy.

The Honourable Mr Claxton concluded in his 1946 assessment that:

"The Indian and Eskimo population of this country will greatly increase in numbers and wealth if we have any measure of success in our efforts to improve their health. By treaty they are wards of the government of Canada. While it may not be specifically laid down that the government must provide a health service, we are obliged on ordinary grounds of human decency, to exert ourselves to give them every opportunity to attain sound health. This is important even on the grounds of self-interest because the health of the whole country is dependent to a certain degree on the health of every part."\(^\text{16}\)

Twenty-four years after the Department of National Health assumed responsibility for Indian health services, the infant mortality rate was 2.5 times the national average and was noted as a matter of concern particularly in the province of British Columbia, the Yukon, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.\(^\text{19}\) Mortality among Indian teenagers became strikingly high. Indians aged 20-30 comprised 4% of the total population of Canada aged 20-30, but this 4% of the population contributed 16.4% of all the decedents in Canada aged 20-30 or 4 times their proper share. The most serious mortality among young men occurred in British Columbia, Ontario and to a lesser degree, Manitoba.\(^\text{20}\)

It is curious, given the Department of Health's solicitous state-
ments concerning Indian health, that in its definition of the present condition of Indian health, little is said of the past. The salient fact remains that the present health of the Indians of Manitoba is to a degree the product of a protracted bacteriological invasion, given epidemic proportions by a colonialist, oppressive government policy of imposing upon Indians, an alien way of life.
POSITION

These wasted lives are not statistics to us. They are our fathers, our mothers, our children, our kin, our friends, ourselves. They are people we love, and we are in anguish. The Indian people were a part of the development of this nation. There is no reason in the world why Indian people should be so poor.

After a century of injustice and oppression, the existence of Indian people and the Indian way of life in this country is truly a demonstration of the strength and will of a people to survive against odds under which a lesser spirit would succumb.

We have a right to health! And by health we mean physical, mental and social health. If we do not have enough food, housing or security, then we, as Indian people, cannot be healthy.

Yet our food supplies are constantly threatened by the destruction of our traditional way of life, by the restrictions of law(a) the Migratory Birds Convention Act which protect the rights of tourist hunters rather than the rights of the first citizens to have food, by the constant life threat of environmental pollution i.e. mercury, DDT. At this time we do not know the exact number of reserves in Manitoba whose waters are unfit for human consumption and whose fish are inedible.

We ascribe to the definition that everyone has the right to adequate shelter, food and medical services in time of need.

United Nations International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: Article II, states:

"1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate
steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.

2. The States Parties of the present Covenant, recognizing the fundamental right of everyone to be free from hunger, shall take, individually and through international co-operation, the measures, including specific programs, which are needed.

The responsibility for Indians of Canada rests with the Government of Canada. We have rejected the White Paper termination policies of the Government of Canada which have been implemented by the Department of Indian Affairs and northern Development. Likewise, we reject the termination policies of the Government of Canada which have been implemented by the Department of National Health & Welfare in respect to Indians of Canada.

The great disparities in the health status of the Indian people of Manitoba and the non-Indian population should dictate to the Government of Canada the areas of concentration and development.

Our position as Indians of Canada is that the Medicine Chest of treaty-signing days, interpreted in the light of today's context, applies to all Indians of Canada to mean all medical services, medicare, public health services, medicines, hospital services, laboratory services, eye care, dental care, and medical appliances.

Program development should adhere to the principle of full participation, knowledge and consent of Indian people of Canada, the official thinking of medical services of the Department of National Health and Welfare appears to equate more personnel and more capital expenditure with better service. However, this trend in official thinking ignores the silent partner upon whom the existence of Indian health service depends — i.e. registered Indian Canadians.
We maintain that health services should be included in federal legislation respecting the right of Indians. The customary term of medical indigency should be deleted from federal laws, policies, and regulations.

Recommendations:

The government must recognize its responsibility for the health of its first citizens. While it must recognize that we have a right to health, it must also recognize the fact that we will not see the health of Indian people up to the present standard of other Canadians for several generations. This is enough argument to stimulate a total comprehensive health program for Indian people. Yet, in most cases, the health department has been used to curtail incentive by penalizing people with income by dropping its responsibility for the health of Indian people who have jobs. This generation has grown up amidst poverty conditions which leave lasting effects on the health of the individual for a lifetime. A job does not give instant health. Therefore, any Indian person in any circumstance should be entitled to total and free comprehensive medical coverage including medical care, drugs, hospital care, eye care, dental care, transportation, prostheses, or any other medical appliances, public health services.

We hereby submit realistic and basic recommendations to the Government of Canada for a total and comprehensive health view to upgrade the present standards of health of Indian people.

1. Medical Care:

   a) We recommend that the Government of Canada cease implementation of the health plan for Indians of Canada which would have the effect of pushing health care of registered Indians to the provinces. By virtue of the fact that we Indians have a treaty with Her Majesty the Queen, we do not accept services directly from the province;
b) Medicare: A key clause in the master agreement between the Government of Canada and the Province of Manitoba is,

"It is agreed that neither Canada nor the Province shall be deemed by reason of having entered into this agreement to have surrendered, abandoned or given order to the other any of the powers, rights, privileges, or authorities vested in it under the provisions of the British North America Act, 1867, and any amendments thereto, or otherwise, or to have impaired any of such powers, rights, privileges or authorities."

In fact what happens is this: Registered Indians of Manitoba are the responsibility of the Federal Government. Without any agreement signed by an individual registered Indian, his wages are garnished by the Medical Care Insurance Commission, for any amount ranging from a few dollars to several hundred dollars. Indian people were never consulted on this issue. No registered Indian people should be asked to pay for medical coverage.

We recommend that a policy of free and complete medical care to Indian people be established, and that the Federal Government establish its responsibility to upgrade the health of Indian people of Canada.

c) Access to adequate medical advice varies directly according to geographical location. All Indians have the right to health services no matter where they live (including Indian people living in urban ghettos and other provinces.) Therefore, we recommend that regular visits be made by doctors, dentists, sanitation officers, nutritionists, and health educators to all reserves in Manitoba, as well as free medical coverage to an Indian residing anywhere in Canada.
d) Registered Indian children numbering in Manitoba about one hundred at the present time, living away from their homes because they are "medical foster children", are not adequately protected by Medical Services Branch. In many cases, parents are not receiving notice of the condition of their children nor of dates of discharge, nor are parents allowed to visit them. We recommend that such foster children be returned to their parents as soon as medically feasible; and that a monthly board consisting of the medical services regional director, the doctor-in-charge of the case, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood health consultant, and the two medical services social workers review all cases.

2. Drugs:

All Indian people should have access to free drugs as part of the overall total health plan irrespective of place of residence. Each reserve should also have access to medical services and concomitant provision of drugs. For a provisionary measure in its development, there should be a trained lay dispenser and a necessary and safe supply of drugs for geographically isolated reserves.

3. Hospital Care:

There are two hospitals in Manitoba at Norway House and Peguis Reserve funded by the Department of National Health and Welfare. At Norway House, women expecting babies must stay in the same building as the corpses. We recommend that an alternate waiting site be developed. Also, a new hospital could be built in this area which serves 10,000 people north of the 53rd parallel.

For those areas with nursing stations it is submitted that they be open to the people 24 hours a day, and that provision be made for adequate personnel to cover the total day for medical supervision.

We further recommend that district and regional hospitals
throughout Manitoba which have received money from the Department of National Health and Welfare have Indian members on their boards. Indian people must be given the right to participate in decisions affecting their health care.

4. Dental Care:

We recommend that dental care be provided to registered Indians as part of a complete medical service. We further recommend that Indian people be trained as dental hygienists and technicians. Renewed attention should also be directed to family teaching within the home.

5. Eye Care:

Eye problems often develop as a result of other medical infirmities. We recommend that total eye care, including examination, treatment, and corrective lenses, be provided to registered Indians as part of the total comprehensive health plan for Indian people.

6. Personnel:

Canadian health professionals are not equipped by their training to assume positions of shared responsibility for health care with other residents of the community. Indian people must be involved in the planning and decision-making process regarding health.

Formal agreements with the Province of Manitoba to provide public health services are in effect on two (2) Manitoba reserves (since 1963): Brokenhead and Fort Alexander. Pine Creek and Shoal River theoretically receive public health services from Swan River. In actual fact the Indians on these reserves rarely see a public health nurse.

Provision of public health services as presently constituted have not resulted in any marked reduction in the death rates
peculiar to the first year of life or by respiratory disease, accidents and violence.

We recommend:

a) A standard of living that will ensure adequate foods and housing;

b) Increased attention to family life education utilizing resources and techniques developed in other fields;

c) Increased use of paraprofessional workers;

d) That the education of professionals in public health be expanded to enable these people to be of use to low income groups;

e) That the following positions be filled at regional level.

— A Director of Indian health services for Manitoba,

— 5 medical staff officers,

— 3 health educators,

— a regional nursing officer,

— 2 social workers,

— 2 full time physiotherapists,

— 1 full time psychiatrist,

— 1 full time psychologist.
f) That a visiting nursing program be instituted to supplement the present school health and clinic programs. We find that nurses in the outlying stations spend the greatest percentage of their time in treatment functions with not enough time for health teaching.

g) We agree with the Canadian Pediatric Society's recommendation in their White Paper of November, 1970:

"That a training program for (Pediatric) nurse practitioners be sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare, provincial governments and selected medical faculties and schools of nursing in order to prepare nurses for an expanded role in the provision of comprehensive health service to children in isolated and low income areas."

7 Transportation.

There is a great need for better and more efficient transportation services for medical problems, especially with geographically isolated reserves. We recommend serious and considerably increased attention be given to this problem, especially concerning northern and isolated reserves.

We further recommend that this be part of the total health plan for complete medical services.

8. Protheses:

This also must be included in the total health plan for Indian people. We recommend that special funding be set aside at Indian Affairs Branch regional office for these medical appliances. We do not see this as a part of any reserve's self administration grant
because the funding for that program has been inadequate from its inception.

9. Public Health Services:

There is no continuity in the field of health education in the Manitoba Region of Medical Services Branch. We recognize this specialized area as one in which Indian people could give useful service. To this end incentives for entering the public health field should be given to Indian students. We recommend that full time interpreters be hired for the vicinity of Winnipeg to liaise with Medical Services Branch, all hospitals, doctors and the Friendship Centre, and that interpreters be hired for all nursing station health centres.

10. Northern Health:

One of the greatest challenges in the medical field presently lies with effective medical attention in the northern or isolated communities. Many of the challenges have yet to be faced realistically by the government and the total medical profession. These include:

- climatic elements
- poorer standard of health and poverty in the northern populations
- transportation problems
- medical resources and facilities
- hazardous duty to personnel

a) We would recommend a closer working relationship between the Government of Canada, the medical profession, and the northern and isolated residents in problem-solving activity in these areas.
b) We recommend to the Canadian Nurses Association and the Canadian Medical Association to institute programs involving realistic and basic training of personnel for the north. The fact that one of the greatest deterrents to medical personnel in northern health is the constant struggle to survive in elements almost always foreign to their own experience, points towards more realistic training programs. Medical personnel must come with a deeper understanding of working with lower income groups, as well as total communities. We further recommend that the idea of “Medex” for the the north be considered as a provisional measure. There must also be recognition for the need of further training for nurses suitable in conditions where independent medical action from the doctor is sometimes required.

11. We submit that a Board of Health be established consisting of:

a) Regional medical director

b) Elected representatives of the Indian people.

The duties of this board would be as of any health board with extension of responsibilities in the areas of meeting with total health teams involved in any one community; operate orientation programs for the present health team, assessing total community needs in consultation with the recipients of services; research and develop programs required and requested based on individual and collective community needs; and to survey current medical literature and be prepared to pass on this information to communities.

12. Social Development and Services:

a) Appeal Board
We recommend that an Appeal Board be set up immediately with broad terms of reference to hold hearings in Indian communities when requested, and that there
be representatives from the Indian communities, and provincial and federal governments.

b) Welfare Study
We recommend that a study be made on Welfare and Social Assistance as is being made available to Indians; and that Indian Affairs Branch make funds available for the study to be conducted by Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

c) We further recommend that the major responsibility centre must be the reserve. It must have resources for its own planning and priorities based on its needs.

d) New capital must be available for economic development, as well as for welfare payments.

e) There must be more co-ordination of social and health services for Indian people, especially for those not residing on reserves.

f) Northern or isolated residents must be protected against economic exploitation. There are two alternatives available to welfare recipients in rural communities in Manitoba. One is to demand more money for welfare because present allowances are too low. Or one could logically show a rationale for inflation, or a decrease in the buying power of the dollar. By means of a comparison of costs of living in various communities, one could assess an upgrading of allowances compatible with welfare cheques in urban centres. A further point that could be justifiably proved is the irrationality of the "country food" concept whereby allowances are cut. There must be supplements if the income is inadequate for the size of the family.

g) The Policy of adoptions must be clearly defined in regards to Indian children.
h) It is recommended that the Chief and Council have the authority to make by-laws similar to the Child Abandonment Act, and be provided with resources for the communities to decide in the placement of these children.

i) There must be a monitoring system whereby Indian people are informed of their rights to existing services.

j) Indian people must be involved as health and social ombudsmen and health and social advocates.

It is clear that the upgrading of the standards of living of Indian people in the field of Health and Social Services must be one of the priorities of the Government of Canada. The poverty, the average age of death, the death rate, the infant mortality rate, the tuberculosis rate, and the rate of violent deaths are all significantly higher than that of the general population. Most of the measurements indicate a spectrum of poverty conditions. We submit that there must be stress by the Government of Canada on excellence of programs to combat these conditions, and a redirection of energies and resources in these areas.
FOOTNOTES — (HEALTH)

1. Report of J. Provencher to the Superintendent General, October 30, 1875, in Canada Sessional Papers, 1876, (Number 7) 37. In his report Provencher stated, that when he discovered that an epidemic among the Indians of St. Peter's Reserve "was of a very malignant type, and in danger of reproducing itself amongst the surrounding white population, if not mitigated I authorized him (the medical man) to take such steps as he might think proper to give relief and to make all possible efforts to prevent the spread of the mischief." As late as 1946, the Honourable Brooke Claxton favored health services for Indians "on the grounds of self-interest because the health of the whole country is dependent to a certain degree on the health of every part."


3. Ibid., 119.

4. Ibid., 120.


8. Ibid., 5.

9 Ibid., 7.
10. Ibid., 9.


12. Ibid.

13. Report of the Committee of the Senate and House of Commons, Appointed to Examine and Consider the Indian Act, Minutes of Proceedings, June 6, 1946, 67

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Ibid., 75.

17. Ibid., 74

18. Ibid., 76


20. Ibid., 2:53.
2. HOUSING

Most homes on Manitoba reserves, and most housing Indian people are able to occupy in urban areas, are graphic examples of the conditions of abject poverty in which far too many of us must live.

Housing is indicative of, and interrelated with, prevailing physical, social, economic and cultural forces existing within the community.

It is also indicative of a nation’s treatment of its minorities.

1. The States Parties to the present Covenant recognize the right of everyone to an adequate standard of living for himself and his family, including adequate food, clothing and housing, and to the continuous improvement of living conditions. The States Parties will take appropriate steps to ensure the realization of this right, recognizing to this effect the essential importance of international co-operation based on free consent.


In Indian communities today, housing standards in both quality and quantity do not meet the minimum requirements of the National Building Code.

Only in the past ten years, have the Canadian public and their government begun to take seriously the housing situation on our reserves, a concern reflected in spite of new housing programs and the provision of some facilities now accepted as basic by the Canadian society.
But pretty paint colors and lights do not necessarily reflect conditions within.

In 1969, only 2% of our houses on these reserve or Crown lands had sewer or septic tank facilities; only 2% had running water; only 3% had indoor bath and toilet. We do not put up with these conditions for two or three years of "pioneering", we live with these conditions all our lives; we do not have the financial resources ourselves to improve them.

Heating systems are often irrelevant to climatic and other reserve conditions. Drafty, ill-heated, poorly constructed houses, however prettily painted, do nothing to discourage the development of the respiratory ailments with which we are plagued.

Table 1 points out that half of our homes on reserve or Crown land have less than 500 square feet of floor space.

But according to the specifications for new houses permitted under the federal government's public housing scheme, 600 square feet is the minimum allowed for gross floor area. Thus an unusually large portion of the dwelling stock on the reserves in Manitoba is composed of very small homes.

Our homes are badly overcrowded. On that basis alone, our housing problem can be described as serious.
Table 1

HOUSING ON RESERVE OR CROWN LAND, OCCUPIED BY INDIAN PEOPLE OF MANITOBA, DEC. 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Houses on Reserve</td>
<td>4,030</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of houses with</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>following square footage*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-500</td>
<td>2,003</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>501-1000</td>
<td>1,634</td>
<td>41%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-and over</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Period houses built*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Before 1950</td>
<td>737</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951-1960</td>
<td>652</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1970</td>
<td>2,020</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Partial Data Only
According to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a dwelling unit is said to be overcrowded when the number of persons living in that dwelling exceeds the number of habitable rooms. The average family size for Manitoba Treaty Indians in December, 1969, was 4.3 and there were 4943 family units, and 4030 houses on reserve or Crown land at that time.

According to Table 2, over 81% of the homes occupied by Indian people are overcrowded. The sheer magnitude and extent of the overcrowding problem on Manitoba Indian reserves gives added emphasis to the seriousness of the housing situation in general.

Overcrowding is also a phenomenon contributing to certain social, interpersonal situations. Bearing in mind that one of the three principle causes of death of registered Indian people is violence (homicide, suicide) and accidents, the problem of overcrowding takes on serious additional implications.

Those of us who attempt to gain steady employment in a growth centre off the reserve receive little financial encouragement with respect to housing. As well, there is virtually no information at our disposal relating to the physical development of the town or city such as land use and development, alternate service systems and costs, taxation, quality of environment and other economic factors influencing our decisions on housing alternatives.

In urban areas, we are often faced with discrimination however subtly rationalized by landlords who simply refuse to rent to us because we are Indian. This is most often a problem in precisely those white socio-economic groups offering for rental, accommodation at rates we can afford.
Table 2

NUMBERS OF ROOMS IN HOUSES OCCUPIED
BY INDIAN PEOPLE ON RESERVES OR CROWN LAND,
IN MANITOBA, 1969

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of Houses by No. or Rooms (Excluding Bathrooms)</th>
<th>No. Houses</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 room</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 rooms</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 rooms</td>
<td>727</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 rooms</td>
<td>619</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 rooms</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 or more</td>
<td>749</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,030</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Or we must cope with the slum landlord out for maximum profit, at absolute minimum cost. We are only too used to drafts from poor construction, dangerous wiring, mice and rats, leaky plumbing, health and fire hazards well above the maximum theoretically allowed by the relevant department.

Repair and replacement, involving for most of us living in urban areas, massive amounts of "red tape", are practically impossible for us to obtain.

The new off-reserve housing program allows registered urban Indians to purchase modestly priced houses with loans guaranteed by the federal government. This program has had some successes for those able to raise the down payment, as only too few of us are able to do.

In the urban areas, housing conditions add to our problems of poverty and discrimination, and contribute to our feelings of frustration and despair.

"...to the extent that the national economy will permit, the Department of Indian Affairs is authorized to assist Indian people in securing suitable living accommodation, including water and sanitary services, electrification and improved roads on reserves as well as roads linking reserves with adjacent communities." ¹

Financing for assistance for on-reserve housing programs come from Indian Affairs, through three programs, all requiring cash contributions by those of us who will inhabit these houses.

The Subsidy Housing Program (previously known as the Welfare Housing Program) provides housing accommodations with small down payments for those of us unable to finance our own homes. Maximum grant is $8,500.00 per house.
The On-Reserve Re-Establishment Housing program is to enable those of us regularly employed to build houses. The program is subject to CMHC for a repayable first mortgage. Again the grant is to the maximum of $8,500.00. DIAND approval must be obtained before we can make any commitment to purchase a house.

The Band Administered housing program is a new project to permit band councils to develop revenue-producing (by sale or rental) housing programs for welfare cases, widows, unmarried mothers, the physically handicapped, aged or infirm. Again, the maximum grant for a house is $8,500.00. The Band Council must be able to prove both the credit responsibility and cash contribution of residents.

There are a number of weaknesses in these programs, some of which are the following.

88% of Indian families whose breadwinners work exist on or below a poverty level income. It is therefore rare that a house worth much more than $8,500.00 can be built. The problem of overcrowding persists. Much of the $8,500.00 is eaten up in transportation costs, and labor, especially emphasized in the northern areas.

We ask the Canadian public to consider, in the early 1970's, precisely what quality of house can be constructed with approximately $8,500.00. We ask the Canadian public also to consider that these materials must be transported hundreds of expensive miles to our reserves and the cost of transportation and labor.

These houses are designed by non-Indian specialists in air conditioned, neon-lit city offices. Visits to reserves, especially in the role of government officials, do not lead to in-depth understanding of the conditions, physical and social, in our communities.

These programs in all aspects apply equally throughout the Province. Manitoba has a large land mass (over 160 million acres).
Social conditions vary considerably; this is not reflected in the programs. Physical conditions vary greatly; nor are these variations reflected in the programs. Heating systems that might be effective in some areas of the province, for example, could be disastrous in others.

If a meaningful housing program is to apply realistically to actual situations, the issues, standards and values of each community must be understood and also, obviously, the physical conditions. Only thus can there be developed viable directions for housing prototypes and improvements.

Tables No. 3 and No. 4 illustrate the housing requirements necessary from 1969 to 1979 on the Manitoba Indian reserves. Table No. 4 points out that housing needs fall into two categories (i) the replacement of the existing stock where necessary and (ii) the provision of new housing for the new family formation. As a result of the high ratio of family formation among the younger age groups and our present high fertility rate, the reserve population is likely to continue increasing. As one might deduct by means of Table No. 3, there is an urgent need for a large scale housing program if we are to be provided with decent and adequate housing over the next few years. According to Table No. 3 the average number of houses required to be constructed each fiscal year from 1969 to 1974 is 653. During the 1969-70 fiscal year there were only 319 houses constructed or less than half of the required amount. It is worthwhile noting the rather large number of dwellings requiring replacement (Table No. 4) most due to poor quality construction when they were initially built.

When analyzing the requirements by region it would appear that the Clandeboye/Fisher River District requires the largest number of additional houses, followed by The Pas District and Island Lake. Except during the second period Brandon and Norway House appear to need an equivalent number of houses. During the 1969-1970 fiscal year Clandeboye/Fisher River and The Pas Districts also show the greatest deficits in housing construction. From Tables No. 3 and No. 4 it is evident that if housing construc-
### Table 3
**HOUSING REQUIREMENTS**
**MANITOBA REGION**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brandon</td>
<td>947</td>
<td>1201</td>
<td>469 (54)x</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clandeboyne-Fisher River</td>
<td>1540</td>
<td>2020</td>
<td>1119 (94)</td>
<td>671</td>
<td>1790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island Lake</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>820</td>
<td>554 (34)</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norway House</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>744</td>
<td>453 (44)</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Pas</td>
<td>1029</td>
<td>1310</td>
<td>671 (93)x</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>1051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4750</td>
<td>6095</td>
<td>3266 (319)</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>5230</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Average number of houses required to be constructed each fiscal year (1969-70) inclusive in the MANITOBA REGION

- 1969-1973/4 period: 653 each year for a total of 3266
- 1974-1978/9 period: 392 each year for a total of 1964
- 1969-1978/9 period: 523 each year for a total of 5230

In the fiscal year 1969-1970, 319 houses were constructed

Deficit of 334 units per year when compared with the need spread out over the first 5 year period, or 204 housing units per year over the 10 year period

x) Number of houses constructed during 1969-1970 fiscal year
### Table 4

Difference between number of families living on the reserve and available housing units

<table>
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<tr>
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<th>1968-73</th>
<th>1974-78</th>
<th>1979-84</th>
<th>1985-90</th>
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<td>1969</td>
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<td>163</td>
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<tr>
<td>1970</td>
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<td>1971</td>
<td>999</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>324</td>
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<td>1972</td>
<td>909</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>226</td>
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<tr>
<td>1973</td>
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<td>254</td>
<td>203</td>
<td>116</td>
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<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>264</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>108</td>
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</table>

**Districts**

- The Pas
- Norway House
- Island Lake
- Pishe River
- Glendale
- Brandon
tion is to continue at its present rate over the next ten years, the housing situation on our reserves will deteriorate and the total deficit will have grown into roughly 2000 units. Accelerated activity in the actual construction of new units is essential if the acute housing situation is to be remedied.

From the teepee of the plains to the wi’kwaam of the central woodlands and the winter ashnikan, our houses were indicative of the adaptability of our tribes, and of our independence and ability to survive in varieties of areas and boundaries.

The housing differed amongst our tribal societies. It had to be versatile, directed by many factors such as climate, the expected occupancy in a certain area, the use of the dwelling (dance houses, smoke houses). Much of our housing depended on the sturdy buffalo hide.

But the buffalo was not to survive and when in addition, the movements of our bands were restricted to reserves, we found we had to build permanent structures for our homes. Thus we built our log houses, meanwhile awaiting action on the government’s solemn promise to institute a national policy to assist us in erecting permanent homes on our reserves.

In 1914, Indian Act (Section 92) included the following:

“92. The Superintendent General may:

(e) make such regulations as he deems necessary

and for directing the alteration or destruction of any such building which is, in the opinion of the Superintendent, unfit for human habitation, preventing the overcrowding of premises used for human habitation by limiting the number of dwellers in such premises;”

Thus the government recognized the poor housing conditions
of reserves at that time, and its responsibility to help us to improve them. However, we have seen few indications of any significant improvements.

Assistant Deputy Minister Begevin stated concern in his letter on Housing and Community Development on April 3, 1970.

"The Federal Government, represented by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, recognizes the principle that adequate living accommodation on Indian reserves is extremely important."

So far the emphasis on economic factors involved has had more of an immediate effect on the capacity of the individual family and community to improve our housing conditions. For example, availability of employment permeated by what is presently assumed to be the overall economic potential of a community has been a major determinant of the level and type of housing considered to be feasible, and the likelihood of a housing stock to be well maintained. The economic future of many isolated northern communities as well as some fringe communities and southern reserves is deemed uncertain. With the present underemployment, rapid population growth and depletion of natural resources (furs and fish) the concept of a realistic and effective housing policy appears to require the utmost utilization of local manpower, coupled with planning and design reflecting local needs, standards, desires and skills. Adequate housing is an integral part of any development plan and as such it is essential, if other programs such as education, health and employment are to be effective.
POSITION

We concur with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural rights including housing, one of whose signers was Canada.

The Indian people of Manitoba require adequate housing, housing that encourages health rather than disease, housing constructed to endure and not to disintegrate after a few prairie winters, housing available on a realistic financial basis that those living on or below poverty level incomes can afford, not to have those minimum down payments we who must struggle to survive cannot attain, housing with sufficient space to encourage health interpersonal relationships rather than tension leading to conflict, housing that at least meets the standards the general Canadian public sets for its own, housing based upon the conditions and situations in our communities.

The Canadian government must recognize our right to adequate housing. We submit to the Canadian public that adequate housing is not only our right as Indian people, the aboriginal owners of this land, and as citizens of a country with one of the highest standards of living in the world, but that the social well-being of such an important part of this country reflects and contributes to the social well-being of the whole.

In order that any housing program may be effective, it is necessary that (1) types of programs, definition of need, house designs, construction methods and materials not be applied to different reserves within a vast region with a variety of climatic and other conditions, or even to communities within smaller regions, for needs, social and other conditions vary greatly from community to community; (2) such decisions must be made by the communities themselves, as the only bodies competent accurately to appreciate requirements and effectively to plan programs. They must be made by those directly elected by and responsible to the people living in our communities, i.e., the Band Councils. Band councils must be responsible for initiation, direction and adminis-
tration of housing programs on their own reserves, and must have the resources to do so.

Those of us searching for housing in urban and other off-reserve employment areas must be provided with information on housing conditions and alternatives in these areas. There must be developed programs to alleviate substandard urban housing conditions quickly and effectively.

Recommendations:

1. 
   a) That the federal government immediately allocate the necessary funds to establish a Manitoba regional office and area offices staffed by competent personnel with all necessary authority to research and develop housing programs directly with our communities using the elected provincial and regional representatives of the MIB as liaison only.

   b) That the federal government provide the resources necessary for the Chiefs and Band Councils to design, develop and administer such programs.

   c) That as such programs are developed, the present programs be phased out and funds presently allocated to them to administer such programs.

   d) Again, the decisions regarding definitions of requirements and priorities, construction methods and materials, design, and methods of payment, must be the clear responsibility of the Chiefs and Band Councils of the communities.
as the directly elected representatives of the people themselves.

e) That at the basis of all community housing development programs, be the understanding that housing is not only shelter, not essential for physical health, but also that as homes, it affects all aspects of personal and social well-being. Quality is as necessary as quantity.

f) That realistic assessments be made of the cost of adequate housing construction materials, including transportation costs.

g) That monies allocated for housing not be used for construction of e.g. office buildings.

h) That Indian people from the communities themselves be provided with training and employment as foreman, construction workers, etc.

i) That there be new monies available for repairs.

j) That there be fire insurance coverage for each house being built.

2. That the federal government clearly recognize its fundamental responsibility for housing for Indian people.

3. a) That beginning immediately and not to wait until new community housing
development programs are underway, the subsidy housing program cease to require payment.

b) That also beginning immediately, given the fact that 89% of our families whose breadwinners work must exist on or below poverty level incomes, and given the high cost of food, clothing and necessities especially in communities where there is only one retail outlet and high transportation costs, arrangements be made to lower the initial down payment for a house by at least 50% in all cases and more in communities where employment and cost-of-living conditions warrant this.

4.  

a) That the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and/or Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation working in conjunction with MIB representative immediately provide the funding necessary to research and develop a program to provide information on housing conditions and alternatives to Indian people either presently in urban or other off-reserve employment areas, or considering moving to them. That not only should such material be made available, but the program as developed should provide the means to take the initiative in getting this material to Indian people in these areas.

b) That the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in conjunc-
tion with MIB provincial and regional representatives, should research and develop on off-reserve housing ombudsman-type program whereby the Department, using its good offices with other government agencies, would have personnel specifically designated in all regions and speedy, efficient procedures clearly delineated so that substandard housing conditions, exploitation by landlords, etc. may be quickly and effectively corrected.

FOOTNOTES


   Tables 1 and 2 are derived from data obtained from Statistical data, Survey of Indian Bands and Reserves. Departmental Statistics Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, January, 1971.

   Tables 3 and 4 are derived from data obtained from same as above.
3. EDUCATION

Recent provincial statistics indicate the degree to which education has failed us.

Of those Indian children who entered school in 1951-52, only 1.9% reached Grade Twelve compared to 33.9% for all of Manitoba. Of those who entered school in 1957-58, 5.4% of the Indians reached Grade Twelve compared to 60.5% of other Manitobans. Based on past trends, a projection of those Indian children who started school in 1967-68 and should be in Grade Twelve in 1980 indicates that 10.8% will make it compared to 90.0% for Manitoba. See Table. No.1

This is a shocking illustration of monumental failure. The gap is as great as if we had never entered the field of academic education. With only 10% of our students reaching Grade Twelve compared to 90% for Manitoba, it is a complete disaster. The gap is of major significance as we are striving for social and economic equality.

There have been obvious weaknesses in the administration of an educational program for Indian people over the years. Some are as follows:

1. Absence of a clearly defined educational objective.

2. Failure to provide a meaningful educational program.

3. Lack of qualified teaching personnel. Simple academic qualification is not sufficient.

4. Absence of parental involvement in determining the school program.

5. Failure to genuinely consider the relevance of Indian reality to new programs such as the one on integration.
Table 1

ENROLLMENT BY GRADE IN RELATION TO THE INITIAL GRADE 1 ENROLLMENT (%)

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<th>YEAR OF</th>
<th>Gr 2</th>
<th>Gr 3</th>
<th>Gr 4</th>
<th>Gr 5</th>
<th>Gr 6</th>
<th>Gr 7</th>
<th>Gr 8</th>
<th>Gr 9</th>
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<th>Gr 12</th>
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</table>

(6) With Grade 1 enrollment as the base equal to 100%

(7) Enrollment in Schools and Universities 1951-52 to 1975-76 Staff Study No 20 — Economic Council of Canada. The retention rate for Manitoba would be slightly higher if inter-provincial migration is considered. The difference is about 0.2% for 1960-61 and 4% for 1967-68 (From Staff Study No 25 Economic Council of Canada). This column represents Grade 12 enrollment in Manitoba related to Gr 1, 11 years earlier.

(8) A retention rate over 100% indicates an increase in enrollment from one grade to the next higher one a year later. This may be due to students enrolled in the schools at grades higher than the grade 1 level It was assumed, when Grade 1 was set at 100% that all enrollment would be initiated at Grade 1. This trend in retention rates may be indicative of youth migration from a region where their enrollment statistics were not included in the Indian Affairs Branch Annual Reports or they were not part of the formal education system period to a region where they entered the education system initially at grades higher than Grade 1. The migration came to a peak in 1962-63 and then started to diminish.
6. Facilities, as late as 1956, on many reserves can be described as being medieval in atmosphere.

The Fort Alexander Indian Residential School was described as a "veritable fire trap". At Dauphin, Pine Creek, Sandy Bay and at the Birtle, Brandon, Portage la Prairie, and Cross Lake residential schools overcrowding, poor ventilation, poor lighting, poor heating, and cramped quarters were characteristic. That these conditions existed eight years after an "enlightened" policy of education was recommended by the government for adoption could only be construed as either the results of gross incompetence or ruthless indifference.

7 Disregard for the essential feature of education which is a total experience. Unrecognized were questions pertaining to Indian language, Indian culture, Indian life and customs, and the participation of the Indian parent in the shaping of education.

Many of the weaknesses noted still exist today. As a result, education or the attainment of it, continues to demand a high price of the Indian student.

"The students very often face difficulties in the use and understanding of the English language. Often their language problems are compounded in high school by the increased difficulty in materials used.

Very often, attendance in high school means a move away from home, often to towns and cities. Students face the problem of adjusting to a different society and facing the loneliness of being away from loved ones."
They must adjust to schools which, compared to their community schools, are enormous and impersonal. They must adjust to the system of moving from room to room meeting teacher after teacher each of whom know little about him.

He is suddenly expected to compete with students who have lived in the area all their lives and know English well. He is expected to participate but may be embarrassed to do so because of his lack of English or embarrassment at his accent. It isn't long before he begins to appear rather stupid to his fellow classmates. He realizes this and withdraws even further. The rest of the story is simple: frustration, loneliness, truancy, drop-out."

The educational process to which we are subjected today remains open to criticism. It remains inadequate. We are subjected to school programs designed for the majority urban, middle-class society. Particular needs are not being met. This arises, in part, from the fact that too often only the standard curricula and materials prepared for all schools in the province are being used. More serious is the fact that many of the teachers are of middle-class backgrounds and bring with them their values. They impose these values upon their students. They are not sufficiently experienced or knowledgeable in cross-cultural situations and are, therefore, not alert to adapting curricula the better to meet their students' needs.

In the last two or three years the educational institutions are finally beginning to take action in the direction of better preparation for teachers moving into cross-cultural situations, curriculum adaptation, and more suitable instructional materials.

In the area of languages, recent research indicates that across Canada 50% of the Indian children enter school with no facility in the English language. Another 30% enter school with some knowledge of English while only 20% are fluent in English when they begin school. Though very few Indian children are fluent in English, it has continued to be their language of instruction.
For some inexplicable reason, the Education Division of the Department of Indian Affairs, which is responsible for the education of Registered Indian children, has not prevailed upon its teachers to gain knowledge of any of the Indian languages. They believe that mastery of English is the key to the Indian child's academic progress. While this belief may be true, the means of achieving the end is important. Instruction in the native language for the first few years should have been implemented ages ago. English, during this time, could have been taught systematically as a second language. Instruction in the child's own tongue would give the child more security and enjoyment in school. Learning after all goes far beyond gaining a knowledge of the English language.

Integration

In 1948, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons recommended a policy of integration. The intent of this policy was to have Indian children educated in provincial schools. The earliest figures available indicate that in Manitoba in 1957, 66 students out of a total Indian school population of 4,647 were attending provincial schools. The figures for 1970-71 indicate that 5,138 students of a total Indian school population of 10,796 attend provincial schools. Today, 50% of Indian students are in attendance in provincial non-Indian schools.

Integrated education was proposed with the hope of bringing us into the mainstream of Canadian life. This policy reflected the frank acknowledgement that we had been accorded inadequate facilities and ineffective instruction.

Despite the goodwill that underlay this new policy, no genuine appraisal was made of its relevance to the Indian reality. Again we were confronted with the invitation to participate in the annihilation of our culture and our way of life. The government had simply rephrased this long standing invitation in more delusory language. The essential factor, remaining from earlier days, was that the government was not prescribing education for
us, but re-imposing a series of hurdles which were not only not congenial to a true educational process, but antipathetical to it. To this paradox of well-meaning intentions and destructive formulae the Indian was expected to yield a ready assent.

Today, we witness the results of over twenty years of integration. It is obvious that though an increasing number are integrated each year, integration has failed to provide a successful education program. Many non-Indians believe that we have failed education but the truth of the matter is that education has failed us. It has failed us because it was imposed upon us, was not relevant to us, nor were we given the opportunity of being involved in designing it. Education has failed to recognize our cultural values and customs, our language, and our contributions to mankind. It has led to failure and the lowering of self-esteem.

The history of Indian education up to the present day reflects a definition of education in terms of schooling, a definition that reflects a very narrow approach to the entire question.

The treaties between the Indian people of Manitoba and the Canadian government gave to us the right to request the establishment of schools on reserves. Treaties No. 1 and No. 2 between Her Majesty the Queen and the Chippewa and Cree Indians of Manitoba signed in 1871 reads:

"And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it."

Similar statements appear in the treaties that followed. Having bargained for this inclusion we were, after requesting such schools, denied even a minimum of discretionary power in their operation. The right to request the assignment of a school was by some naturally considered to mean that we could subsequently have some rights in determining the developing nature of the
schools. One white agent logically concluded that "one of the results of the treaties (could be) to make the Chiefs believe they had some right to a voice regarding the character and management of their schools, as well as regarding the initiatory steps of their establishment." 3

The treaties did not originate formal education for Indians in Manitoba. Schooling, in the form of religiously administered institutions, had begun on a limited basis early in the 19th century. In 1822, the Anglican Church organized a school at Red River and instructed a small number of Indian boys in agriculture and in other subjects. Within six weeks, there were four schools in the area and these eventually developed into the first boarding school in what was to become the Province of Manitoba. In 1840, the Reverend James Evans established a mission and school at Norway House and began the teaching of Indians in Cree syllabics.

In the late 1870's, after the signing of the treaties in Manitoba, the government increased the number of schools of this type — mission or day schools. In 1886, there were 47 day schools in Manitoba, in 1912, after new boundaries were effected for the province, there were 41 day schools and 1941, 44 day schools.

The day or mission schools built after the signing of the treaties in Manitoba in the late 1870's were not acceptable to the Indian people. Most objected to having their children converted to a religion that was not their own. Indian people who wanted education were forced to accept religious conversion. As late as 1905 and later, education was refused by a number of bands who rejected the religion of the white man. Many believed that in the hereafter, they would be separated from their children if their children had a different religion. Thus, freedom of religion which had been held sacred was denied us.

Most of those who accepted education saw their children receive a type of schooling which would not be considered as such within the context of a positive definition of education. No truly concerted effort was made to educate us. Most of the teachers and
administrators blamed notorious failures in schooling on the Indians' lack of consistency in attending school. Other teachers unconsciously destroyed whatever prospect of success there may have been by attributing to us an inability to reason in abstract and subtle terms. Invoking an almost romantic image of the "noble savage", the Indian child was described as close to nature, with acutely developed animal faculties, but with limited reasoning ability.

In most instances, the essential shortcoming in education was the lack of qualified personnel. One Indian Agent noted:

"It is often said that the roving habits of the Indians are against any lasting benefit being derived by their children from the day school, but experience has shown that in every case where there was a teacher who had the proper qualifications, he could always show good results and have a fair average attendance all the year." 

Earlier, it was observed that "the children, when at school, are very apt learners, but it is much to be regretted that the teachers are very incompetent to teach anything beyond the simple elements." 

The lack of a coherent program of education further added to the unattractiveness of schooling to the Indian community. At the reserve level, education frequently meant chaos and confusion. There was competition between missionaries, disputes between them and the government. This contentious atmosphere and the absence of a defined educational policy, affected or was, at least, congenial to a proliferation and perpetuation of bizarre and destructive practices. Matters of critical importance were sometimes determined by almost random factors. In many reserves, some children were taught in Cree, others in English and no attempt at uniformity was ever made nor was any attempt made to establish which form of instruction was most effective. Sometimes mis-
sionaries sabotaged government efforts to have children educated at boarding schools simply because this meant "loss of souls" to a particular missionary group.

The purpose of Indian education from the very beginning was to remove the Indian child from the influence of the parent. Of the adult Indian, the following comment by an inspector of the Indian agencies of Manitoba, seems characteristic:

"Little can be done with him. He can be taught to do a little at farming, and at stock raising, and to dress in a more civilized manner, but that is all. The child again, who goes to a day school, learns little, and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combatted."

It appears that we were considered pagans and incorrigible nomads.

The institutions devised as a means of isolating the child from his parents and the influence of the reserve were the industrial and boarding schools. The former, in their inception and development, were influenced by the writings of the Reverend Dr Ryerson. In a report dated 1848 which dealt specifically with the subject of manual labour schools, Ryerson advised the Department of Indian Affairs that the manual labour school should be transformed into the "Industrial School" where, in addition to manual labour, there would be a stress on religion and industry. Despite this, Ryerson believed that we should not be taught carpentering, cabinet-making, tailoring, etc. presumably because we would not be able to compete with the white worker in these areas.

The dominant force in the Industrial School, according to Ryerson, was to be religion. The superintendent was to be a pastor, school master and farmer. The Department accepted virtually
all of Ryerson's advice with the exception of the prohibition on carpentering, cabinet-making, etc.

When the concept of the Industrial School was introduced into the House of Commons, Sir Hector Langevin explained the Government's attitude thus:

"They (Industrial Schools) have succeeded very well in the United States, and it is quite likely that they will succeed here as well. The fact is, that if you wish to educate these children you must separate them from their parents during the time they are being taught. If you leave them in the family they may know how to read and write, but they will still remain savages, whereas by separating them in the way proposed, they acquire the habits and tastes of civilized people."

The Industrial School, of which there was one in Manitoba in 1890, followed the Ryerson plan in substance. It was operated by missionaries, thus assuring a religious influence. The Indian Department did not become intimately involved with the educational process afforded by the Industrial Schools, it simply provided the buildings and paid the missionaries for the board, clothing and education of each child. The missionaries supplied the furniture, textbooks, and the salaries of the superintendents and teachers. Eventually, there were four Industrial Schools in Manitoba, enrolling a considerable number of Indian students.

Their operation was necessarily oppressive. Having first achieved the effect of separating the child from his parents for long periods of time, the student was subjected to a severe regimen of work in a noisome atmosphere. The boys were expected to clean the stables, mend broken machinery and work in the fields. In fact, by the "half-day plan", they were expected to spend as much time in this kind of manual labour as in school. The same was true of the Indian girl, who had to spend half her
waking time scrubbing floors and "doing" other forms of housework. The Industrial School, as well as the boarding school, was most notable for the incredibly high mortality rates among the students. At about the turn of the century, it was estimated that fifty percent of the children who passed through these schools "did not live to benefit from the education they had received therein."

In 1886, the Department introduced the boarding school to Manitoba. The boarding school was usually located off the reserve and parents were not allowed to visit their children except on Sunday. The curriculum of the boarding school was oriented towards farming pursuits to the exclusion of the trades. Like the industrial school, there was heavy emphasis on manual labour and the "half-day plan."

There emerged in the early 1900's, a type of schooling known as the "residential school" that embodied many of the aspects of both the Indian boarding and industrial schools. They were operated under church control and followed the curricula of the province. The residential school retained the "half-day plan" of the industrial and boarding schools.

The residential school was co-educational and had a capacity for between 75 to 250 pupils. They were equipped with dormitories, classrooms, kitchens, dining rooms, playrooms, and staff quarters. Some of the residential schools were located on reserves.

The school program of the government was vacillating concerning the ultimate object of education. The recurrent emphasis was upon the concept of the Indian student as a potential farmer, however, there were frequent shifts toward types of vocational curricula which aimed the Indian toward an urban life. The official pronouncements of the government are invested with an air of purpose, which is somewhat deceptive. There never really existed a viable program either to make the Indian a farmer or to adjust to the life of a whiteman. This permitted the government to shift the onus of the failure of such an alleged program to the In-
dian. This was the tactic of the Minister of Interior, J. A. Crear, in 1940 when he announced that the government had decided to quit its effort to bring the Indians into the mainstream of Canadian life. He stated in a rather paradoxically entitled paper, "Canada's Indian Problem", that the Indian was not "mentally and temperamentally equipped to compete successfully with the white population in the modern struggle for existence. Therefore, the Training Services is not attempting to equip the Indian to work and live in the white urban communities. To a great extent, the Service is attempting to help the Indians make their living on their own reserves."  

Then in 1948, came the official policy of integration, one of the policies that has led to today's deplorable statistics.

After one hundred years, the whiteman still has not learned his lesson.
POSITION

To be effective, education must be nurtured in relevancy, commitment, motivation, and identifiable purpose. The process must be part of community activities and community progress.

We, the Indian people of Manitoba believe in education:

As a preparation for total living, and in this context it extends far beyond the boundaries of what is conventionally considered schooling;

As a prime means of improving our economic and social conditions,

As a means of providing that which should be the right of every citizen: namely, the choice of where to live and to work. The essential provision of those required skills that will allow this privilege of choice,

As a means by which we can be enabled to participate fully in our own social, economic, political, and educational advancement;

As a comprehensive program which must be designed to meet the needs of the total community by including offerings to people of all ages.

The present system of education is to be noted for its irrelevancy to the culture and environment in which people live, by its lack of involvement by both parents and students, by its inability to achieve its purpose without a concurrent estrangement of the student from his environment.

Education as a program of government has fallen tragically short of its objectives of Indian advancement. As a tool to develop the capability to participate equally with the rest of society, the
education process has been notably narrow in its concept and rigid in its approach. The time has come for a drastic change in the orientation of education in order to pursue a program of education in its broadest context, a program designed to include all aspects of the community so as to ensure that all people have adequate opportunity to improve their knowledge and expand their options.

The provision in the treaties for schools on reserves must be interpreted in a present context to mean comprehensive education for Indian people.

The federal government must recognize the total failure of the present education system for Indian people.

It must recognize the need for change in the assimilationist policy of education perpetuated for decades.

The Government of Canada must not only realize its obligation to treaty promises, but its moral obligation to assist in upgrading the standard of education for Indian people in recognition of the past function of education in the destruction of the Indian way of life.

A positive program of educational opportunity must be developed:

a) that relates to the total community, both in-school and out-of-school,

b) that makes maximum use of the physical plant by broadening its use to external activities in both the fields of education and recreation,

c) that provides a focal point for community advancement and community activities,

d) that provides for constant involvement and commitment of the local population in both the design and operation of the educational system.
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We call upon the federal government to make a clear declaration of recognition of responsibility for education as a federal obligation to Indian people as clearly set forth in the Treaties signed by the Crown.

2. We call upon the federal government to make a clear declaration recognizing that it is their responsibility to provide the means for our education: monies, facilities, resource personnel.

It is our responsibility, especially after 100 years of the whiteman's failure and as those with the most to gain and the most to lose, to direct the changes in the education process.

Rejection of federal control does not imply rejection of federal responsibility for provision of means.

3. There must be a transfer of educational control to the local responsibility centre (reserve).

4. There must be a redefinition of education in a total context.

5. There must be parental participation.

6. Research must be conducted by or at least controlled by the Indian organization representing Indian people.

7 There must be stress on excellence in education programs.

There are two major areas of concern with respect to education. The first deals with the lack of participation already noted by both parents and students in the educational process. This requires immediate attention and action by the government.
The second is the external effects of the environment upon the educational process and the pressures that are brought to bear upon the student that inhibit or preclude achievement of his potential.

We, the Indian people of Manitoba, recommend to the federal government two steps urgently required to bring about greater educational opportunity for Indian people.

**STEP ONE**

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development must immediately make provision for the establishment of local school boards at the reserve level, such school boards to have all the rights, privileges and responsibilities of a conventional school board with special agreements with the federal government with respect to contractual arrangements with teachers to ensure that Indian students have access to the best teachers available.

Local school boards would be responsible for:

- a) direct participation on curriculum development,
- b) administration of the physical education plant,
- c) co-ordination of educational programs, both internally and externally,
- d) the development of adult education facilities to improve the knowledge and opportunities of all members of Indian society.

In addition to the foregoing, we call upon the government to make a declaration of recognition of educational responsibility as a federal obligation to Indian people. Rejection of Federal control does not mean rejection of Federal monies.

Provision must be made whereby training is available to those reserves desiring local control of education, and this training must be on-going.
STEP TWO

We the Indian people of Manitoba feel that a comprehensive study of the total ramifications of the educational process including all of the constraints that inhibit its growth, should be taken immediately in order that a more effective educational program may be developed. We do not want, as has been the case in the past, a continued isolated approach to the question of education, but we want an examination of education in its total context including the effects of the environment upon the process.

In addition, we recommend that the study be implemented and controlled by the organization elected to represent the Indian people of Manitoba.

Many studies have been conducted on the Canadian Indians by anthropologists, sociologists, etc., for which large sums of money have been granted by the federal government. In view of the fact that virtually nothing has been gained by the Indian people from such studies, we request that monies be made available to us to do our own research. No longer will be passively cooperate with “outsiders” assigned to study us. All future studies must provide meaningful information based upon direct programs leading to our own betterment.

Further to the two major steps recommended we urge the Federal Government:

1. To assure our right to total and overall educational assistance to pursue education in any educational institution in Canada,

2. To recognize the need for education programs of offering opportunities to people of all ages.

The following recommendations are made regarding the In School Program. (This program refers to education from pre-kindergarten to the end of high school)
We recommend for immediate action the following:

1) the establishment of classes for four-year olds,

2) that wherever the Indian language is the dominant language of the community, instruction be conducted in the native language during the first few years of school,

3) that teachers of Indian origin be hired to teach Indians whenever possible.

Indian teachers when appropriately prepared are in a more favourable position to relate to Indian children. It is impossible to state with accuracy the number of teachers there are today of Indian origin. We do know, however, that in Manitoba at present, the Federal Government employs about seven teachers of Indian origin. This is out of a total of three hundred and thirty-seven (337) teachers employed in all. It is imperative that we have more Indian teachers in our schools.

4) that native people be employed as teacher-assistants to help teachers with classes having Indian children. This program has been implemented in many federal schools and is proving to be very successful. Integrated schools such as those at Oak Lake, The Pas, and Winnipeg should be directed to implement such a program. Until such time as Indian teachers are available, teacher-assistants perform a very valuable function.

Indian teachers and teacher-assistants are of great value to Indian education:

1) They facilitate learning for the non-English speaking child,
ii) They help the native child by presenting a model of a person in a responsible position,

iii) They provide liaison between home and school,

iv) They help interpret the community to the teacher and vice-versa.

5) that the dominant native language of the community be taught in the time allotted on curriculum for "teaching a second language" rather than imposing a foreign language such as French, German, or Ukrainian on the students already knowing something of two languages.

It is desirable to introduce the native language in the elementary grades. This action will prevent loss of native language, learning of the syllabic system and last but not least it will show the Indian language in a positive light through its placement on the school curriculum.

6) that schools all be made non-denominational. The emphasis on religious denomination has caused friction and division within communities over the years. The regulation in the Indian Act regarding the hiring of teachers in accordance with religious denomination is restrictive and jeopardizes the possibility of hiring the best teachers.

7) that the Federal Government be advised not to phase out any student residences operating at present to serve Indian students without first consulting the Indian people and their organization, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, that the Government be encouraged to staff the residences with people of native origin in key positions. Residences described above could continue to provide for
children from broken homes and for those who live a great distance from schools. An example of the latter are those living along the Hudson Bay railway line.

8) that parents of the community be consulted by the school authorities regarding the school curriculum. Parents want to be involved in decisions regarding the school program. The valuable recommendations from parents on how to enrich the program culturally, materials to be used, what is to be taught, etc. would greatly enhance what school has to offer the Indian children.

9) that high schools be established at various reserves to serve the students of surrounding reserves. That such high schools be operated and maintained by an all Indian School Board.

It is evident that the federal government’s present plan to provide high school education for Indian students is characterized by only limited success. For example, statistics showing Indian student enrollment in Federal and Provincial Schools in Grade XII over the years is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964-65</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(See Table No. 2)

The numbers in Grade Twelve are increasing but in terms of the total school population, the figures are unimpressive. To graduate from high school in 1968-69, a student would likely have started school in 1957-58. The enrollement figures for Grade 1 in that year was 1081. This indicates that 94.63% of the students
# Table 2

**INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT IN FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS (1)**

Enrollment at the Secondary Level of Schooling

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>GRADE 9</th>
<th>GRADE 10</th>
<th>GRADE 11</th>
<th>GRADE 12</th>
<th>TOTAL SECONDARY</th>
<th>OTHERS (2)</th>
<th>TOTAL INDIA STUDENT ENROLLMENT</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949-50</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>95</td>
<td></td>
<td>3313</td>
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<td>1950-51</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>70</td>
<td></td>
<td>3283</td>
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<tr>
<td>1951-52</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td>3577</td>
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<tr>
<td>1952-53</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>84</td>
<td></td>
<td>3769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953-54</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>109</td>
<td></td>
<td>4249</td>
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<tr>
<td>1954-55</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td>4381</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-56</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>71</td>
<td></td>
<td>4770</td>
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<tr>
<td>1956-57</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>109</td>
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<td>4824</td>
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<tr>
<td>1957-58</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>102</td>
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<td>4753</td>
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<tr>
<td>1958-59</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>52</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1959-60</td>
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<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>169</td>
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<td>5646</td>
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1960-61

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>GRADE 9</th>
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<th>GRADE 11</th>
<th>GRADE 12</th>
<th>TOTAL SECONDARY</th>
<th>OTHERS (3)</th>
<th>TOTAL INDIA STUDENT ENROLLMENT</th>
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<td>1961-62</td>
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<td>87</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>1962-63</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>1964-65</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>487</td>
<td></td>
<td>8304</td>
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<tr>
<td>1965-66</td>
<td>288</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>596</td>
<td></td>
<td>8872</td>
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<tr>
<td>1966-67</td>
<td>287</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>583</td>
<td></td>
<td>9165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967-68</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>725</td>
<td></td>
<td>9309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968-69</td>
<td>337</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>773</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>9370</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Includes special and ungraded classes
(3) Includes 541 ungraded students
(4) Includes 449 ungraded students
(5) Includes 400 ungraded students
failed to reach Grade XII. (See Table No. 1). This is a straightforward indication that there is a need for further experimental programs to search for a means whereby Indian people will be able to attain the same educational standards as the majority of society.

Alternate means of obtaining the goal of high school education must be made possible. Reserve high schools would enable students to live in familiar surroundings, to live among their own people and be involved in a high school program better adapted to meet their particular needs:

10) that the Government provide as another alternate program for high school students, small-residence type accommodations. Such a residence should be designed to accommodate approximately twelve students to be maintained and supervised by Indian parents.

A homelike atmosphere would exist in this kind of design and it would operate more on a family basis than on an institutional basis. At present, residences resembling those recommended operate in Teulon, Manitoba, under the United Church Board of Home Missions. There is a residence for the boys and one for the girls, each accommodating 20 to 25 students. It appears to be a most successful operation. Statistics show retention rate between 1965-70 as being between 93% and 100%.

It appears that smaller residences operated by Indian people would be an improvement even over the Teulon residences and could be expected to produce even better results. The residences should be situated in towns and cities where high schools are available.

11) that the establishment of high schools at designated reserve points and the establishment of small-type residences in towns and cities as proposed in
(10) and (11) be conducted on an experimental basis. A study should concurrently be implemented by Indian people of all existing means of educating high school students to determine which means is proving most successful.

Too often, the Government has proposed plans that encompass total populations. It is obvious that the first move was to schools on reserves, followed by a mass plan of residential schools, to a plan of integration. It appears that an attempt has been made to phase out the latter plan for a new one in each case. Presently, the stage is one of phasing out residential schools in favour of integration by having students bussed from reserves to schools and by a program of private home placement. Modifications are more in order in some cases than total rejection of a program.

With regard to our recommendations, we emphasize the need to experiment and evaluate before launching into full-scale operations as has been done in the past.

12) that there be adequate Indian representation on Provincial School Boards which have Indian pupils attending schools in their district or divisions.

We make the following recommendations in the area of Post-School Programs. Post-school programs refer to programs provided for those having completed high school and for those who are no longer in the In-School program.

1) that up-grading classes continue to be offered on and off reserves.

For many years, up-grading classes have been offered but the results have not been positive. The drop-out rate is astounding Some reasons attributed to this failure are:
i) lack of proper counselling prior and during the course

ii) inadequately prepared instructors

iii) irrelevance of content

Upgrading classes properly conducted can be a means for many Indians to eventually find economic security

2) that basic literacy course be offered on and off reserves to enable those desiring to learn to speak, and to read and write in English to do so.

3) that vocational training be offered on and off reserves. On reserve programs would be meaningful if conducted according to visible economic development.

4) that every effort be made to assist students in University to be successful. This could mean recommending to Universities a "Chair of Native Studies" to provide relevant programs. That a sincere and meaningful counselling and tutoring program be available to the students.

In the area of Adult Education we recommend the following:

1) Program designed to train native people as:

   a) teacher assistants

   b) counsellor assistants

   c) recreation co-ordinators

   c) police constables
3) medical assistants

f) magistrates

g) school trustees

h) automobile drivers, etc.

2) Courses in Administration and Human Relations for Chiefs, councillors, band managers, and band secretaries. That such training be provided in three levels to accommodate the various stages of advancement that exist in Indian communities.

3) Courses on and off reserves in family education:

a) general home management
   — health
   — budgeting
   — cooking and sewing

4) Other Courses:

a) Human relations

b) The Indian Act

c) Legal right of Indians

d) The law

e) Politics and government

As an outcome of training programs it is imperative that recognition be given to trainees for certification equal to the trade to enable mobility of the candidates.
Provincial Involvement

Education of Indian people is basically a federal government responsibility originating from the signing of the treaties from 1871 onward. The interpretation of this "responsibility" by federal officials has over the last hundred years excluded Indian people from any meaningful involvement in deciding their own education destiny. Historically, officials of the federal government made all the decisions and the arrangements as to the where, why, who, and when of education for Indian people. Historically, too, officials of the federal government entered into agreements with officials of the provincial government on our behalf for certain educational services. These agreements, many of which were finalized without consultation with Indian people are now our concern.

It is our intention to review the existing agreements and to make the necessary recommendations for their revision, termination or continuance. We call upon the Federal Government to terminate its policy of making decisions for Indian people. We must and we will be involved from here on in, in determining our own destiny. Future recommendations for services to provincial governments and their institutions will come directly from the Indian people or through their organization the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

Rivers

Historically, the various facets of education for Indian people have been presented in a fragmented manner of unrelatedness. The reserve was the site of many of the elementary school programs, whereas the secondary school and the post-school programs were conducted off reserves. Adult programs of training and relocation were approached from the standpoint of academic and vocational up-grading and skills development. These factors are what might be referred to as physical factors of employment that are applicable to the employee but have little reference to the family unit.
As stated in our position, we strongly believe that for education to be effective, it must be nurtured in relevancy, commitment, motivation, and identifiable purpose. The process must be part of community activities and community progress. With this in mind, it is necessary for the Indian people to have access to facilities wherein this concept may be realized. The acquisition of Rivers Air Base as a training centre for Indian people will provide such a facility.

The principle objective of the Centre is to establish a basis of life skills development which encompasses everything from grade school through to employment giving consideration to the family as a total unit. Social orientation, which has been given little attention in the past, will now be emphasized. The predominant factor of failure in most training and relocation programs has been that the social problems of family relocation and the concurrent social dislocation have been ignored and attempts have been made to attack the symptom rather than the cause of failure.

The entire program of the Centre will be geared to acquainting the family in training with the reality of both the independence of man and the inter-dependence of society and to help the individual to utilize his potential in both the social and economic sense.

The relevancy, commitment, motivation, and identifiable purpose with which training programs will be conducted at the Centre is to provide a "community classroom" Programs previously offered at Community Colleges and Universities for training Indian people as teachers, teacher assistants, counsellor assistants, recreation co-ordinators, dental assistants, etc. will have greater meaning if conducted within the "community classroom" The doors of the Centre will be open to invite such programs to operate within this new "reality" Programs not yet established and those not firmly established at any University or Community College will find their roots at the Centre. This is urgent in the light of training for magistrates, school trustees, police constables, etc.
Through recognition of education as a preparation for total living and recognition of the family as a unit, we believe that programs once offered in isolation as a "things unto themselves" will in this context have greater meaning and therefore, provide a greater opportunity for our people.

Requirements by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood to realize the objectives in education as set out in this paper, for the immediate future.

At present, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, Education Section, consists of one education director and one part-time secretary to serve fifty-four Indian reserves and to provide liaison between the governments, institutions, agencies, and the Brotherhood on a province-wide basis. The demand for educational consultation from the Brotherhood is great. It is the vehicle through which Indian people can make their recommendations known to the authorities and it is the vehicle of assistance in developing meaningful programs.

It is the intent of Indian people to control their education system. To assist in the realization of this goal, the organization representing Indian people of Manitoba, the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood requires personnel.

1. To assist Indian bands in preparing for the establishment of school boards. This implies training sessions specifically for potential trustees and generally for the total community

2. To design a comprehensive study of the total ramifications of the educational process including all the constraints that inhibit its growth, in order that a more effective education program may be developed.

3. To review Agreements made by federal officials with provincial officials in regard to education affecting Indian people. The review is to be conduct-
-ed in the light of recommending the revision,termination or continuance of such existing agreements.

For these three major areas and the everyday matters referred to the Education Section, of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, we recommend the immediate provision of funds employment of:

1. 6 education consultants (generalists) to cover province as divided by Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and designated as Vice Presidents' regions. The Regions are: North, North-west, North-east, South-west, Southeast, Interlake.

2. A research staff as required:
   a) 1 director
   b) several assistants

3. Education Specialists — to provide for more effective service in specialized fields.
   a) counsellor
   b) public relations officer

Further to this, a subsequent increase in budget for person and materials will be required.

These specific recommendations are by no means exhaus of the educational needs of Indian people. We realize that of most importance is our gain of control of education. Once we h that, we will be able to incorporate the kinds of programs that have meaning for us, and that will free us from our present plig
To further this process, a five-member committee should be structured comprising of two members representing the Indian people of Manitoba, two members from the Federal Government and one member from an outside sector. It would be the responsibility of this committee to ensure that the necessary steps are implemented to promote the furthering of the recommendations contained herein. We recommend that this committee be established immediately.

One hundred years ago, our forefathers signed agreements that have caused us no end of grief. Our proposals today are not centered around commitments but a general "unlocking of doors" to enable us to move freely ahead.

Recent statistics show that 74% of the Manitoba Indian population is under 30 years of age. This is very significant in the light of quality and quantity of current and future education programs.

We hereby request due consideration of our position in education.
FOOTNOTES

1. (Indians-Canadians: Plus or Minus?) (A Resource Book for Teachers Project Canada West — 1971)

2. Rose C Colliou, 5000 Little Indians Went to School, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1971, p 44


5. Ibid, Annual Report for the Year, 1877, in Canada, Sessional Papers, 1878, (Number 10) p. 44

6. Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half Breeds, p 2

7 House of Commons Debates, May 22, 1883, p. 1376


9. Quoted in Ibid, 165
4. SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Social development can embrace all the different elements which are required to help a person develop as a social being. It is a process by which people can link and realize their inter-dependency, the need to work together and the need to visualize and understand that a proper social climate in a community is a prerequisite to any development.

Social development in its broadest context is directly related to a number of factors which together create both a climate for and a necessity to develop new levels of social inter-action that, in themselves, generate a greater awareness of man's potential, his role in society, his relationship to his fellowmen and his inter-dependence on and responsibility to his community.

It takes place within a social climate which permits a person to acquire the skills and the fortitude necessary to achieve his and the community's goals in life. This was effectively one of the everyday processes with tribal groups in the past. From the beginning of life to the end, human development was part of the scheme of living. The place of a person in tribal society was clearly defined, directed by his talents and abilities. From the medicine-man to the mere child — all were equally important and each had their role in society.

For the Indian, social growth and development has been successfully stifled most in direct proportion to his loss of independence and mobility. The disruption and disorganization of social, family kinship units have evolved with the help of forces of a national nature similar to which have produced the poverty conditions among Indian communities.

National policy, as well as human exploitation have produced a major disorganization in tribal communities.

The shift to the industrial society and increasing exploitation of the natural and mineral wealth of this country sounded the
death knell for the Indians' traditional pursuits. The industrial revolution and the damage wrought to the ecology sealed the fate of the Indian and life as he knew it.

During that period when social and economic adjustment could have been facilitated, white society was pre-occupied with its pursuit of wealth and prosperity, white Canadians marched boldly into the twentieth century, they perpetuated nineteenth century programs for Indians.

The white man's slow awakening to his inhuman and callous treatment of the Indian has been marked by his largely parsimonious approach to program inputs to assist in the process of survival and advancement. The extent to which this was the case is illustrated by the budget allocations of the nineteen forties and fifties. In 1947, the total budget allocation for all Indians of Canada was $5,000,000, in 1957, $27,000,000. A meagre contribution to the salvation of a race of people they had condemned to increasing poverty and paradoxical isolation in a growing and prosperous populace.

We did not create this problem. Succeeding insensitive, poorly motivated and colossally ineffective governments and their often fumbling administration condemned us to life of servitude and poverty totally inconsistent with a Christian society and a productive democracy. Our position today is the result of the short-sighted public policies of the past, of the gross neglect of the larger society and of gratuitous and condescending parliaments of yesterday. It is obvious today that the burden of poverty, social and economic isolation is slowly but surely eroding our communities.

The increasing prosperity of white society merely added emphasis to the declining position of Indian people. Continued acceptance of crumbs from the white man's table can do nothing to promote progress.

Social development processes operate in Indian communities
today, but are riddled with obstacles of social and political upheaval and poverty. Today, social development ideally does not take place in a vacuum but within a community who possesses all the services and ingredients which invites and allows people to develop fully.

To attain self-government through self-determination, we the Indian people or any person for that matter, require basic services necessary for his social development. This would include comprehensive services in housing, economic development, health services, education, employment, etc. Indian people must participate in the above programs and others not listed above. This participation is the thread which should link all processes and programs. This in effect deals with creating a climate or atmosphere where Indian people will participate and at the same time to enhance self-determination.

The first step in the creative process of developing a climate which will bring about meaningful social improvement for Indian people is the restoration of a trust relationship between Indians and the Federal Government. This trust has crumbled and has disappeared through years of neglect and actual abrogation of treaties, agreements. This will not come about as night follows day without any efforts on both sides. The non-Indians will have to realize and accept that their dealings with Indians in the past is not a firm foundation on which to build a trust relationship. This trust will have to be strengthened before any meaningful dialogue will take place. A change of attitudes is necessary in order to achieve social development. In order to achieve the desired changes among Indian communities, training is one of the main components. The kind of training referred to is not restricted to up-grading, as presently understood. Training has to be understood in a much larger context which entails training in attitudes which is a prerequisite to meaningful social development. In other words, training has to be tailored to the needs of the recipient in a given community. Training has to be adjusted to the specific needs of communities and one type of training cannot be applied as a blanket to cover all areas and all problems. To clarify or describe
the need is to clarify at the same time the kind and types of training required.

Recommendations:

1) More and more responsibilities are being transferred to Chief and Council in the different communities. This transfer is necessary but on the other hand could destroy the communities if adequate training and reimbursement does not accompany this transfer in order to meet the challenge facing Chief and Council.

   a) social development training which would involve concepts in planning for change within communities, and skills in conflict resolution in their community

   b) technical training for band staff and Chief and Council. For example, budgeting, expenditure procedure, bookkeeping.

   c) skills in program evaluation so that changes can be made if necessary in order to assure progress.

   d) knowledge of existing programs and basic understanding of the role and resources of the private sector

2) A continuation of those programs which are basically motivational in order to help Indian people (1) identify their needs, (2) to help people design programs to meet the priority needs which requires planning, (3) to help people implement such programs, (4) finally to assist in the evaluation of programs and projects so that learning takes place and mistakes are corrected.
3) To achieve the above objective, physical facilities are required in order to bring about social change. A community hall where meetings can take place is a necessity. Recreational facilities such as skating rink, curling, etc. is also part of a community's basic necessities. Money for such facilities should come from community efforts and grants from Governments.

4) Social Animation is a process or technique employed at all levels of society. The principle purpose of this process, when applied to underprivileged groups, is to awaken them and to provide for greater participation in their own social development. The Government of Canada should recognize the need for social and recreational involvement and should make provisions for such facilities as are required in order to develop a cultural core around which community activities can evolve.

5) One of the most serious deficiencies in the social development at the Indian reserve level has been identified as the apparent inadequacy of recreation programs for Indian people. The need for effective recreation activities at reserve level is clearly demonstrated by the fact that over 50% of the population on reserve is below the age of 15, an age grouping that requires a program of well directed recreational activities to help them develop their talent abilities in the field of organization and leadership. Recreation, of course, must be something more than just the organization of a hockey team or a baseball team. It includes adult education, leadership development, social activities and human relations skills. The majority of Indian reserves in Manitoba lack financial resources to launch a sports and recreation program. Therefore, it is evident that Federal-Provincial and private
groups be approached in promoting sports and recreation on Indian reserves.

We submit that there be a board to stimulate recreational activities; to plan programs as desired by Indian communities; and be a source of information to communities regarding resources for recreational activities.

This board would consist of:

1. A representative from the federal government.

2. A representative from the provincial government.

3. An elected Indian representative.

There must be a considering of the aspects of social development and its relevancy to any programs including economic development, health, education, reserve government, the constabulary, etc. It is synonymous with all programs, and must be the creator of the climate where growth and development takes place.
5. LEGAL PROTECTION

Every society has its own rules and its own way of enforcing them. Enforcement may be informal through social pressure, through formal methods, or a combination of both.

The problem we have with the legal system exists because we must live with White Man's law — a law that was imposed on us from outside, a law often alien to our way of living and thinking, a law we often do not understand, a law that seems to us to protect White men but not Indian people, and consequently a system of law which builds Indian resentment instead of active co-operation.

The stereotype of the "wild Indian" arose in the White mans' mind from his school books, the movies he saw where the Indian was always the bad guy, and from an almost complete lack of contact with Indians except as a lawbreaker. White society has had this mental image of the Indian ever since White and Indian societies first met — the White as conqueror, the Indian as the vanquished. What the White man does not realize is that the Indian he conquered and whose land he took did have a system of law based on a system different than the White system, but effective and in keeping with Indian society and thought.

The white man brought his legal system to Canada with him, but its purpose was to control the Indian tribes and legalize the takeover of Indian land to protect the settler against the Indian. The conflicts between the Indian and whitemans' law over the past century have not erased this view. For the Indian has been in conflict with the law far more than the whiteman has been, and as a people, the Indian has got the short end of the stick. Our land is largely gone, our people have far more than their proportion of the total population in jail.

Indian people have often been put in jail for minor offences that in Indian society were not looked on as offences at all, or if they were looked on as offences, were dealt with in a different way.
A 1969 study estimated the Indian population at 1.2% to 1.5% of the population of Greater Winnipeg and at 3.45% of the population of Manitoba.¹

Yet in 1969, of 5472 persons involved in the 8,923 Winnipeg offences studies, 1,250 or 23% were Indians, and at Headingley Gaol, which handles population from a wider area than Winnipeg alone, of 4,302 persons incarcerated in 1969, 826 were Indians — approximately 19%.

Both of these figures, 23% and 19%, are far higher than the percentage of Indian people in the population of Winnipeg or Manitoba.

And the figures for Headingley Gaol, where the longest sentence possible is two years, and where offences against provincial statutes are dealt with, indicate that much of the involvement of Indian people is with the less serious criminal offences and with breaches of provincial acts. Over 50% of those Indian people incarcerated were there as a result of not paying fines.

Study of the offences themselves show that 97.3% of the offences by Indian people were not of a serious nature. Only 2.3% were serious crimes by Indian people involving violence against people — a lower figure than the 3.6% of all other ethnic classes. The stereotype Indian is just that — a stereotype. We are not involved in as many serious crimes as most white men think we are. In fact, we are less involved.

What causes this disproportionate rate of incarceration.

1. Education has failed us and, therefore, many of us find ourselves without the job requirements deemed necessary by the non-Indian society which results in much unemployment for us. The high unemployment rate does not help keep the statistics down.
2. In addition we face racial discrimination not faced by the other poor people in the white community.

3. Much of the jail time served by Indian people takes place simply because of poverty. A middle-class white pays his fine — a poor Indian serves time. He hasn't the money to do otherwise.

4. Most of the infractions of the criminal and quasicriminal law by Indians are for petty offences where no legal aid is available.

a) A breach of the Criminal Code which is an indictable offence and over which the Magistrate has absolute jurisdiction. These are the offences set out in Section 467 of the Criminal Code such as theft of $50.00 or less, attempted theft, obstructing a peace officer, assault and others.

b) A breach of the Criminal Code which is an offense punishable on summary conviction. This type of an offence is tried by a Magistrate. The accused has no option to be tried elsewhere;

c) A breach of the Juvenile Delinquents Act;

d) A breach of a Statute of the Government of Canada, other than the Juvenile Delinquents Act;

e) A breach of a Statute of the Province of Manitoba, for example, the Child Welfare Act, Highway Traffic Act, Liquor Control Act, Wildlife Act.

f) A proceeding against an accused for finding that he is an habitual criminal or a dangerous sexual offender, which might result in a sentence of preventative detention.
These are precisely the infractions for which we are usually charged.

5. Many of these infractions of the law for criminal and quasi-criminal offences take place in White centres of population by Indian people who are newly arrived in White society and are not familiar with that society and unfamiliar with the laws and regulations they have breached.

6. Even when he has legal aid, the Indian person is unfamiliar with the courts and their methods. Consequently, he feels he is meeting the same discrimination in the courtroom that he meets outside, and in many courtrooms that is the case. Court communicators and legal aid can help, but many more communicators are needed, and a much wider application of free legal aid. And even the legal aid lawyer who is appointed to act for the Indian, often cannot communicate or understand the Indian he represents, and gives the case less attention than he would give to a White man or a paying client.

7. There is a growing awareness by Indian people of discrimination and the inequities that follow Indian people are no longer willing to put up with offhand treatment in the courts. This growing social awareness of the Indian calls for a real eradication of discrimination where it hits the Indian hardest — in the courts where his liberty is affected every day. Real legal aid must be more than just providing lawyers — it calls for lawyers who understand, who are willing to fight for us, and who are provided for all offences for which a man can go to jail.

Legal aid is not available now for summary conviction of fences or regulatory offences under provincial acts or city
by-laws. Yet it is in this area that almost all of the offences committed by Indian people occur.

Young people from 15 to 24 are the most likely to be involved with the law, after which the rate goes down. In Manitoba anyone under 16 years of age is a juvenile. In 1969, 36% of the Indians in the 15 to 24 age group involved with crime in Winnipeg were 15 to 17 years old. Legal aid is only appointed for these children if the judge asks for it or the Crown Prosecutor or Pobation Officer request it if they feel it is needed. Legal aid will not be appointed where a parent or friend asks for it. This is an area of the legal system where legal aid should be greatly expanded.

Mr Justice McRuer in the Ontario Royal Commission Inquiry into Civil Rights stated this proposition.

"In attempting to achieve the best possible results in terms of the protection and welfare of society, the administration of justice in criminal matters demands that every proper protection be afforded to the accused without discrimination or oppression, and that justice must not only be done at all times but must manifestly appear to be done."

When we speak of Legal Protection, a vital element is the attitude to and conduct of the police respecting the Indian. Many law officers discriminate against Indians knowingly — and discriminatory attitude from police officers are bound to result in bitterness and resentment not only toward the officer himself, but against the whole legal system he represents. Other police officers are negative without being aware of it — they adopt a paternalistic and patronizing attitude to Indians which results in the same ill feeling. Seldom does the private attitude of the police in general toward the Indian leave the privacy of the police detachment or stations. This private attitude was revealed recently in Brandon where a confidential police report was made public by the Mayor
of that city. It expressed a racist, bigoted and discriminatory attitude on the part not only of an individual policeman and his chief but the Mayor who is the chief law-enforcement officer in Manitoba's second largest city.

If there were Indian police officers on the city police forces and in R.C.M.P detachments this problem might be solved by White officers and Indian officers working together and getting to know each other over a period of time. And police officers who were Indians would be well equipped to handle law enforcement problems with Indians in areas such as the core area of Winnipeg where much of the Indian population is concentrated. At present Winnipeg City hasn't even one Indian police officer in its entire force.

Policing is protection. Our traditional methods of law enforcement on the reserve, so important for the protection of the community and of the individual have been taken away from us — we must develop new ways.

Presently we have the rough beginnings of an Indian constabulary. Certain of our people are made part-time, part-paid special constables under the jurisdiction of the R.C.M.P. They are often given assignments they must carry out even though they are often not sufficiently trained and equipped and are most needed elsewhere. Their position in the community and confidence in them is tried as on the one hand they are expected to respond to our needs, while on the other hand they are under the direction of persons who cannot be expected to know what those needs are. Their position is particularly difficult when they face problems such as those already described in relation to the R.C.M.P i.e. enforcement of statutes that conflict with our treaty rights.

What is the Federal government's attitude to police protection for Indians? Under the Federal government's grants to bands program, police protection is classified as a non-basic item, implying that the provision of such service is largely dependent upon the availability of funds or the assessment of priorities on a year-to-year basis.
Does the White man not think we want protection? Not only do we want and require protection, but we want and require protection aimed at preventing serious occurrences and not simply policing that only shows interest after the fact.

In the long run, it is the Indian people who must develop an effective police protection system based upon our needs. There should be a workable combination of effective local control through elected community representatives, Indian constables and liaison with the police who operate beyond the borders of our reserves.
RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The rights of Indians must be protected, whether they are due to special status or as Canadian citizens.

2. There must be resources for research by Indian people in consultation with legal experts regarding Indian Law.

3. There must be a monitoring system whereby Indian people are informed of the Canadian legal system.

4. We recommend that a legal appeal system be established for Indian people, as many of the legal problems confronting Indian people are unique.

5. It would seem desirable that constitutional cases regarding the Indian Act must be settled with negotiations between the government and the Indian people.

6. The question of legal inquiry into land transactions of reserves must be subject to research by the Indian organization representing the Indian people of Manitoba.

7. Legal advice should be more easily available to us. In the cities lawyers who are familiar with Indian problems with criminal, quasi-criminal and civil law should be available for free legal advice. Many city Indian people do not know their rights, employment rights, education rights and so on, and these people have no one to turn to. Store-front law should be available to them.

Legal advice to people on the 54 reserves in Manitoba should be provided by lawyers who travel to the reserves and advise the Indians on their general rights as well as specific problems.

8. There must be many more full time Indian court workers so the court room communication gap may be closed.
9. There must be encouragement of Indian Magistrates where the population is largely Indian.

10. Establishment of a $1,000,000 legal aid fund to obtain legal help needed to attain a full reform of Indian — Canadian conflict with the law

11. That legal counsel funds must be made available for a full-time salaried lawyer who will work only for the organization representing Indian people in Manitoba.

12. That funds and scholarships be available to facilitate the education of Indians as lawyers, and that every effort be made to encourage our young people to enter the profession.

13. A total approach to rehabilitation and preventative programs is needed in prisons and jails. Indian people, for reasons we have dealt with earlier, make up an undue proportion of the prison population. Rehabilitation programs and resources must be available for Indian post-release centres, as well as Indian parole personnel and workers.

14. Police Force

The duty of the policeman is to enforce the law But prevention and the fostering of social progress enforce both law and respect for the law Indian communities must be policed by officers who will help the community solve its problems, act as legal advisers if necessary, work with our youth, and explain law, legal procedures, traffic safety and so on to our school children. This calls for well trained police officers on the reserve who are themselves Indian.

We therefore submit:

(a) That Indian communities be protected by a fulltime salaried tribal constabulary
(b) That these peace officers receive adequate insurance and full legal and statutory protection for their acts.

(c) We submit that the newly established human rights commission be aware of, be prepared to investigate, and bring suit against, if necessary, to cases of discrimination in this Province.

(d) That this police force be responsible to the Indian people and that a Tribal Police Commission be established immediately consisting of one representative from each of the four tribes, one representative from the Attorney-General's Department and one representative of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. This Commission would work toward the eventual formulation of a permanent Provincial Indian Police Commission, research and assess police needs in our communities, and be directly responsible to the local Indian communities and at the same time establish a close working relationship with the R.C.M.P.

(e) That the training centre for this police force be located at Rivers and that the program include training on the job with pay

FOOTNOTES

1. Analysis of Arrests for the year 1969 in the City of Winnipeg. Dubienski & Skelly

6. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

It has already been demonstrated that the majority of Indian people live in dire poverty. Only 32% of the employable people on reserves have significant earned income and only 4% of those earn in excess of $4,000 per annum. Given an average family size of five it can be concluded that the bulk of the populace live below the poverty line as defined by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. It is also obvious that if only 32% of the population in the employable age range have gainful employment, some 68% are consistently unemployed.

In a country where a 6% unemployment level is viewed with extreme alarm, it is paradoxical that an unemployment factor of 68% for us is and has become an acceptable condition, by the dominant society. Add to this the fact that a majority of the 32% noted as having earned income are seriously under-employed for a greater part of the year and the problem is compounded further.

The historic function of economic development in government programming with respect to Indian people has been of secondary importance to education and social development.

In recent history the limited resources that have been available have been directed towards the historic pursuits of the Indian based principally on the "gathering" concept. In very recent years, emphasis has been placed on primary production activities in the fields of fishing, forestry and agriculture.

Increasing importance has been attributed to the physical resources (Reserve Lands) and its capability to support the people living thereon. While the use of these resources might have made an important contribution to the economic well-being of the Indian fifty years ago, their relative potential has diminished today due to population increases and the high rate of initial capital investment.

The foregoing statement is not intended to deny the impor-
tance of primary production activities but simply to illustrate the fact that the historic neglect of government to pursue advancement in the past has raised certain barriers to effective exploitation of these resources today. Increasing demands upon the labor market through the entry of new candidates for employment will continue to increase pressure in this sector.

The ability of the physical resources of the community to support its people in any tangible way, is severely restricted. In primary activities it becomes essential, therefore that the natural resource base adjacent to reserve communities become a part of the economic base of the community. Particular consideration must be given to the extension of the right-of-first-priority to those closest to resources to ensure an equitable distribution of economic opportunity and benefit.

Employment opportunity through secondary processing of primary production, manufacturing, the development of tourist and recreation activities, and service industry activity will play a greater and greater role in bringing about an economic rationalization at the reserve level.

A major complication affecting the advancement of our people has been the Department of Indian Affairs' narrow interpretation of economic development. The current definition seems to limit economic development activities to those kinds of activities which will show an early return and early viability. Having defined economic development in this context, the department has then directed its programs toward returnable investment activities based on lending programs, devised to stimulate such economic activity as may be viable solely in terms of lending criteria. The concurrent reduction in appropriation capital and grant programs intended to stimulate economic activity must inevitably impair local development programs designed to develop that area of community of interest and inter-dependency necessary to social and economic advancement at the Reserve level.

What is required is a combination of both returnable invest-
ment and social capital provided in a method designed to encourage and stimulate economic activity that will provide employment for a greater proportion of those members of the Indian community whose social and economic activity is severely restricted either by age or by aptitude.

There must be emphasis on change programs. To bring about change, it becomes essential that large sums of social capital be redirected from welfare oriented programs into programs designed to stimulate economic and employment activity at the reserve level. Through such programs it should be possible to change the reserve economic environment and through such change effect the transformation in social advancement that would enable us to live a productive life.

Our traditional pursuits of natural product harvesting are being constantly threatened by pollution of the ecology and technical advancements of productivity. The recent curtailment of fishing on many of the lakes of Manitoba seriously threatens one of the basic employment opportunities of native people. The uncertainty of the future with respect to the re-establishment of a sound and viable fisheries economy makes it increasingly difficult for us to plan for our advancement.

Wild Rice production in the province of Manitoba has been an area that was predominantly harvested by Indian people. The technological advancement of the industry as a whole now threatens the very existence of natural wild rice harvesting through its displacement by paddy production. We claim a priority interest in the development of paddy production to ensure the continuation of the predominant position of the Indian in the exploitation and development of this essential economic resource. Again there becomes a question of the right-of-first-priority to people living in close proximity to the resources and who by reason of history and tradition have played a predominant role in the development of this industry.

It becomes essential therefore that both the federal and
provincial governments recognize the importance of this industry to the Indians of Manitoba and that they both ensure that we have both the economic and technical resources to exploit our opportunities.

Welfare is a non-acceptable alternative to us as Indian people to the establishment of lives of productive activity. The extent to which the Department directs its resources into the non-productive welfare area, while at the same time downgrading its investment to people in the economic development area, is amply illustrated by the fact that 40.28% of the total Indian Affairs estimates for 1970-71 are committed to the community affairs program which is predominantly dominated by welfare activities even though Indian people on welfare receive, in many cases, less than their white counterparts. Only 5.19% of the estimates are committed to programs of economic development, the one area through which we can regain both social and economic independence.

The almost negligible attention given to the economic development sector of Indian Affairs activities reflects on inadequate understanding on the part of the planners of the capabilities of Indian people, of the problems of our communities, and of the inter-relationship between the various activities represented by the divisions within the department itself. There is no obvious inter-relationship between the activities of the economic development group and the community affairs. This predilection on the part of the department to view the advancement of people from the lofty heights of three separate pyramids precludes the effective marshalling of all resources to the efficient and productive use essential to our advancement. The difficulties we encounter in attempting to facilitate our process of change are simply multiplied by the inconsistent and often irrelevant designations of the authorities and responsibilities as between divisions that in the end discourage us.

The re-deployment of resources, both human and economic, is severely complicated by an administrative system that often seems more concerned with the security of its employees and the
sanctity of its programs than it does for the advancement of those people it is intended to serve.

It becomes obvious on reviewing policies and programs and their relationship to life as we have to live it that first priority must be given to the alleviation of the crushing burden of poverty shared by the majority of Indian people. Without economic regeneration, the tasks of education and development face almost insurmountable barriers as the rest of society stretches its lead to even greater lengths than presently exist.

It is becoming increasingly difficult for us to maintain our existence in the face of the mounting pressures effecting us and it is becoming increasingly difficult to be both poor and proud in a prosperous country.

The essential ingredient in seeking solution to the basic poverty is the employment of social capital in combination with technical advice, loan capital and participation with the private sector in a process of stimulating economic and employment opportunity. The ideas and imagination and the responsibility to implement should rest in our hands.

For too long, the power to make decisions with respect to economic development have been held by the state and too often the quality of leadership provided by the department has been ill-equipped and untrained for the task of effecting economic change. The development orientation of the department is too often guided by people with limited business experience in the private sector, or equally as bad, virtually no experience with the Indian fact. A well balanced approach to economic development has been notably lacking throughout the history of Indian Affairs in Canada.

Early economic development programs were inadequately financed and often incompetently developed with the end result that government simply loaded the gun so that the Indian could commit economic suicide. In recent years there has been a significant shift in the orientation of economic development, a shift that
in itself holds the key to increasing frustration and disillusionment, for while it is based in part on a viable lending institution approach, it ignores the need in the critical areas of social capital inputs and business training essential to the successful pursuit of economic well-being. From a program of irrational and often irresponsible lending the department has swung the other way and is increasingly taking the position of one of the most conservative lenders in Canada.

We, the Indian people of Manitoba decry this form of change for it is repetitive of the fluctuating attitudes of government towards the advancement of people and the "stop and go" approach to government programming. If government believes that after having held the people back in the field of economic opportunity, that they can suddenly generate successful businessmen as if by miracle, with only limited effort and parsimonious financial inputs, then it is as foolish today as it was yesterday. The shift from programs that lack business sense to programs that lack social conscience, will not, in the final analysis make significant improvement in the overall advancement.

We have sought to establish a program of financial support through the establishment of our own lending program sponsored by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood and supported by the Government of Canada. It was the intention of that program to provide bridge financing to fill the equity and down-payment gap that inhibits if not prohibits the utilization of conventional resources by many of us. While this program, of itself, would not effect an economic miracle, it would at least be the beginnings of a program based on our determination to effect change. It is our belief that through the Manitoba Indian Development Incorporated and the function as outlined in our submission of 1969, that we would establish new relationships with the financial community of this province and create a new awareness by the population a large of the desires of Indian people to participate fully in the prosperity of this country. Decisions emanating from Ottawa often reflect a negligible knowledge of Indian people and often result in the imposition of what Ottawa thinks is either good busi
ness or good for Indians. For a hundred years it is people like this who have made the decisions for us. They have hardly established an adequate track record of accomplishment, and it would seem at this time, that they are once again attempting to impose their will and perpetuate the past through a lack of foresight and a lack of understanding.

The Indian cries out in desperation for the right to try where others have failed, for we would submit to government that failures resulting from decisions made by ourselves can be no worse than your failures of the past. You have had your chance, now give us ours.

We call upon the government of Canada and the Minister of Indian Affairs to have the courage to innovate and the faith to believe that we may be able to do for ourselves, that which you could not do for us and to realize that the time has come to put aside the qualms of the bureaucracy and risk with us in winning our battle for independence.

A new approach to Indian lending is only one part of the problem of creating a new economic environment in which people can grow and advance and it must be recognized that while lending programs based on a philosophy of returnable investment are required, it is inconceivable to believe that they in themselves are a final answer. A far more significant and essential tool is a re-deployment and infusion of new funds into the area of social capital and investment in the human resources of this country. If we could redirect funds into public investment in the advancement of mankind and take advantage of the multiplication factor that is inherent in economic development, we could create employment opportunity, and through such opportunity, our independence.

In Manitoba today it is costing $242 per registered Indian to maintain us in poverty while our investment in economic activity is less than a fifth of that amount. If we could reverse that ratio, what wonders could be wrought. We call upon the government of Canada through the infusion of new capital to commit themselves
to a program of providing a minimum of $150 per capita to a program of social capital and public investment in the human resources as represented by Indian people.

It is only through a public investment program of this magnitude that effective change can be possible. We also call upon the government of Canada to be flexible in its approach so as to ensure that we have the maximum autonomy consistent with responsibility in the pursuit of our economic advancement. We must be allowed to seek responsible council or our choice, enjoying the same prerogatives as others of this society.
7. RESERVE GOVERNMENT

There has been an historic and often consistent attempt by successive governments to undermine the process of local government traditionally pursued by tribal custom and practice. The constant pressures to adapt reserve level government to the needs of a national administration, a practice totally inconsistent with the needs of local government, has brought about a system that is largely a facade of a democratic process through which Indian Councils have exercised little decision making power while the Department made most of the decisions for them.

The establishment of a system whose function is largely to make only those decisions that government will allow, or to carry out programs as devised by government, is inconsistent with the rights of all organized groups within society to establish their own objectives, to carry out their own programs consistent with their needs and for the advancement of their people.

In 1968 attempts were made in Manitoba to provide a basis for greater participation by Indian Band Councils in the decision making process through a program of partnership. This program was to be complementary to a grant to bands program that was theoretically designed to give us the financial resources with which to facilitate and implement programs of progress. The program aborted principally because the system of Federal administration was too inflexible and too universal in its application to adjust to the changing needs of an emerging people, to the disparities that exist between the levels of advancement as between regions and reserves and to adapt to the variety of priorities as seen by different bands in different circumstances. Rigidity in application and in concept is the greatest impediment to effective development of people. The apparent inability of the Federal structure to respond to the diversity of needs as between people and reserves imposes intolerable constraints upon a program of social change such as to preclude the effective accomplishment of many of its objectives.
Experience since 1968 has clearly demonstrated that the system of local government is neither consistent with the demands of a Federally structured department nor with the local government system as practised by municipal government throughout the province. It is the belief of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood that if true and effective advancement of people is to be achieved, then the means by which the community can identify its own priorities, consistent with its diversity of needs must be at least equal to the freedom to plan and the freedom to practice enjoyed by other forms of local government.

There is a need on the part of the Federal Government to free itself from its inflexible constraints so as to permit us to enjoy all of the privileges and prerogatives of local administration, to plan on the basis of our needs, to establish our own priorities consistent with those needs and to implement a program that will provide opportunity for all through local action and local commitment. A program of this nature should provide for one of the essential ingredients to success in any enterprise, that being pride of accomplishment, having established an objective and having reached that objective through their own efforts albeit with the support of the government.

To bring about such an objective will require a significant shift in the historic role of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

The principle change required of the Federal Government is that it recognize that it is the facilitator of a social change process designed to enhance and to facilitate equality of opportunity by the economically deprived and the socially dispossessed. Its role must shift from one of administrator to one of consultant and facilitator, and it must divest itself of the mantle of paternalism and decision making that has imposed its desire upon us for the past century.

On a regional basis it must develop the ability to respond to our changing needs as these are defined by Indian people through
a process of local government that is consistent with and comparable to the local government structure that applies to non-Indian society. It must develop a philosophy that is positive in its impact, that seeks to help us define how to accomplish things as opposed to the age old habit of government based often on a negative reaction that if it doesn't say you can, then you can't rather than if it doesn't say you can't, then you can. The realignment of the regional structure to eliminate the middle tier of administration, that being the district office, so as to provide a basis for free and open communication between the local government unit and the regional responsibility centre may threaten many of those administrators who for years have enjoyed the opportunity to decide for others. While it may threaten a few it may open the door to opportunity for many, for the denial of those rights of self determination is an unconscionable imposition upon the socially and economically deprived that cannot be continued in a country that believes in a free and democratic society.

A change of the magnitude envisaged will also require greater commitments on our part to seek for ourselves solutions to our problems with the help of government as opposed to expecting government to seek those solutions for our people. This will mean the undertaking by us of a greater and greater responsibility for the decisions affecting our lives and our future and placing in our hands the resources to accomplish the tasks defined. While this shift in emphasis in Indian-Government relations will not be without its errors and mistakes it must be recognized that we the Indian people will learn more from those errors and that whatever happens, the growth of independence and self-reliance is strengthened by the experience, experience that has been denied in the paternalistic structure of the past.

It is the belief of the Manitoba Indian people that immediate steps must be taken by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development to facilitate a change in orientation and to develop a responsiveness to local initiative based on flexibility of concept and program support. To free ourselves from the bonds of regimentation and administrative rigidity to pursue a future based on progress and responsibility would be to achieve the ob-
jective of self determination often pursued by successive govern-
ments hesitantly and tentatively, seldom courageously and imag-
natively.

That we are essentially behind the rest of Canada is a tragic con-
sequence of your lack of concern and your lack of confidence in
the ability of a people to direct their own destiny and o the
gross neglect of successive governments to adequately prepare
for a role of equal contribution and equal participation in a
large society.

Time no longer permits apathy and procrastination. That
segment of our society lives in extreme deprivation compels us
to tread the unknown for the programs of the past have been
inadequate to the task and the one program that has not been
tried with courage and imagination is to allow us to establish our
own goals and administer our own affairs.

The establishment of a program of reserve responsibilities
centres comparable to local government units designed to provide
to us both the opportunity and the wherewithal to achieve in
our own right and in our own way equality with our fellow man must
be initiated now.

The Indian people of Manitoba are pleased to note that the
Department of Indian Affairs has accepted the principle of the es-
tablishment of responsibility centres and is now beginning to tal-
action designed to eliminate the middle tier of administration in
dissolving the district office concept. This in itself is a major step
forward but will not by itself be completely successful without the
involvement of our people in the decision making responsibiliti
of the regional office. We feel that it is important that we not on
define at the local level our objectives and priorities but that we
also have some voice in and share the responsibility for the
decisions that are made in response to our own initiatives. We feel
that this is important for two reasons, firstly to preclude the sug-
gestion that arbitrary decisions are made by the departmental ad-
ministration that could hinder if not conflict with rational consi-
eration of community level submissions and secondly place us in the position of having to make some of these difficult decisions that will inevitably have to be made with respect to allocation of funds in accordance with overall priorities.

To separate us from participation in the regional decision making process could open the door to misunderstanding and misinformation and would deprive us of an opportunity to learn, from first hand experience the ramifications involved in the assessment of local government proposals.

To avoid such a situation and to provide for the maximum opportunity for our involvement in the decision making process, both at the local level and at the regional level, it is recommended that there be established a system of boards and commissions that would provide for our real involvement in the full scope of the decision making process as it applies in Manitoba. The details of this recommendation are to be found in the recommendation section of this paper.
SUMMARY
OF MAJOR
RECOMMENDATIONS
SUMMARY OF
MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS

Throughout the body of this paper are numerous specific recommendations related to many concerns and policies that we feel require confirmation, program development, adaptation and improvement. The major recommendations of this report that follow deal specifically with a new method of involving people in a meaningful way in the planning and implementation of programs responsive to those items we have identified.

Local Government, the development of local school boards, hospital boards, health committees, etc. all require a responsive mechanism to be truly effective. All of our efforts to effect change could be defeated through a lack of commitment by either party. The momentum generated through partnership must be sustained.

The recommendations that follow in no way diminish the importance of those recommendations found elsewhere in this paper and we commend to the reader that a complete reading of the paper is essential to real understanding.

While there are many and diverse views on the question of an adaptation in the field of Indian Affairs administration in order to facilitate the creation of greater involvement on the part of Indian people in the decisions affecting our lives, the following recommendations are based on an extension of the existing philosophy as expressed by the Indians of Manitoba and the Department of Indian Affairs, Regional offices, is that partnership offers the greatest opportunity for success. This philosophy dates back to 1968 when the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood made a submission to the Hon. Mr. Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs & Northern Development advocating a new partnership relationship between the Indians of Manitoba and the Department.

The joining together of the two principal groups, one representing the interests and aspirations of Indian people, the
other charged with the responsibility for the development of programs of response is a logical extension of that philosophy and is complimentary to the local government position presently adopted by us the Indians of Manitoba and the Department. The recommendations contained herein are designed to accomplish two purposes:

a) to provide a real as opposed to theoretical opportunity for Indian people to participate in program development and implementation in response to the local responsibility centre concept of community government.

b) To diminish the possibility of arbitrary acts of the part of the department inconsistent with the objectives of partnership and local government either by design or by accident by providing us with an opportunity to participate in those decisions.

c) by providing a vehicle through which we can, effect program development at the central source, avoid the necessity or the development of an Indian bureaucracy within the Brotherhood itself thus protecting the political integrity of the organization, freeing it to provide the kind or representation consistent with its constitution and objectives.

d) the adoption of the recommendations herein contained will provide an opportunity for a greater number of Indian people from a greater variety of communities to gain experience in and an understanding of the full scope of the ramifications of program development and application and through this vehicle create a situation whereby Indian communities with the advice and guidance of their own representatives can make informed decisions with respect to their future.
As has been stated, while band councils and local government is the hub around which localized economic and social progress can be generated, there needs to be a complimentary and responsive regional administration that can, in a meaningful way, respond to realistic local initiatives. In order to facilitate such a development it is recommended that certain principle functions of the regional office of the Department of Indian Affairs be broadened to provide for boards or commissions that would be in effect an integral part of the decision making process at the regional level. Such boards and commissions would be functionally responsible to the Regional Director and his advisors to evaluate local government submissions and recommend thereon, to examine and evaluate the effectiveness of program application and to provide guidance and advice on program development and implementation.

Such boards or commissions would be representative of both the Department and the Indian people providing a basis for sharing responsibility for decisions with respect to program adaptation and program effectiveness. The Boards or commissions as such would not negate the responsibility of the Department to Parliament but would simply provide for Indian participation in the recommendation apparatus in order to ensure that program development, adaptation and implementation more accurately reflects the needs and requirements of Indian communities and the people they represent. It can in no way diminish the effectiveness of the Department in the carrying out of its responsibilities but rather will enhance the Department's effectiveness in relating its responsibilities and its programs to the needs of Indian people.

It is suggested that the following boards and commissions be established,

— Local Government Board

— Economic Development Board
— Welfare Board

— Health Services Board

— Education Commission

— Police Commission

LOCAL GOVERNMENT BOARD

Responsibilities

— To establish policy and direct implementation of the program of local government through the development of community responsibility centers.

— To examine, evaluate and make recommendations on program requirements and effectiveness.

— To assess community budget submissions and make recommendations to the Regional Director re financial requirements for submission to headquarters.

— To participate in financial allocation decisions, recommending to the Regional Director priorities for consideration in the allocation of funds to responsibility centers.

Membership

Equal representation (Three Indian appointees — Three Departmental appointees).

Reporting Responsibility

To the Regional Director and his advisors and the executive committee of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BOARD

Responsibilities

— To evaluate economic development requirements of Indian bands.

— To examine development proposals from community responsibility centers and recommend programs of response.

— To evaluate existing programs and their application and assess their adequacy and effectiveness and recommend improvements or adaptations.

— To establish policy with respect to field services and recommend extension or deletions as warranted.

Membership

Equal representation (Three Indian appointees — Three Departmental appointees).

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT BOARD (Cont’d.)

Reporting Responsibility

To the Regional Director and his advisors and the executive of The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

WELFARE BOARD

Responsibilities

— To examine and report on welfare services, their adequacy and effectiveness, their compliance with the regulations.
— To recommend policy with respect to "Delivery" procedures.

— To recommend alternatives, improvements, or adaptations consistent with contemporary practices and understanding.

— To hear appeals with respect to complaints received from clients in receipt of or applying for assistance.

Membership

Equal representation (Three Indian appointees — Three Departmental appointees).

Reporting Responsibility

To the Regional Director and his advisors and the executive of The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

HEALTH SERVICES BOARD

Implicit in this recommendation is our belief and acceptance of the fact that we are entitled to free, full medical and health services wherever we are and whatever our circumstances.

The effectiveness of the health services program has historically been hampered by both the lack of understanding and the lack of involvement of Indian people. Externally controlled hospitals and nursing stations, externally developed programs of curative or preventative medicine have left little room for local participation.

While white society has enjoyed a range of choice and a voice in determining the adequacy and method of service they reach...
we have had to passively accept second class services, irrelevant programs and arbitrary decisions. To be really effective programs and services must both be understood by those whom they are intended to serve and must be related to need as identified by those served.

The recently established programs of health liaison and family education have helped bridge the gap to some extent. It is essential however, that we have a more direct role in defining our needs, in establishing programs and priorities and in the implementation of programs and services.

To bring about a closer identification and relationship between ourselves and national health services we would recommend the establishment, at the regional level, a health services board whose responsibilities are as follows:

**HEALTH SERVICES BOARD**

**Responsibilities**

- To evaluate and assess existing services, deficiencies and delivery

- To recommend policy with respect to program adaptation, new program development, method of delivery etc.

- To review community level submissions with respect to health care and related matters keeping with the opportunity for increased local participation in health services.

- To facilitate the establishment of hospital boards and health committees at the community level.
Membership:

Equal representation (three Indian appointees — three appointees by the Department of National Health And Welfare.)

Reporting responsibility:

To the Medical Regional Director, Department of National Health and Welfare and the Executive of the M.I.B.

EDUCATION COMMISSION

The education section of this paper stipulates many recommendations of great importance to us. To ensure that these recommendations can be effectively implemented the establishment of an education commission becomes mandatory. It would be pointless to repeat all of the recommendations of that section here for all would comprise the basic responsibility of the commission.

The importance of the education commission is of such magnitude as to require a full study of all recommendations in this respect.

Membership

Equal representation (three Indian appointees — three departmental appointees).

Reporting Responsibility

To the Regional Director and his advisors and the executive of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

POLICE COMMISSION

By reason of the special nature of police services to communities and their special responsibilities in protecting the rights of
the individual, it is recognized that the delivery of services with respect to policing is a sensitive and responsible area. If people are to be adequately protected and the services extended to them to be reasonable and responsible, it becomes essential that those who carry out the function of police officers be well trained in their profession and that they in turn be sensitive to the needs and requirements of the people whom they serve.

It is our opinion that the training presently extended to Indian people by reason of time, is inadequate and that there needs to be a more effective method of providing not only police training but training in the fields of fire prevention and fire protection so that Indian people can enjoy the maximum benefit from these services. The establishment of the training centre at Rivers will make possible the institution of a program of police and fire training for Indian constables that could be comparable to that training given to other members of police forces throughout the province. The need is clearly identified, the facilities are available to carry out such a program.

In addition to training itself, it is our opinion that there should be a co-ordinated approach to the extension of police services to Indian communities so that properly trained policemen will be made available to those communities who wish to employ such services, and for these reasons we would recommend that there be established a Provisional Tribal Police Commission whose principal responsibility will be to:

— develop the basis for the establishment of a positive program of police training relative to the people they will serve.

— create the basis for a permanent police commission charged with responsibility for providing police services on reserves to those communities participating.
Membership:

- one representative from each of the four tribal groups (Cree, Ojibway, Sioux and Chipewyan)
- one member of the R.C.M.P
- one member of the federal Department of Justice
- one member of the Department of Indian Affairs.

Reporting responsibility:

- to all reserve communities through the executive of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.
RESERVE POLICING

RESERVE COMMUNITIES

MANITOBA INDIAN BROTHERHOOD EXECUTIVE

POLICE COMMISSION

TRAINING PROGRAM

RESERVE POLICING
ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE
MANITOBA INDIAN BROTHERHOOD

INDIAN PEOPLE

BAND COUNCIL

REGIONs

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

- ADVISORY BOARDS
- STAFF
- GOVERNMENT BOARDS
- CORPORATIONS
- COMMUNITY BOARDS
- COMMITTEES
- NATIONAL IND. COUN.
Manitoba Indian Brotherhood

Staff Structure
PRIVATE BUSINESS SECTOR

There is one group in our society that appears to be totally unaware of and unconcerned about the Indian fact. The private business sector, who are the job creators of our society have, in the past, shown little evidence of social concern and have been less than responsive to their social obligations.

It is notable, however, that most businesses are quick to sell their product to those of us who can manage to gather up enough money for domestic goods for commercial operations. It is paradoxical that the private sector, who are large tax payers, can ignore their obligations with respect to the advancement of the Indian people, while at the same time, complain about the high costs of subsistence welfare programs. It is paradoxical in the context that if they were to create jobs or help Indian people to create jobs we would convert what is a negative welfare drain to a positive earned income situation.

For too many years business, like many other sectors of our society, have simply left it to Government to seek solutions to problems that they did not themselves want to contend with. It is to be noted again, that this has been the situation for over 100 years and that their corporate obligations to help solve the social problems of the Nation has not resulted in any significant advancement for the poor and the oppressed.

The situation today is considerably different than it was 1 years ago, and it is becoming increasingly incumbent upon business enterprise to be good corporate citizens and to do their share in solving the tragic social problems of this Nation, problems that often originate from their own blind pursuit of progress and expansion.

In our struggle for advancement, we have been compelled to use the resources of the Civil Service in our efforts to create economic activity. We know from experience that we would be better served to seek out advice and council from those whose e:
perience is more directly related to productive advancement, that being from the private sector. Unfortunately, during our struggles for progress and participation, business organizations have been noted for their absence rather than their presence, in the forefront of the fight for recognition and redress.

It is inconceivable to us that that sector of our society, who have benefited so well from the resources of this country could turn their backs on the cancer of poverty and deprivation that is slowly eating away the very flesh of our democracy. We have the belief that business's apparent lack of concern is a reflection of their lack of knowledge and understanding, and believe even further their lack of ways and means of identifying with the problem. We know that you cannot be callous and indifferent for our future is also your future, for without progress and participation by all sectors of society, the very fabric of this nation is under tension and may break down.

We would ask the private business community to become concerned and knowledgeable about the problems of the socially deprived and the economic underprivileged, that they take the trouble to inform themselves as to the extent of this problem, and together with Indian people seek to find ways and means of bringing about a more equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity. Business can provide the vehicle for economic regeneration and we ask that you use your power and influence to participate with us in accomplishing that which the State has not been able to accomplish for the past 100 years. Our future lies in effecting change in our own right with the help of all Society.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

Many sectors of society have remained indifferent to the Indian fact. Not the least of these has been the Labor Movement of this country. It is accepted that the opportunities for mutual understanding and involvement have been limited.
It follows that with an unemployment factor of 68% amongst Indian people that few Indian people have been exposed to the Labor Movement. Labor Unions have not been noted for their receptiveness to involvement by Indians in industrial employment.

The general preoccupation of Labor Unions with matters related to those whom they represent is understandable. Such preoccupation, however, does not excuse the fact that as organized special interest groups they also have obligations and responsibilities for what happens in our society.

That a significant segment of our society is largely unemployed is an unacceptable state to society as a whole. We often live in close proximity to resource developments of an industrial nature while at the same time we are denied employment opportunity in those developments.

While we often lack training, that does not mean we are untrainable, that we have lacked involvement does not mean we don’t want to be involved. We would remind the Labor Movement that training for employment for Indian people requires more than a commitment by Government, but also imposes upon those in society at large a responsibility to ensure that no man is denied an opportunity to work or to be trained to work.

We demand the active involvement of Indian people in organized labor to achieve access to a full range of economic employment.

It is acknowledged that the Labor Movement is also one of the strongest voices in speaking out for and effecting social change and the betterment of our society. It has however, been notably silent on matters related to inequality and injustice as these apply to Indian people. We could accept that through a lack of knowledge and understanding that the Labor Movement doesn’t know how to identify with this problem. This, however, does not preclude an improvement in your knowledge of and participation with Indians in their fight for independence.
True democracy and the future of all peoples require a basis of mutual trust and mutual understanding. Without greater understanding between Labor and Indian we deny both the benefit of productive society.

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

For a long time, dating back to the early fur trade, the various religious organizations, both Protestant and Catholic, imposed their form of worship and regimentation upon the Indian. Notwithstanding the fact that the Indian enjoyed and practised his own form of worship, the main objective of the churches was to convert the “heathen” masses.

Over the years the churches dominated Indian lives by controlling the educational process. Notwithstanding that they may have been sincerely motivated, the effect was to practise conversion by imposition and coercion.

The competition by the various denominations to “save the souls” of the Indian proved to be a divisive force both between Indians and further between Indians and the State.

The determination of the church to maintain its predominant position in the field of education and further their influence on Indian people created, in some cases, a competitive atmosphere within which the Indian became a pawn rather than a benefactor. The evolution of Indian-Church relations has significantly altered that historic relationship.

It is unfortunate that the transition from historic Church paternalism to today sees the Church in a state of uncertainty with respect to not only its relationship with Indian people but also its responsibilities to Indian people. They like all society cannot shrug off their responsibilities for the Indian fact today.

The Church (meaning all religious denominations) could be
and should be one of the strongest forces for social change in our society. They represent one of the last invulnerable agencies within our society that can, without fear or reprisal, stand up and speak out for social change and justice. That they have largely abdicated that responsibility is tragic.

It is increasingly important that the Church (in a collective sense) stand with the Indian, not apart from him. That they participate in change through support of the Indian and that they do so by encouraging rather than by leading. The day of the Priest or Minister being the principal spokesman is past. That does not mean, however, that his obligations and responsibilities ceased to exist.

We call upon the Churches to seek out ways to identify new roles with Indian people, that in doing so they recognize that the Church is the people, and the people, the Church. We need an alliance for good based on Christian principles. Mutual support will only be effective when it is truly mutual.

We ask the Church to opt in, not out, but to opt in as partners in social change and the betterment of man. To do so will require understanding and what we do or what we say may not always please you but neither what you do or what you say will always please us.

The search for understanding requires commitment by both parties, this essentially is the fabric of all human relationships.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Some time ago in the fall of 1970, the National Indian Brotherhood called upon the Government of Canada to establish a Ministernal Cabinet Committee that would include representation of leaders of the Indian Associations throughout Canada. The need for such a committee is becoming increasingly apparent as various government departments play one department off against the other to the detriment of the Indian people.
Policy decisions made by Cabinet, often on the rather dubious and often ill-informed advice of Civil Servants, with little knowledge of Indian problems and, at times, less sympathy for the Indian cause, do little to improve mutual understanding and mutual respect between ourselves and our government.

Many matters related to Indian advancement, services, program development, etc., are being devised in almost complete isolation for the Indian people. Not the least of these decisions are those made with respect to senior appointments in critical areas. This particularly applies to the Department of Indian Affairs.

It appears to be difficult for many senior Civil Servants to accept the fact that the Department of Indian Affairs is evolving from a purely administrative organization to a social change program. Old approaches based on administrative rigidity, narrow concepts based on a white Protestant ethic bias will do little to correct the mistakes of yesterday, or to build a foundation for a better tomorrow.

Indian Affairs and, in fact, all governmental involvement with Indian people as they emerge into the 20th century is sensitive. Those who are employed to serve the interests of the Indian must understand the delicate balance between success or failure that rests on knowledge and sincere understanding.

The policymakers of this country (Cabinet) must be more acutely attuned to and aware of the problems of the Indian. They cannot hope to respond if their counsel (senior staff) are no more aware of the problems than they themselves. For too long the blind have led the blind and those who must live the problem must suffer the effects of ill-conceived and ill-founded advice given by those whose experience and sympathies are inconsistent with life as lived by Indian people.

Recent developments with respect to the transfer of senior staff and possible replacements emphasizes the problem. It is imperative, if we are to develop a relationship based on participation and understanding that immediately there be established,
— A Committee of Cabinet Representatives of those Departments principally involved in the delivery of services and the development of programs relative to Indian people, together with an equal representation of Indian leaders. The principal purpose of such a Committee would be to ensure that over-all policies and programs are realistically consistent with need and that policy and program development is co-ordinated rather than piecemeal.

— Within the Department of Indian Affairs there be established a functional committee of Indian Departmental Representatives whose principal responsibility would be to advise the Minister and the Deputy Minister on policies and programs, their effectiveness and application; staff appointments (senior), program adaptation and development, etc.

We would urge that no senior appointments be made until such a Committee is established and caution that such arbitrary appointments could be met with equally arbitrary rejection.
INDIAN-PROVINCIAL RELATIONSHIP

The treaties of one hundred years ago were entered into with high hopes that they would ensure forever harmonious relationships between the European settler and aboriginal owners of this land. They did not have this effect. During the past 100 years the Indian has been a constitutional oddity in that having signed a treaty with the Crown that provided the very basis for the existence of this province we have by that same act been denied our provincial rights as provincial citizens and have been looked upon by successive governments of this province as wards of the federal state. Provincial government after provincial government have denied their responsibilities to the Indians of Manitoba, have coldly and calculatedly turned their backs on the reality of the Indian fact and have allowed a significant sector of our collective society to live in poverty and deprivation while white society pursued progress and prosperity unconcerned for the fate of the Indian people.

During recent years with the organization of Indian people and through an increasingly effective voice the Indian people of this province and indeed of all of Canada have demonstrated that they will no longer be passive observers of the advancement of all society for the benefit of all. We make this statement with dedication and purpose for we will no longer be foreigners in our own land for our roots are deeply embedded in this soil and we will no longer be physically or socially dispossessed.

We are pleased to note and publicly recognize that this government, this provincial government has been the first to actively recognize that as a provincial government they do have responsibilities to the native population and have in both words and deeds made some commitment to the advancement of native people.

It is essential that we build upon new relationships to strengthen our society. We must recognize our mutual concern and develop a basis for mutual commitment to develop a process
for social change. The continued denial of the Indian people of Manitoba is denial of all society for there can be no truly just community if one man's progress is made at the expense of another man's degradation.

We would emphasize our unique bond with the Federal Government. This relationship with the Federal state is inviolate based on solemn treaties and historic precedence. Obligations of the Federal Government cannot be delegated, compromised or impinged upon by the province — that relationship and those obligations we hold sacred.

Notwithstanding this unique Indian-Federal relationship we also lay claim to full Provincial citizenship. We would emphasize that our provincial entitlement has consistently been denied by successive Provincial Governments who have been more concerned with exploiting our resources and capturing federal dollars than with providing justice to an alienated people.

Historically, Provincial obligations to Indians have been of low priority. For a century the Indian has been expected to live up to his responsibilities to the Province without expecting or receiving counter-commitment from the Province. We pay your taxes are expected to obey your laws; are accorded second class citizenship; are expected to accept passively change designed to enhance white development; move when we are in the way; be submissive and make no trouble.

We call upon the provincial government to make a public declaration that the Indians of Manitoba are full provincial citizens entitled to all of the considerations extended to any other citizen of this province. We call upon this government to declare that this provincial entitlement is a part of their birthright, not the result of federal-provincial agreements or constitutional legalities. Our relationships with the federal government may be unique but they in no way interfere with our rights as provincial citizens.

We remind the province of Manitoba that the Indian people of
this province pay taxes, substantial taxes (estimated at 70 million over ten years) in the same way as the other citizens of this province, a fact that is often forgotten by both government and the people. In return for the payment of such taxes, we have in the past received little or no services from the provincial government that were not paid for by the federal government. We would remind the provincial government that federal funds appropriated by the Parliament of Canada for the purposes of Indian Affairs are federal funds to meet federal obligations and were not funds intended to help the provinces fulfill their provincial obligations to Indian people.

If the province were to meet its obligations to the Indian people as provincial citizens, the funds appropriated by the Parliament of Canada could be used for enriched programs to secure the advancement of those who have been oppressed. It is the historic negligence of both the federal and provincial state that have denied the Indian the means to share fully in the richness of a land once theirs.

It is essential that the provincial government recognize it has a responsibility to develop programs and policies responsive to the changing needs of a disadvantaged minority through the adaptation of programs and adoption of policy within their sphere of influence, that are compatible with that advancement. In particular, the following are of primary concern to the Indian people of Manitoba.

Land:

We would remind the provincial government of the sacrifice made by the Indian people in land and resources that is today the basis of your prosperity. We would also ask the province to recognize the basic inequity of land settlements that saw hundreds of thousands of acres given to the Hudson Bay, millions of acres given to the C.P.R., 1.4 million to the Metis. White settlers were treated with greater generosity than the Indian. A situation that must strike at the conscience of all Manitobans.
There is a need, now to redress that inequity. The Province should set aside sufficient Crown lands to facilitate a settlement more consistent with reality.

Hunting and fishing rights:

The rights of Indians to hunt and fish on unoccupied Crown lands without restriction are historic and traditional. These rights were confirmed in the treaty negotiations themselves.

The right to hunt and fish for food has been deliberately abrogated by both federal and provincial governments. First through the Migratory Birds Convention Act and secondly through the Resources Transfer Agreement.

Conservation is not an unknown factor to Indian people nor is the unconscionable slaughter of wild life. We would submit however, that it was not the Indian who slaughtered the buffalo or decimated wild fowl populations but the white man in his unending pursuit of the dollar and his indulgence of his “Sport” that threatens the balance of nature.

Regulatory practices imposed on the Indian as well as the white while based on the realization that the extinction of certain species was probable, while well motivated in the light of the white man’s mindless slaughter, also seem to be largely based in the white man’s desire to perpetuate his fun. It is this intrusion on the basic rights of Indians who, even today must hunt for food, that cannot be continued.

The Indian insists on his historic right to hunt and fish and will not give up this right so that many can “hunt for fun” while others go hungry through restriction of their right to “hunt for food”.

The burden of cost in protecting our rights in this regard is more than we can carry. Access to legal advice and services is expensive and beyond our ability. Charges against Indians hunting
and fishing under their historic right are considered unwarranted harassment.

We would urge the provincial government to respect our rights and to suspend prosecutions forthwith thus reinstating that right so arbitrarily taken away.

Education:

While our right to an education is a Federal responsibility the curriculum content of that education is a Provincial responsibility. For more than a century, the Indian has been subjected to materials and methods which are largely irrelevant to his needs.

The end of this first century finds the Indian unacceptably behind his white counterpart still attempting to survive in a system devised by others, with little voice and no control of its form and content. Our progress is too slow and we can no longer accept planning in isolation. We must be involved.

We ask that textbooks that relate Indian history through the distortion of white historians be screened and eliminated and that the real truth of Indian history and the negotiations of the treaties be told honestly and with clarity.

We have a document entitled "Treaty Days" which represents considerable research, atmosphere and methods used to effect the negotiations in 1871.

We believe that "Treaty Days" should be required reading for all school students and for this reason we urge that it be adopted as one of the texts used in teaching Canadian history.

The quality of teaching is of primary concern. Teachers with little knowledge and insight into the culture and background of their students can often do irreparable harm.

We ask the provincial government to ensure that in schools
where Indians are attending that teachers have an opportunity for training in the culture and background of the Indian people so that they may better understand their students. We insist that Indian parents must have a greater voice in the form and content of the educational process both in terms of the physical facilities and the curriculum content of educational programs.

**Economic Development:**

Provisions of the treaties and their implementation were hardly conducive to the self-sufficiency of the Indian people, either then or today. Lands given to the Indians were insufficient both in terms of quantity and quality.

The evolution of agricultural development and the industrial revolution constantly impinged upon and restricted the freedom of movement of the Indian, encroached upon his ability to effect survival through his traditional pursuits.

This evolving pattern of expansion by white society and restriction on Indian people happened not as a result of Federal action but directly as a result of Provincial direction and encouragement for resource development was and is the responsibility of the Provincial Government.

It is incongruous that the Federal Government having obligated itself to the Indian people promptly, delegated control of the very resources required to fulfill those obligations to the Province who denied their own obligations to Indians.

It is encouraging that this Government has at least given limited recognition. We recognize the Premier's statements that the right of first priority in the exploitation and development of resource oriented industry and economic development, must go to those resident in the area. We would like to see this ideal translated into positive action through co-operation between Indian communities, their organization and the provincial government.

We would also ask the Provincial Government to grant us the
right to do for ourselves that which Governments of the past have presumed, without significant success to do for us. We have made significant progress in the field of economic development. Of major importance is the development of our own lending agency — The Manitoba Indian Development Incorporated. Federal commitment has been received — we would urge the Province to participate with us in this exciting and progressive venture.

The availability of resources both physical and economic depends in part on your understanding and commitment — not to decide for us but help us to decide for ourselves.

Legal Protection.

The Indian through poverty, lack of understanding of a legal system that is often irrelevant to his culture and his environment, finds himself victimized by laws intended to protect both himself and the rest of society. His view of law is often colored by a one-sided relationship with the Indian more a victim than a benefactor.

Historic inequities in treatment and rights abrogated by acts of Government are matters requiring legal action. Protection of self and his race against discrimination require money and resources beyond the ability of most Indian people.

Increasing pressure is being placed upon the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood to respond to pressure that is beyond our ability to cope with financially.

Every day events and a lack of understanding of society's rules finds many before the courts for minor infractions. Inability to pay fines or lack of interest in paying fines lands many in jail. The inequity of treatment of Indian people is cause for much bitterness and confusion.

In the areas of legal protection, we urge that the provincial government recognize the difficult position of Indian people in not
only defending their rights but in understanding those rights and call upon the provincial government to undertake a program of legal understanding. Legal aid for those who already are in trouble, while a worthwhile project, can never take the place of helping those stay out of trouble through greater understanding. It is our belief that laws are only relevant to those who understand them, that for a century we have been compelled to conform to set rules that are alien to our society and are not fully understood. We ask the government to seek an end to penalizing inequitably those who cannot afford to protect themselves or conversely cannot afford to pay a fine, for the Indian, by reason of poverty, is paying a disproportionate penalty when compared to the rest of society. This is borne out in the statement of Magistrate Ian Dubiensky that the majority of Indian people that are resident in Headingley Gaol are there by reason of their inability to pay fines for social infractions as opposed to criminal offenses.

The need to provide constant response to people in trouble with the law compels the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood to hire on staff a lawyer whose principle function will be to ensure that Indian people are properly protected and have access to proper legal counsel. It is anticipated that full use would be made of legal aid, human rights organizations etc. through proper knowledge of the services offered.

As has been noted, many Indian people are sent to jail through their inability to pay fines. This factor combined with their lack of knowledge of law sees many convicted before the courts on charges that often would be disposed of by legal counsel.

A high percentage of those committed in Headingley Gaol are convicted of offences subject to summary conviction an area where legal aid is not available. If we are to ensure that proper justice is done than we would urge that the provincial government:

(a) Grant funds to the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood so that they can employ full time legal counsel so that
Indian people can have access to proper advice and can utilize effectively legal aid services.

(b) The Provincial Government should expand legal aid services to include offences subject to summary conviction.

In addition to the foregoing, there is a desperate need for rehabilitation services to assist Indian people on their re-entry to society. No service is presently available that is designed to meet the needs of Indian people.

The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in an attempt to at least partially meet this demand has decided to employ one counsellor at this time. While no funds are available for this service, the need is such as to require immediate action.

We would urge the Provincial Government to recognize the high cost, both in terms of money and in terms of human suffering brought about by confinement and frequent repetitive convictions often resulting from indifference to the difficulties of the Indian on re-entry. In recognition that much more can be done we would ask the Provincial Government to support and participate with the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood in the development of a rehabilitation program.

General.

The extent to which Indian people are penalized by the acts of the larger society is not clearly defined. Pollution and its effects are not only reflected by their effect on commercial fishermen but also are reflected in their effect on those who must fish for food. While compensation has been paid to those whose livelihood has been impaired, no compensation has been extended to those whose life, through depletion of food supply or damage to health, may be impaired.

This again is another example of inconsiderate or callous
disregard of the rights of others perpetuated by the state. Flooding of lands is another.

It is imperative that the Government closely examine "cause and effect" related to local residents when planning resource development; government must ensure that Indian people are not apart from but a part of provincial planning and programming. Indian people must have the right to examine such development, present their views and participate. Anything less would be tokenism.

One of our less tangible, but nevertheless palpable, resources is our history and our heritage. Today there exists a symbol of both in the form of Lower Fort Garry.

The Indian people of Manitoba would like to acquire land adjacent to the Fort on which would be built a permanent Indian village that would be a living reminder of the co-habitation of this country that is a part of our history. We would ask the provincial government to assist us in acquiring this land and in establishing this permanent historic memorial to our beginnings as a country.

Of primary importance to us as Indian people will be negotiations with the federal government over treaty and aboriginal rights to take place in the future. In order to ensure that our rights are not compromised we would ask the provincial government to publicly re-affirm its agreement with us that it will not enter into any federal provincial agreements without the knowledge, participation and prior consent of the Indian people.

This you have stated verbally — re-affirmation publicly would strengthen our confidence.

The items referred to herein represent a partial listing of our position with respect to Indian-Provincial relationships.

We ask that the provincial government seek means of
improving the relationships between us and itself through continued co-operation between our organization and the communities it represents and the provincial cabinet. Our problems are often complex and defy simple solutions but if through joint consultation and participation we can seek answers for the mutual benefit and advancement of society then we are satisfied that in the long run the participatory democracy will take on new meaning for both the Indian and his white counterpart.
FEDERAL — PROVINCIAL — INDIAN RELATIONS

During the past year the Government of Canada, the Government of Manitoba, and the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood established a Tripartite Committee in order to facilitate discussion between the three agencies on matters of mutual concern.

Indian participation in such a committee is based on the belief that through discussion and an exchange of ideas it should be possible to bring about a better understanding of the problems plaguing a large segment of our society. Our participation, however, is conditional upon certain guarantees, in particular, the guarantee by both the Federal Government and the Provincial Government that no decision, no agreements, no transfer of responsibility will be undertaken by the two governments without the prior knowledge and consent of the Indian people of Manitoba.

The scope and ability of the Tripartite Committee to operate as an effective vehicle of discussion and negotiation is strictly based on a trust relationship that could be easily compromised by any arbitrary acts on the part of either government and would certainly terminate should the two governments enter into any agreement, formally or informally with our knowledge and consent.

There are many matters relevent to the advancement of Indians that could be discussed, negotiated, and implemented provided that we deal openly and frankly with one another. Of principle importance to us would be allocation of resources (priority for Indian people in areas where they live), defining provincial entitlement of Indians provincial citizens and clarifying federal inputs in accordance with federal obligations.

We would caution that the existence of the Tripartite Committee in no way absolves or relieves either government of their responsibilities and obligations and that the fabric of that trust relationship is fragile at best. History has shown the Indian that it is often easy to talk about progress but governments’ ability to deliver upon its promises seldom matches its intent.
OUR TOMORROWS

For centuries the Indian has known a language which bears a vital relationship to his reality. The language of the white man has always been essentially alien to him. He has felt it as a weapon used to inflict deception and to justify oppression. He has known your language in the form of both subtle and bold lies. The Indian's relationship with the white man has never gone from good to better, it has varied only according to the variety and intensity of deceptions.

Recently we have entered into the first phase of a dialogue in which the government has solicited our opinions. This paper is an expression of our opinions on the problems, grievances, and prospects of the Indian of Manitoba. We have, as always, spoken honestly. We expect an honest response in the form of action and commitment from the government. Rhetoric or unfulfilled promises are no longer enough. Our language is the language of change: yours must adapt to that principle. Further deceptions are no longer tolerable.

It is imperative that our position now be studied and that our suggestions be acted upon. Our tomorrows will require a continuing process of both consultations and implementation in which our words are finally assigned the importance denied them beginning one hundred years ago.