SHIFTING THE BALANCE: INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS ACTIVISM IN THE COMPANY OF YOUNG CANADIANS, 1966-1970

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Abstract

Shifting the Balance: Indigenous and non-Indigenous activism in the Company of Young Canadians, 1966-1970

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Shifting the Balance will focus on some of the expressions the movement for social change took when Native youth and non-native youth in Canada worked together - how student activism and Indigenous activism in Canada intersected, attempting to create lasting social change by shifting the balance of power. Few scholarly works have been written from a historical perspective analyzing the relationship between these collective groups, exploring the intersection, and the divergence of various groups. Moreover, the majority of Indian and White relations' scholarship analyzes the relationship between Indigenous collectives/communities and the State. Using the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) as a case study, *Shifting the Balance* seeks to examine the interconnection between youth activists and Indigenous activists by attending to where Native and non-Native youth activists intersected ideologically, and/or where these intersections manifested either directly or indirectly in praxis. In particular, this study examines how Indigenous media was an instrumental tool of Indigenous activism. My thesis will address these key dynamics in an effort to fill one of the more obvious gaps in existing 60s scholarship, and will also provide another means of deepening our understanding of Native and non-native relations.

Keywords: Company of Young Canadians (CYC), Indigenous activism, youth activism, student activism, alliances, Akwesasne Notes, Kenomadiwin News, Challenge for Change, Red Power

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A special thank you goes to my friend and intellectual resource David Tough, who 'put me up' and 'put up with me' while I was conducting research in Ottawa. To my family and friends, who encouraged me and listened to my ramblings, you are truly the best. In particular, I wish to thank my mother Sheila for her unfailing love and support. A special thank you also to John Mather whose professional expertise helped me to pull together this document. Nothing worth doing is easy; this adage has proven too true.

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Introduction

The sixties and seventies were a time of protests, civil unrest and, in some countries, revolutions. These movements for social change were simultaneously ideological and expressed in praxis. Dissident voices galvanized youth activists, who were responding to perceived social injustices, including those perpetuated by the Canadian state. Yet, the state also stimulated these calls for change by encouraging organized youth projects; even the rhetoric of the Pearson and Trudeau governments advocated 'participatory democracy.'[1] The sixties were also a time when 'youth'[2] took on increasing importance in Canadian society. Not only was youth articulated in the media as a separate interest group; it was also conceived of as the repository of society's new leaders and visionaries, in an era of social action and participatory democracy. Student and youth organizations, active since the late 1950s, gained currency and membership in Canada.[3] Optimism permeated the federal government's discussions of youth radicalism, with the government advocating that participatory democracy could, and should, be part of a new age of Canadian nationalism; the government also recognized that youth radicalism was a rising force.

In the spring of 1965, then Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson delivered an impassioned speech to the House of Commons announcing the Liberal government's

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1 Participatory democracy is a process of direct consultation that enables citizens to be full participants in decision-making processes that affect their lives, rather than solely through representative democracy. See Students for a Democratic Society, *The Port Huron Statement* (Chicago 1962), 6 for a discussion of participatory democracy. See Martin Loney, "A political economy of citizen participation," in *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power*, ed. Leo Panitch, (Toronto 1977), 446-472 for a critique of participatory democracy and state cooption.

2 See Cynthia Comacchio, The Dominion of Youth: Adolescence and the Making of a Modern Canada, 1920-50 (Waterloo 2006) for a discussion on the concept of youth in Canada. John and Margaret Rowntree, "The Political Economy of Youth," Our Generation, 6/1-2 (1968): 155-187.

3 Groups such as the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND), formed in the late 1950s, expanded from a single-issue organization to become SUPA in 1964. The Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC) formed in the early 1960s.

intention to form a new and extraordinary youth organization. In the second reading of Bill C-174, Pearson's oratory expounded that the Company of Young Canadians[4] was to be "experimental as well as responsible in its approach to problems... not afraid to move into new and creative areas of social action...in the battle against poverty, disease, deprivation and inequality wherever these may exist in our country." [5] One of five new government programs to fight the "war on poverty,"[6] the CYC, armed with its lofty goals, was touted as shining proof of the federal government's belief in 'participatory democracy.'

A year later, the Company of Young Canadians was established through an act of Parliament, assented to on the 11th of July 1966. Promulgated as the Canadian version of the Peace Corps, the CYC was indeed modeled on Volunteers in Service to America or VISTA (the domestic branch of the American Peace Corps). [7] However, unlike its American counterpart, the CYC was to have freedom and independence in planning and executing its programs.[8] It is difficult to determine with certainty, what the Federal Liberals originally envisioned when they proposed setting up the CYC. Perhaps a more pessimistic, or rather realistic analysis of the State's agenda would stress something less altruistic, and more calculating behind its efforts. As a state-created organization devised by the Pearson government, perhaps it was hoped that, the CYC would provide a means

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[4] John Turner and Judy La Marsh, then part of the Pearson government, are credited with the naming.
[5] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Company of Young Canadians fonds (hereafter CYC), RG 116, Box 182, File "The CYC – A Social Catalyst, Colorful...but Competent? by Robert Sinclair."
[6] "The War On Poverty," *Labour Gazette* September 1965, 794. The other four programs announced were: the Area Development Program, the Manpower Mobility Program, ARDA (Agricultural Rehabilitation and Development Administration), and the Canada Assistance Plan.
[7] Kennedy administration founded VISTA in 1964. See T. Zane Reeves, *The Politics of the Peace Corps and Vista* (Tuscaloosa 1988); and William H. Crook and Ross Thomas, *Warriors for the Poor: The story of VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America* (New York 1969).
[8] Canada, House of Commons, Standing Committee on Broadcasting Films, and Assistance to the Fine Arts, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Respecting the Company of Young Canadians*, Second Session, Twenty-Eight Parliament, 1969, Number 10 (Ottawa 1969), 19-20.

to "harness youth,"[9] channel activism, and co-opt radicalism. Yet from 1966-1969 the CYC was not part of a government department, was not run by professional administrators, nor was it directed by public administration.[10]

The CYC's unique structure permitted the organization to exercise a level of autonomy and control not enjoyed by any government organization before or since, while having access to almost 2.5 million dollars in government funding. Because it was organized as a crown corporation, the CYC was not assigned to any Ministry. [11] Externally, the executive reported to the Privy Council, and internally it answered to a governing council, half of whom were to be CYC volunteers. Pressure from the Canadian public against the CYC mounted swiftly, with accusations of communism, anti-patriotism, and wanton spending of government money, culminating in the Saulnier affair in 1969.[12] Lucien Saulnier accused the Quebec chapter of the CYC of being a haven for terrorists and terrorist activities. The cumulative public pressure resulted in a Parliamentary Committee investigation.[13] By 1970, any hint of radicalism had been quashed. Claude Vidal, who was appointed CYC executive director, was an administrator

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[9] Penny Williams, *Maclean's*, January 22 1966, 1.

[10] Michael George Day, "A Re-examination of the social action process in the light of the C.Y.C. experience," MSW thesis University of Calgary (1970), 58.

[11] An excerpt taken from Margaret Daly's *The Revolution Game: The Short Unhappy Live of the Company of Young Canadians* (Toronto 1970), 7 relates the significance of such a structure: "The Company was to be an autonomous Crown Corporation, similar to the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. But the CBC's Board of Governors is appointed by the government. Anyone who has worked at the CBC knows there are plenty of radicals there, who want to do radical things in programming. They inevitably clash with the CBC brass. But even in their most far-out idealistic moments, never has one of them come up with the giddy suggestion that producers, story editors, film directors, researchers, announcers, and technicians ought to be able to get together and elect ten of their own number to run the CBC."

[12] Lucien Saulnier, Chairman of the City of Montreal's executive committee laid public charges of subversive activity on the part of the CYC, and demanded that a Royal Commission be established to look into the matter.

[13] In fact, a member of the CYC was indeed arrested on allegations of bomb making at CYC headquarters.

and bureaucrat.[14] The federal government appointed the governing council, with the CYC's mandate firmly planted within a community development model. Although the level of autonomy that "gave authority to young people to set up their own organization, to run it by themselves without any direction"[15] was brief (1966-1969), a lot happened in those three years.

[14] Prior to the CYC, Vidal worked as the school administrator for the École des Beaux Arts in Montreal and was responsible for ending a strike at the school in 1966. See Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 144 for a brief biography of Vidal leading up to his tenure with the Company of Young Canadians.
[15] R.A.J. Phillips. Canada, House of Commons, Standing Committee on Broadcasting Films, and Assistance to the Fine Arts, *Minutes of Proceedings and Evidence, Respecting the Company of Young Canadians*, Second Session, Twenty-Eight Parliament, 1969, Number 10 (Ottawa 1969), 19-20.

Chapter One: Structure

Using the Company of Young Canadians (CYC) as a case study, focusing on the period 1966-1970, *Shifting the Balance* seeks to examine the interconnection between Native and non-Native youth activists, how they intersected ideologically, and where these intersections were manifested either directly or indirectly in praxis. *Shifting the Balance* will focus on some of the expressions the movement for social change took, when Native youth and non-native youth in Canada worked together - how student activism and Indigenous activism in Canada intersected attempting to create lasting social change by shifting the balance of power. Few scholarly works have been written from a historical perspective analyzing the relationship between these collectives, exploring the intersection, and the divergence of various coalitions. Moreover, the majority of Indian and White relations' scholarship analyzes the relationship between Indigenous collectives/communities and the State. Yet we don't really know how, for example, student activists and Red Power advocates intersected, if at all, ideologically and in action, during the turbulent sixties. My thesis will address this key dynamic in an effort to fill one of the more obvious gaps in existing 60s scholarship, and will also provide another means of deepening our understanding of Native and non-native relations.

The second chapter provides an overview of the CYC's history, including a look at CYC policies, and a general profile of CYC members, notably Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants. The chapter also illustrates the overwhelmingly negative municipal, provincial, and federal government reactions to the youth organization. The chapter then reviews some of the main themes generated in the media surrounding the

CYC's public image, and how Canadian society's general feelings of uncertainty towards the youth organization turned increasingly negative, fuelled in large part by increasing government disapproval.[1] The third chapter documents the wide array of Indigenous CYC projects, and/or CYC projects in Indigenous communities that emerged between 1966 and 1969. The chapter examines the various levels of support supplied by the CYC, including human resources (native and non-native volunteers) and funding. In addition, the chapter looks at how the discourses of decentralization, pan-Indianism, social action, and self-determination underpinned the majority of Indigenous projects, and how this played out in Indigenous communities. The fourth chapter discusses CYC supported Indigenous media initiatives in print media, concentrating on the publications, the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, and *Akwesasne Notes*, and by way of contrast, the anomalous *Honey Bucket*. The significance of the first two publications is threefold. The *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, and *Akwesasne Notes* were part of a communication network, a way to inform and unite Indigenous activists across North America. Specifically, Indigenous CYC projects used the publications as part of their overall strategy for social action. More broadly, the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, and *Akwesasne Notes* were part of the proliferation of Indigenous media in North America. The chapter also looks at the (unanticipated) impact of CYC Indigenous radio initiative in Northwestern Ontario, Kenomadiwin Radio. Kenomadiwin Radio grew as an extension of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*. The fifth chapter focuses on the joint CYC, National Film Board Challenge for Change film initiative, in particular, the significance of the Indian Film Crew.

[1] At the federal level the Department of Indian Affairs and the Progressive Conservatives under Diefenbaker were the most vocally opposed; as were the municipal governments and the provincial governments of the Prairies.

Sources and Methods

Shifting the Balance uses textual records on the Company of Young Canadians drawn from three main archival pools: Library and Archives Canada, in Ottawa; the National Film Board Archives, in Montreal; and the William Ready Division of Research and Archives at McMaster University in Hamilton. This study analyzes primary sources within these collections, examining files, reports, internal and external newsletters, official documents, policy books, and news clippings. More informal internal documents, such as correspondence, telexes, memos, personal letters and internal communiqués help provide a more keen sense of the interpersonal relationships that existed between CYC executives, volunteers, field staff, government officials, and community members. Research on contemporaneous media representations and debates on the CYC was gleaned from over 70 articles from the *Globe and Mail*'s online heritage collection from 1966 to 1971. As well, the Council of Planning Librarians *The Young Crusaders: The Company of Young Canadians, A Bibliography* served as a valuable research tool, providing a compilation of periodical literature on the CYC from 1965 to 1971. From this resource, media coverage, and debates on the CYC, taken from a broad spectrum of sources, including *Maclean's Magazine* and *Le Magazine Maclean*, *Canadian Forum*, *Canadian Business*, *Canadian Welfare*, *Canadian Labour*, and *Canadian Dimension* were analyzed. Because this study contends that media was a key factor in Indigenous activism's overall success in the CYC, *Shifting the Balance* dedicates a significant amount of its discussion to a close textual reading of two Indigenous primary source

publications the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, and *Akwesasne Notes*, as well as examining and analyzing three films produced by the Indian Film Crew. Although many Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers discussed in the following pages of this thesis are still living, this study does not include oral testimony. I wish to acknowledge the validity, significance, and importance of oral history, as a legitimate and effective tool in historical research, particularly research related to Indigenous peoples. After careful consideration, however, I did not pursue this avenue of inquiry. It is my hope that other scholars will take up this important work, and that *Shifting the Balance* will serve as a useful tool for further exploration on the subject.

The influence of SUPA and the New Left, 1960-65

While the textual, media and archival sources used to research this study offer an in depth picture of the CYC's activities, membership and goals, this organization must also be seen within the larger context of student radicalism, and ideas about social change percolating in the 1960s and early 1970s. The ideological groundwork of the CYC was laid by organizations such as the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA),[2] and more generally ideas associated with the New Left.[3] In 1965, Peter Gzowski, then editor for *Maclean's* magazine, framed the New Left as the leaders of youth. Gzowski's feature article on the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) "The Righteous Crusaders,"

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[2] See David S. Churchill, "SUPA, Selma and Stevenson: The Politics of Solidarity in mid-Sixties in Toronto," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 44/2 (Spring 2010): 32- 69 for a discussion of SUPA and links to the New Left in the United States. See also Myrna Kostash, *A Long Way from Home: The story of the Sixties generation in Canada* (Toronto 1980), 3-30; Doug Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto 1996), 218-226; Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto 2009), 256-278.

[3] See Dimitrios J. Roussopoulos, ed., *The New Left in Canada*, (Montreal 1970). James Harding, "An Ethical Movement in Search of an Analysis," *Our Generation*, 3/4 (May 1966): 23. James Laxer, "The Student Movement and Canadian Independence," *Canadian Dimension* 6 (August 1969): 27; Cyril Levitt, *Children of Privilege: Student Revolt in the Sixties: A Study of Student Movements in Canada, the United States, and West Germany* (Toronto 1984).

assured mainstream adult readership not to be 'turned off' by this generation of youth's "hirsute men" and "chubby girls," for their intentions were good. Yes, members of SUPA were: "Scraggly, chubby, prolix. But they're what's happening. They're the radical catalyst of a new generation of Canadians, a generation that's unlike any other that's gone before...they are doers, too: activists."[4] These 'doers,' portrayed as earnest revolutionaries were, according to Gzowski, not to be feared. Society need not view youth as a menace; they were the faces of the future. These unshaven young men and plump "girls" were well meaning, if not benign. SUPA emerged from the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND) meeting held in Regina, Saskatchewan, in January 1964, a more "broad-based peace organization" dedicated to the goal of participatory democracy, social justice, and the fight against poverty, using community projects of social action to "discover the specific interrelations of these various problems and a means of radical social change."[5]

In many ways SUPA was inspired by activities south of the border. One can observe how the relationships between Canadian and American youth activists were fluid, multi-directional and "intimately connected."[6] As activist James Harding explained: "Many of us spent time in the US and brought back experience and analysis that provided new skills and insights."[7] Knowledge gained from connections with New Left activist groups south of the border was adopted, and adapted by SUPA. In particular, the Students Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),[8] and Students for a

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[4] Peter Gzowski, "The Righteous Crusaders of the New Left," *Maclean's*, November 15 1965 19.
[5] "CUCND Gets New Name, Take a Broader Role," *Varsity*, January 6 1965b, 3.
[6] Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 269.
[7] James Harding, "From the Midst of A Crisis: Student Power in English Speaking Canada," in *Student Protest: The Student Radical in Search of Issues*, ed. Gerald F. McGuigan (Toronto 1970), 93.
[8] See Wesley C. Hogan, *Many Minds, One Heart: SNCC's Dream for a New America*, (North Carolina 2007).

Democratic Society (SDS) had 'profound effects.'[9] Social action was adopted as a strategy to implement in Canadian communities borrowed from SDS's Economic Research and Action Program (ERAP).[10] In turn, Student Union for Peace Action members engaged in protests and rallies, both in Canada and the United States in support of SDS efforts.

This interconnection is also evident in earlier alliances between CUCND and SDS. CUCND organized on a single-issue, protesting Nuclear Armaments in Canada, and borrowed from SNCC and SDS tactics on how to organize. In 1964, CUCND members moved to the cities of North Bay, Ontario, and La Macaza, Québec, in order to set up anti-missile community projects, when it was announced that these two cities had been selected as sites for the installation of Bomarc missiles. When CUCND member Arthur Pape[11] moved to the city of North Bay, intent on organizing the community, an SDS consultant accompanied him in order to provide moral support and training in activist methods.[12] Reciprocally in November 1964, SDS National Secretary Clark Kissinger

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[9] See Kirkpatrick Sale, *SDS: The rise and development of the Students for a Democratic Society* (New York 1973). See George Clark, "Students for a Democratic Society," *Our Generation* 3/4, 4/1 (May 1966): 30-39, for a 1960s account of SDS.

[10] ERAP began in 1963. For a detailed account of the Students for a Democratic Society and ERAP see Kirkpatrick Sale, *Students for a Democratic Society* (New York 1974), 62-76 and 85-99. See also Jennifer Frost, *"An Interracial Movement of the Poor": Community organizing and the New Left in the 1960s* (New York 2001) for a discussion of SDS's Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP). According to Frost, "SDS activists entered low-income neighborhoods to pursue what they first called 'community organization:' bringing individuals living in the same residential area together into organizations to fight for their common interests. The ultimate and lofty aim was to build 'an interracial movement of the poor' to abolish poverty, end racial inequality, and extend democracy in America." For an account of SDS's anti-poverty organization as seen in the mid-1960s: Richard Rothstein, "A Short History of ERAP," *Our Generation*, 3/4,4/1 (May 1966): 40-45. See also Wini Breines, "Chapter 7: The Economic Research and Action Project," *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968: The Great Refusal* (New York 1982), 123-149.

[11] Pape was a member of SUPA, and later the CYC.

[12] Douglas James Nesbitt, "The 'Radical Trip' of the Canadian Union of Students, 1963-69" MA thesis, Trent University, (2009), 53.

requested that, CUCND member Liora Proctor be sent to SDS national headquarters to lend her skill and expertise in peace organizing.[13]

Activist ideas, however, did not flow exclusively from a south-north direction. Philosophical influences and ideological inspiration for the New Left in English Canada[14] also came from within, such as the province of Saskatchewan, home of the first CCF government. Saskatchewan native James Harding, a member of the New Democratic Party Youth and the Canadian Union of Students, with family connections to the CCF-NDP, was a leader with the Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA). Liora Proctor, another influential figure in the youth activist movement, also came from an 'old' Left tradition. Her father was a member of the Communist Party of Canada, in the province of Saskatchewan.

Emerging global theories on colonialism, and the inclusion of a racial analysis within the New Left also influenced some members' analysis.[15] Global theories also emerged from a local context. For example, the inclusion of a settler-colonial analysis happened at the local, moreover personal, level, through SUPA's connection with radical

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[13] David S. Churchill, "SUPA, Selma and Stevenson: The Politics of Solidarity in mid-Sixties in Toronto," 42.

[14] Student syndicalism in the province of Quebec also influenced SUPA. See Black Rose Editorial Collective, *Quebec Labour: The Confederation of National Trade Unions Yesterday and Today* (Montreal, 1972). Lysiane Gagnon, "Bref historique due movement étudiant au Québec (1958-1971)," *Bulletin d'Histoire Politique* 16/2 (hiver 2008): 14-15. According to Doug Nesbitt, "the effort was made by the University of Ottawa's syndicalist student council president, Jock Turcot. His legacy to CUS was the drafting of the original *Declaration of the Canadian Student*. Turcot was among the many francophone students in Ottawa who identified with UGEQ's syndicalism. Douglas James Nesbitt, 95. Of note, in my research for this study, Wilfred Pelletier credits Jock Turcot for convincing him to join the CYC as director of Indian programs.

[15] See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skins White Masks* (New York 1967); Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York 1968); Albert Memmi, *Colonizer and Colonized* (Boston 1968); Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York 1970). For a radical Métis perspective on colonialism in Canada, see Howard Adams' seminal work *Prison of Grass* (Toronto 1975) and *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization* (Penticton 1995).

Métis activist Malcolm Norris.[16] Norris' political and philosophical beliefs about the position of Métis People in Canada influenced James Harding and other members of the Student movement out West, including SUPA and the Canadian Union of Students. As Harding related in an interview with Murray Dobbin: "Malcolm was the first person I talked to in Saskatchewan who talked of the importance of a racial analysis of class society. No one, up till then, talked about the colonization of Indian and Métis."[17] Harding attributed his understanding of Canada as a colonial construct, as coming from his relationship with Malcolm Norris. In turn, James Harding is credited with pushing for the inclusion of a settler-colonial understanding of a class analysis, and helping to "generalize these ideas within the ranks of the New Left."[18] An anti-colonialist analysis would later inform members of the CYC.[19]

[16] In 1965, Malcolm Norris, was working to organize Métis Association of Saskatchewan (MAS) chapters across the province. Malcolm Norris had a personal relationship with Liora Proctor. Proctor's father, a member of the Communist Party in Canada, was also a friend and ally of Malcolm Norris. Norris never came out officially in support of Marxism but according to Liora Proctor, Norris was a political and philosophical ally.

[17] Murray Dobbin, *The one-and-a-half men: the story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, Metis patriots of the twentieth century* (Vancouver 1981), 225.

[18] Douglas James Nesbitt, "The Radical Trip," 90.

[19] As former CYC regional director for the NWT, Peter Puxley, states: "Our reading of experience elsewhere (the work of Paulo Freire in Latin America, and the anti-colonial movements in Portugese Africa come to mind) and discussion among ourselves, convinced us that the act of researching the history of the Dene on the land had the potential to empower those involved." Puxley is discussing the seminal work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire. Freire was an educator, who explored the realization of freedom through "informed action" through a "mutual process between the oppressed and oppressor" and direct action, and the joining of theory and application. The works of Frantz Fanon and Karl Marx informed Freire's work, in Peter Puxley, *A Model for Engagement: Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of the Berger Report (The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1977)* (Ottawa, 2002), 5.

The Student Neestow Partnership Project: Organizing in Indigenous Communities

SUPA engaged in several community organization projects across Canada. Projects initiated were varied: members worked to organize the urban poor in Kingston, Ontario;[20] youth researched the impact of the missile sites on the community of La Macaza, Quebec; and anti-discrimination work with the Black population in Halifax, Nova Scotia was conducted. Of particular interest to this study was the Student Neestow Partnership project that worked with First Nations and Métis communities in the province of Saskatchewan in the summers of 1965 and 1966.

The Neestow Project grew out of a weeklong student seminar held at the University of Saskatchewan. Sponsored by the Canadian Union of Students (CUS), the purpose of the conference was to discuss "the Status of the Indian and Métis in Canada." Indian and Métis leaders, and "a number of progressive academics," led various seminars and panel discussions at the conference.[21] Non-indigenous conference participants, including several SUPA members, expressed the desire to understand the "real situation" that existed for "Native Canadian Indians," and explore the possibility of forming alliances with Indigenous communities.[22] After numerous discussions and consultations with Indigenous participants, it was decided that the initial goal of the Neestow project should be to enter Native communities, and become part of the community with the goal of simply "learning" from community members. SUPA members were conflicted. On the one hand, SUPA respected the strategy proposed by Métis youth, on the other hand,

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[20] See Richard Harris, *Democracy in Kingston: A Social Movement in Urban Politics, 1965-1970* (Kingston and Montreal, 1988), 68-70; Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game: The Short Unhappy Live of the Company of Young Canadians* (Toronto 1970), 15-25.
[21] Murray Dobbin, *The one-and-a half men*, 226.
[22] Canadian Union of Students, *Resolutions of the Thirtieth Congress of the Canadian Union of Students* (1966), 12.

many non-native student participants, "well-known activists committed to change,"[23] wanted to enter communities "hopeful that they would begin a new civil rights movement (SNCC style) in Saskatchewan."[24] When the conference closed, the majority of Métis students and leaders withdrew their support from the Neestow Project, as SUPA members were unwilling to give up their pre-conceived ideas around activism. However, not all Indigenous peoples in the Prairie Provinces were in opposition.

SUPA members turned to Malcolm Norris for support and, one could argue, legitimacy in Indigenous communities. SUPA's dedication to social action, dovetailed nicely with Norris' goals and radical philosophies. According to James Harding, "it is not so surprising that Norris was open to the student initiative. They were prepared to actually do something and in the process native people might become involved in active political struggle."[25] Youth radicalism held the potential to provide Métis people in Saskatchewan with new strategies of resistance and, with Malcolm Norris' blessing, the Student Union for Peace Action planned, and organized, initiatives in Métis communities in northern Saskatchewan.[26]

Opposition to the Neestow Project emerged from both Native peoples and non-natives at both the municipal and provincial levels. Government and agency officials accused Neestow students of being "communist interlopers," instigators, and troublemakers.[27] Despite the controversy, the Neestow Project received several

[23] Liora Proctor, "The Student Neestow Project," *Our Generation* 4/3 (November 1966): 40.
[24] Liora Proctor, "The Student Neestow Project," 40.
[25] Murray Dobbin, *The one-and-a half men*, 225.
[26] It is worth noting, that Malcolm Norris' willingness to collaborate with whoever could, through whatever means, potentially improve the lives of Métis People was a vision not shared among many Métis.
[27] Liora Proctor, "The Student Neestow Project," 43.

invitations from community members in Peepeekesis, Green Lake, Canoe Lake and Buffalo Narrows. Efforts to organize nonetheless failed.

Why did Neestow fall short of its aims? Moreover, why did SUPA withdraw from all community organizing projects? In general, in 1965-66 the New Left, in both Canada and the United States was re-envisioning the university and college campuses as potential "site[s] for radical social change."[28] This overall shift in the youth activist movement, coupled with the failure of Neestow and other SUPA community organizing projects, contributed to "a growing call within SUPA for a return to the campuses."[29] Clayton Ruby, invoked the words of Black activist, Stokely Carmichael, to reconcile his failed experience as a participant in Neestow: "But all power is white power, as Stokely reminds us, and for the Indian people this attempt at power may force a choice. The very means that are used to secure power may themselves be the instruments for making Indians into white people."[30] Jonathan Bordo, and Cy Gonick saw SUPA, SNCC and SDS-style activism, as "expressions of American liberalism," counseling SUPA that if it wanted to engage in community projects it should turn to organizations such as the NDP, organized labour, the churches, and other community groups.[31] Liora Proctor, also a Neestow participant, offered that, in the end, the resistance and lack of success achieved in Indigenous community projects "was linked to an SDS ERAP agenda not supported by the majority of community members."[32] Proctor suggested that regardless of the

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[28] Carl Davidson, "Toward a Student Syndicalist Movement, or University Reform Revisited," *Our Generation* 5/1 (May 1967): 103-104.
[29] Doug Nesbitt concurs, attributing this redirection as a strategic decision, since "the campus was a common terrain for most SUPA members," Doug Nesbitt, "The Radical Trip," 110.
[30] At the time Clayton Ruby was a law student at the University of Toronto, and a participant in the Student Neestow Project. Liora Proctor "The Student Neestow Project," 47. Ruby is referring to Stokely Carmichael.
[31] Doug Nesbitt, "The Radical Trip," 113.
[32] Liora Proctor, "The Student Neestow Project," 46.

ideological imperatives of the 'activists', if a project promoting social change did not resonate with, and therefore was not taken up by members of an Indigenous community, it could not achieve legitimacy, was not sustainable, and therefore did not succeed. SUPA failed in Indigenous community projects, first and foremost, because the communities rejected them.

Just as SUPA members joined the Canadian Union of Students 'contributing to its leftward trajectory,'[33] so too did some radical SUPA members join the ranks of the newly formed Company of Young Canadians, influencing its composition, its ideological stances on activism and, in particular, definitions of participatory democracy and community-based projects. Despite the failures of SUPA's community projects, not all SUPA members were interested in 'returning to the campus,' nor were they ready to give up on the potential of community organizing projects as a strategy for social change. For SUPA members who believed that activism through 'community action projects' was paramount, the choice to join the CYC was nevertheless conflicted. With the demise of SUPA, was the CYC the only conceivable option remaining? A small, but significant contingent of SUPA radicals 'jumped ship.'[34] Wooing such members ensured that the Company of Young Canadians had within its ranks committed volunteers and experienced organizers dedicated to social change. Radical members brought concepts of community organizing to CYC projects as methodological and philosophical imperatives.

The New Left, with its rejection of white privilege, middle class values and its vigorous opposition to the evils of imperialism, capitalism, and the establishment certainly raised the level of consciousness within the CYC, although no direct link to the

[33] Doug Nesbitt, "The Radical Trip," 113.
[34] Arthur Pape, Doug Ward, Liora Proctor (Salter), Rick Salter and David DePoe were some of the activists to join the CYC. Many others acted as consultants or their projects were supported by the CYC.

New Left existed. Moreover, the New Left's advocacy of anti-imperialism meshed with Indigenous ideas of anti-colonialism. In the case of Indigenous CYC projects, members were challenged to rethink the principles of activism in Indigenous communities, and looked to Indigenous individuals and organizations to guide them.

If there was a silver lining to the Neestow experience, it was that the CYC learned from the mistakes made by SUPA's community action projects. SUPA's final report to the CYC ponders the possibility of an alliance between native and non-native youth. In particular, the discourse surrounding the "Indian Problem" was re-conceptualized: "Whether there is a real possibility of partnership between students and people of Indian ancestry remains yet to be seen. Perhaps when the fact is admitted (or when we prove it) that the problems facing people of Indian ancestry are not 'Indian problems' but problems resulting from the relationship of a minority to, and its treatment by, the dominant culture; such a partnership will be possible."[35] Although the aforementioned advice fell short of declaring Indigenous collectives, nations, it was nevertheless the ideological point that future CYC projects in Indigenous communities were premised upon.

Indigenous Activism, Red Power,[36] and the CIYC

The other single organization to have an impact on the CYC, specifically on Indigenous policy, was the Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC). Marie Baker, Allan Jacob and

[35] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 182, File "Report On Community Organizing Projects Summer 1965 Prepared for the Company of Young Canadians by the Student Union for Peace Action."

[36] In Vancouver in 1968, Jack Henry and other urban native youth founded the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP) a militant Red Power organization. See Jack Henry, "NARP: the Native Alliance for Red Power" in *The Only Good Indians*: *Essays by Canadian Indians*, ed. Waubageshig (Toronto 1970), 166. According to Henry the term Red Power could be "summed up with one or two phrases; self-determination and power to determine our own destiny. That's what Red Power means." Henry clarifies that "when the term first came out it was used mainly by the young Indian people. Somehow the majority of the older Indians equated Red Power with violence. This is what I call the negative definition." It is within this context that I understand the term Red Power.

Francis Kewaqadeo founded the "first national Native youth organization of its kind in Canada"[37] in September of 1965.[38] The stated purpose of the CIYC was threefold: to provide a forum for the "voices of the Canadian Indian youth be heard;"[39] to promote a "re-kindling" of pride in culture and heritage;[40] and to offer Indigenous youth a "realistic" opportunity for leadership through experience, in a way that "government programmes and non-Indian youth organizations [could] not."[41]

Student organizations in Canada, such as SUPA and the Canadian Union of Students (CUS), recognized the CIYC as an official and legitimate body representing Indigenous youth in Canada. According to CUS, the Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC) was the authority "possessing the knowledge and understanding of the Indians in Canada."[42] Originally established by the state, CIYC stated plainly, yet emphatically, that "the initiative and the desire for the responsibility" around projects involving Native peoples "MUST come from the Indian youth"[43] and not from non-native activist agendas.

Indigenous agendas of social action did not preclude collaborations with non-Indigenous youth: part of the CIYC's mandate was to "promote a better understanding between Indians and non-Indians."[44] Although the CIYC viewed dominant Canadian society's understanding of the issues faced by Indigenous peoples as one that, "floundered between apathy, and ignorance,"[45] the organization was nonetheless committed to promoting a "gradual rekindling of the conscience" of non-Indigenous Canadians. As part

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[37] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 9.
[38] Kewaqadeo was Anishnaabe, attended Waterloo Lutheran University, and was involved in the CUS.
[39] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 1.
[40] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 4.
[41] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 3.
[42] The Canadian Union of Students, *Resolutions of the Thirtieth Congress of the Canadian Union of Students*, (Halifax 1966), 10.
[43] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 2.
[44] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 3.
[45] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 6.

of the strategy for achieving this goal, the CIYC contacted various non-Indian organizations establishing proper protocol, or "grounds of understanding," based upon a spirit of "mutual co-operation."[46]

Organizationally the CIYC, like the CYC, was a liberal project funded by the State, in this case by the Department of Indian Affairs. Like the CYC, the CIYC also espoused a radical philosophy of social action. The CIYC's 1966 policy report states:

> While it is nice to hear that the future of the Indians rest in the hands of the Young people and that we must encourage the young Indians to realize this, the time for nice words and for platitudes is long gone; the watchwords or motto, of the Indian youth is ACTION NOW, not 1000 years from now.[47]

The mandate of the CIYC represented a broader movement happening in North America. Indigenous youth activists from coast to coast sought to re-kindle pride in an Indigenous identity; they encouraged reconnecting with past traditions and teachings, and honouring native elders and knowledge holders.[48] Buoyed by a rising Indigenous cultural and intellectual intelligentsia,[49] Red Power activism focused on the resurgence of Indian pride, a re-connection with traditional culture, a push for Indian self-determination, and the recognition of Aboriginal title to land and resources.[50] Red Power demanded the legitimization of the Indian identity bound to 'tribal' affiliation and the recognition of the rights of the collective as nations.

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[46] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 6.
[47] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report* 1960, 2.
[48] It is important to bear in mind two seemingly contradictory factors. First, many Indigenous youth embraced traditional continuities of family, community, language and culture. Yet some Indigenous youth did reject the politics of adults and elders. Indigenous leaders perceived as sell-outs were known as 'apples' (red on the outside, but white on the inside).
[49] See Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver and Toronto v 1999) originally published in 1969.
[50] See Dick Fidler, *Red Power in Canada* (Toronto 1970); Paul Chaat Smith, *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York 1996).

Although national in scope, the rise of Indigenous activism in Canada was not contained within one united organization, but occurred conjunctively at the grassroots, (regional, national, and transnational) levels, in both urban and rural settings. Inspired and influenced by Black Power and Red Power in the United States, as well as anti-colonialist revolutions overthrowing white-settler rule in countries on both the South American and African continents, activism was expressed by, although not limited to, protests, marches, blockades, sit-ins, fish-ins, and issues of Aboriginal title and governance. Though the American Indian Movement (AIM) set up chapters throughout Canada, regional organizations with strong community and cultural affiliations injected the most significant and lasting contributions across the country.

Indigenous activism also found support from progressive groups, such as the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). For example, as early as 1965, the Canadian Labour Congress supported Anishinaabe protestors in northern Ontario.[51] A loose coalition of Anishinaabe from various communities in northwestern Ontario joined forces with representatives from organized labour, coordinating a peaceful demonstration comprised of 400 'Indians and non-Indians.'[52] On Monday November 22, 1965, the group marched down the streets of Kenora, Ontario and "engaged the town council in a historic confrontation."[53] The protestors were demanding that the town council implement changes for Aboriginal peoples at the municipal level, as well as petition both the

[51] In this instance Labour connected with the newly formed Human Rights Commission using similar tactics employed by SNCC in the movement for Civil Rights in the United States. Organizers also used the newly formed Human Rights Commission of Ontario as part of the strategy for protest. The Ontario Human Rights Commission was set up in 1961. The Ontario Human Rights Code, enacted in 1962, was the first of its kind in Canada. The Ontario Premier at the time was John P. Robarts, and the first commissioner appointed was an African Canadian, Dr. Daniel G. Hill. Dr. Hill stated that the Commission planned to work more closely with Native communities in the future.
[52] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," *Canadian Labour*, 11 (December 1966): 14.
[53] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," 14.

provincial and federal governments. The demonstrators filed into the Council room in an "orderly fashion" with five chiefs from surrounding communities each reading a section of a prepared brief. According to the account provided by the Director of the Toronto District Labour Committee for Human Rights, Alan Borovoy, the chiefs "performed with dignity and self-control," and the protestors created a "national news sensation."[54] Picked up by the Canadian press, the story generated editorials across the country "demand[ing] government action."[55] Soon afterwards, the Kenora Town Council agreed to honour all of the requests contained within the prepared brief submitted by the protestors. In an article published in *Canadian Labour*, Alan Borovoy proclaimed the Kenora protest a "turning point" for Native Peoples, and cited organized labour as "key" in organizing the demonstration.[56] Borovoy opined that given organized labour's winning combination of "idealism" and "practical know-how in social action" the trade union movement was "uniquely qualified to help the Indian act on his own behalf."[57] It is difficult to ascertain whether this exuberant, yet patronizing, conviction reflected widespread attitudes within unionism's rank and file. Borovoy encouraged labour leaders "from the Canadian Labour Congress to discussions about Indian problems."[58] Two years later, in 1969, when forty Mohawk protestors, including the CYC's Mike Mitchell, were brought up on charges of obstruction for the International Seaway Bridge blockade, Alan Borovoy was chief legal council representing the forty Mohawk activists.

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[54] The demands were: 1. Petition the Federal Government to install radiotelephone equipment on the reserves so that they could communicate with the larger communities around them. 2. Petition the Ontario government to lengthen the trapping season in order to shorten the layover between the trapping season and the fishing season. 3. Petition the Ontario government to make available to the Kenora area the services of the Alcoholism Research Foundation. 4. Establish a Mayor's committee to process grievances between the Indians and the town.
[55] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," 14.
[56] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," 15.
[57] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," 15.
[58] A. Alan Borovoy, "Indian Poverty in Canada," 15.

Any understanding of the intense and widespread Indian activism that took place during the 1960s and 1970s must also take into account that activism and resistance were, and remain, longstanding traditions of continuity within First Nations societies since the time of contact.[59] Prior to the sixties however Indigenous activism and resistance generally occurred in a manner independent and unique to each First Nation.[60]

Pan-Indianism sets the 1960s and 70s apart from previous resistance efforts. The discourse of pan-Indianism articulated solidarity against colonialism, and a common goal to unite all Indigenous peoples of North America, downplaying any division or dissent among First Peoples.[61] Pan-Indianism was by definition transnational in nature, and a powerful possibility for change. If Indigenous people organized across nations and affiliations, uniting in solidarity, they would be a force to be reckoned with. According to a report prepared for the CYC on June 10th, 1966 Wilfred Pelletier declared: "Within the past few years, a pan-Indianism had been taking place across Canada and this is evident in the fact that West Coast Indians are wearing Plains Indians Headdresses, and that East Coast Indians are carving totem poles. It is my opinion that Indian people are seeking an identity of a total people, rather than Indian segments or tribes."[62] The Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC) believed it was to function as a "co-ordinating body" that was

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[59] See Jack Forbes, "Native American Resistance, 1890-1960: New and Old Indians," (California 1969), 15-44, unpublished. http://nas.ucdavis.edu/Forbes/Wampum.pdf

[60] There have been many attempts to unify all First Nations across Canada. See Peter Kulchyski, "A Considerable Unrest: F.O. Loft and the League of Indians," *Native Studies Review* 4/1&2 (1988): 95-117; E. Palmer Patterson II, "Andrew Paull and the early history of British Columbia Indian organizations," in *One Century Later: Western Canadian Reserve Indians since Treaty 7*, ed. Ian A.L. Getty and Donald B. Smith (Vancouver 1978), 43-54.

[61] See Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," in *The American Indian Today*, edited by Stuart Levine & Nancy O. Lurie (Baltimore 1970), 139-140.

[62] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 185, File "S", "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers by Wilfred Pelletier." Pelletier was influenced by Indigenous scholar Robert K. Thomas who advocated the political potential of pan-Indianism. Bob Thomas travelled across North America networking with Indigenous communities, and was a key advisor to Pelletier at the Institute for Indian Studies at Rochdale College. Thomas, a Cherokee Anthropologist, had a significant impact on members of the CIYC and the CYC.

capable of unifying other Indigenous groups, because for youth "old divisions appear minor." The 'minor' divisions were: traditional 'tribal' enemies, political differences between traditional and colonial-settler-appointed governance, religious differences among Christian and non-Christian, and further divisions between Catholic and Anglican.[63] Despite the CIYC's optimistic, or perhaps naïve, interpretation that the aforementioned divisions could be easily overcome, the conceptualization of pan-Indianism and the imperative of Indigenous unity was key to the spread of Red Power as a movement.

For many involved in the New Left and SUPA, the CYC was understood as a divisive force that dulled the edge of youth radicalism in Canada. In contrast, although Indigenous activism, and the rise of the Red Power movement, was certainly not monolithic, the CYC was nevertheless a site that united Indigenous youth. The CYC was an effective means of furthering a pan-Indian agenda, promoting Indigenous self-determination, in particular, through the creation of Indigenous media. Both the New Left and Red Power believed in the possibility of meaningful and lasting global change. In many ways, the CYC represents an interconnection – a site of convergence, despite the unpalatable reality of existing as a State institution.

[63] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report*, 1960, 4.

Chapter Two: Overview of the Company of Young Canadians

"We must be the change we want to see in the world."
Mahatma Gandhi

"I say to you, Mr. Speaker, that some of the most glorious things that may happen under this program will be not its successes, but its failures, because it will be willing to take the risks in the projects put forward that no other agency or group is willing to take – and that will be all to its credit. We must consider that the Company of Young Canadians may be most responsible when they are taking some of the greatest risks."
- David McDonald (MP from Prince Edward Island)

"The struggle itself towards the heights is enough to fill a man's heart."
- Albert Camus

The Formation of the CYC, 1965-66

In the early stages of its development, before the CYC was passed into law as an official organization, the government established an organizing committee, headed by Dr. Francis J. Leddy,[1] to engage in a consultation process with established bodies, and programs involving youth in Canada and abroad. Researchers attended conferences, meetings, and engaged in formal and informal discussions. A variety of organizations and agencies, including SUPA and the CIYC, conducted needs assessments, compiled data, forecasted future projects, and formulated philosophical and methodological positions.

The CYC organizing committee was comprised of eleven members, half of whom were politicians, the other half coming from existing youth organizations with activist traditions, sometimes with overlapping loyalties. At the end of the consultation process the organizing committee concluded that community development through social action, coupled with the guiding principles that, "people as individuals had the right to make

[1] Leddy was a university president with experience in both the Canadian University Services Overseas (CUSO), and the World University Service of Canada.

choices about their lives" and held the right to "self-determination"[2] governed all CYC projects. Because the federal government indicated that the structure of the CYC must appeal to youth, in particular radical youth, committee organizers Joan Newman (Kuyek), Doug Ward,[3] Alan Clarke,[4] and Art Pape,[5] created sufficient public pressure to convince the Federal Liberals that volunteer control was a necessity, if the CYC was to have any credibility with youth.[6] It was this coup, in negotiating volunteer control in the field, that set the CYC apart from all other government organizations, be they youth or otherwise.

Indigenous people were one of the CYC's primary target groups for future projects. Drawing on the wisdom gained from the failures of SUPA, the CYC talked to a wide range of Indigenous consultants, from radical Métis activist Howard Adams, to young emerging political leader Harold Cardinal. Setting up a relevant Indigenous policy was a key goal. As stipulated by researcher, CUS member and student syndicalist, Jock Turcot, Indigenous peoples' involvement "in the planning and the implementation" of CYC programmes was "an absolute necessity" if they were to achieve any success.[7] Turcot words echo those put forward by the Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC). The CYC turned to CIYC members such as Jeanette Corbiere (later Lavell), Wilfred Pelletier, and Duke Redbird for policy input. Recommendations made by the CIYC offered advice on Indigenous policy and protocol concerning work within Indigenous communities

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[2] The Company of Young Canadians, *Aims and Prinicples: Adopted by the Provisional Council in July 25, 1966*, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto. [s.l., s.n.], [n.d.].
[3] Ward was on the executive for the Canadian Union of Students.
[4] Clarke was involved with the YMCA, and the Canadian Citizen Council.
[5] Pape was a member of SUPA.
[6] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 25.
[7] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Department of Citizenship and Immigration – Citizen Branch (hereafter CB) Canadian Organizations – Company of Young Canadians (hereafter CYC) RG6, Box 109, File 9-579, "Research Report: Proposed Programme of Voluntary Work In and with the Indian Communities in Canada by Jock F. Turcot" (1965), 1.

providing the Company of Young Canadians with its overall philosophy for Native CYC projects.

A vocal contingent of radical youth did not believe that the CYC could ever be a vehicle to achieve real social change.[8] For example, Myrna Wood and Michael Rowan's CYC assessment maintained that the organization "would, through insidious dry rot, corrupt the social values of the young idealists who went to work for it."[9] For "any scheme paid for by the Establishment has a built-in weakness: it serves only to make the system work a little better, not to transform it."[10] Wood and Rowan insisted that, although new CYC members were promised an organization that implemented radicalism, participatory democracy, and volunteer control, volunteers were being deceived, subject to a discourse of merely rhetoric, of empty words.[11] In addition, Wood and Rowan predicted that volunteers would be incapable of escaping "the slippery intellectual clutches of the liberal t-groupers, social workers, animateurs socials (sic), that will be hired by the CYC, as trainers, recruiters, programme staff, field staff, 'volunteer support' staff, and consultants."[12] Depicting CYC participants as naïve, or worse sellouts, co-opted by the state, unaware and ill informed, does not hold up to scrutiny.

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[8] See Martin Loney, "A Political Economy of Citizen Participation," in *The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power* edited by Leo Panitch, 464-466 (Toronto: 1977).
[9] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 25.
[10] Rocky Jones, "Why Activists are anti-Peace Corps," *Maclean's* November 1965, 41.
[11] LAC, CYC, RG 116, Box 180, file "Notes on the Nationalization of Saul Alinsky or Community Organizing and the Company of Young Canadians by Myrna Wood & Michael Rowan," (Date unknown), 4.
[12] LAC, CYC, RG 116, Box 180, file "Notes on the Nationalization of Saul Alinsky or Community Organizing and the Company of Young Canadians by Myrna Wood & Michael Rowan," (Date unknown), 3.

Membership: Who joined the CYC?

Volunteers and staff members of the CYC, whether native or non-native, were not ignorant of the State's agenda. Many CYC volunteers vocalized the problematic nature of working within the hegemonic state. Even with a mandate of autonomy, being co-opted was a constant preoccupation for many volunteers and field staff. Mary Assheton-Smith, field director for the Great Slave Lake project, in a report to CYC headquarters in Ottawa, articulated the need for vigilance. On the one hand, Assheton-Smith advocated communication and collaboration with government institutions, community organizations, and social agencies in the NWT. On the other, she indicated the necessity of "maintaining these groups at arms length in order to keep the imperative of working for radical social change; which is not possible if compromised by dominant societies and the status quos agendas."[13]

Equally politically astute were Indigenous CYC volunteers. Wilfred Pelletier was well aware of the Canadian state's agenda to co-opt him, yet still chose to work for the CYC in charge of 'Indian projects.' Pelletier was not ignorant of the potentially problematic nature of youth activist organizations trying to help 'solve the Indian Problem'; in fact he was dedicated to ensuring that "this relationship [was] never used, for whatever 'good and altruistic reasons,' to betray the real interests of the Indian people."[14] Despite the state's agenda, Pelletier, nevertheless, believed in the possibility of change: "I am on the staff of CYC because I believe that this government sponsored opportunity for Canadian youth offers a practical opportunity for the realization of human

[13] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Report by Marilyn Assheton-Smith," (March 26, 1969), 2.
[14] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers by Wilfred Pelletier" (date unknown).

values...a first chance for Indian and white to discover an experience of common interest and common humanity."[15] Pelletier's rationale for joining the Company of Young Canadians expressed an optimistic and idealistic outlook, which appeared commonplace in the early to mid 1960s.

The CYC's membership was comprised of a variety of youth, not necessarily all radicals, nor middle-class liberal youth, not even necessarily all youth. At a press conference, in August 1967, Allan Clarke, CYC executive director, declared: "We have people from every racial strain and type of community in Canada."[16] Many CYC volunteers, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, were well informed, highly motivated, and committed to the goal of 'making a difference.'[17] Initially, Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers were pilfered from the ranks of student organizations and youth groups, including SUPA and the CIYC. Some non-Indigenous volunteers held Christian missionary impulses;[18] some professed community activist leanings; some were anarchists, syndicalists, or 'hippies'; some had mental health issues, while still others came armed with a New Left agenda. The first crop of CYC members emerged having

[15] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers by Wilfred Pelletier" (date unknown).
[16] LAC, Department of Finance fonds, Government Finance Division, (hereafter Finance) CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "*Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August, 1967 Press Clippings, 'Radicals 'yes' Marxists 'no,'" *Ottawa Citizen* Friday, 25 August, 1967."
[17] The list of future leaders, in all segments of Canadian and First Nations societies is certainly impressive: Clayton Ruby, Phil Fontaine, Rick Salter, George Erasmus, Liora Proctor Salter, Jeanette Corbiere-Lavell, Arthur Pape, Noel Starblanket, Barbara Hall, Mike Mitchell, Wilfred Pelletier, James Washee, Ernest Benedict, Joan Newman-Kuyek and David DePoe.
[18] For example, Harvey Stevens joined the CYC because "it was [his] obligation as a Christian." Stevens did not believe "that alienat [ing] the power structure of the country" would accomplish anything; furthermore "it [was] naïve to think that successful change is going to come about by organizing the masses...ultimately it is the power elite who make the policy decisions which create the social climate of the country." Stevens was assigned to Winnipeg to 'do' inner city work in the Logan Avenue district that had "a heavy Métis population." (Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 60-62).

endured a bizarre, ill-planned, 1966 training session at Crystal Cliffs in Antigonish, Nova Scotia in 1966.[19]

Indigenous CYC volunteers presented a unified front, submerging any ideological differences to the wider public. Whether moderate or radical, the quest for self-determination was paramount. It should be noted that for Indian people 'self-determination' was conceptualized as a collective construct, not an individual one. Honouring the wishes of community (the local collective) above all other goals meant that sometimes CYC projects worked at cross-purposes with the overarching goal of a unified pan-Indian movement.

Media, Government and Public Responses to the CYC

From its inception the Company of Young Canadians was subject to public scrutiny, criticism, and sometimes ridicule. Richard Needham's commentary on the CYC in the Friday April 8, 1966, edition of the *Globe and Mail* reads like the sales pitch of a used car salesman turned travel agent, hawking vacation packages to a middle-class-'do-gooders' boot camp:

> Young man, why don't you try it out? Young woman, why don't you take a bang at it? Regardless of your formal schooling...you could travel to an Eskimo community and help set up a buying and selling co-operative...and what are you offered if the CYC accepts you? Blood, Sweat, and Tears...that is what appeals to a great many young Canadians...They've been fed this comfort – security – conformity all their lives; now they're offered a bone with some meat on it. I think they'll bite.[20]

[19] See Kevin Brushett, "Making Shit Disturbers: The Selection and Training of the Company of Young Canadian Volunteers 1965-1970," in *The Sixties in Canada: A Turbulent and Creative Decade*, ed. M Athena Palaeologu (Montreal 2009), 246-269.
[20] Richard Needham, "A Way Out of the Box," *Globe and Mail*, 8 April 1966, 6.

The passage worked to lampoon the CYC twofold. First, it implied that 'baiting' was the preferred government method for attracting youth radicals into the fold. Second, it perpetuated the CYC's image of indiscriminately recruiting volunteers who applied on a whim, but were not "trained professionals." Needham's editorial was a spoof on the work of the Company of Young Canadians. Others did not see the humour in the youth organization's existence.

Regionally, the west emerged as a strong opponent to the CYC, in particular objecting to its activism. Western media described the CYC as "morally doubtful,"[21] and the behaviour of its members "a disgrace."[22] The editor of the *Calgary Herald* pontificated that the federal government had "a public duty to investigate" the activities of the CYC for, "too often, of late, CYC members have become involved in radical immature protest demonstrations."[23] These activities were not viewed as an exercise in civil liberties borrowed from SNCC, the labour movement or student syndicalism. CYC members' participation in marches and demonstrations was reduced quite simply to the folly of misguided youth. Smaller western community papers such as the *Dutch Calvinist-Contact* - a supplement in the *Christian Courier*, warned of communist interlopers and anti-patriots lurking within Canadian society. The March 3, 1967 translated issue lamented that "area after area of our society is being infiltrated by elements which seemingly seek to destroy the foundations on which our nation was

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[21] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6, Box 109, File 9-579, "Memo from Acting Director of the Multi-Ethnic Programme with a translation from Dutch Calvinist-Contact, article by Robert N. Thompson title 'The Company You Keep,'" 3 March 1967.
[22] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "*Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August 1967 Press Clippings, "CYC Disgrace," *Calgary Herald* 25 August 1967.
[23] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "*Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August 1967 Press Clippings, "CYC Disgrace," *Calgary Herald* 25 August 1967.

built...even the Company of Young Canadians could easily become a haven for sociological misfits."[24]

Leader of the opposition John Diefenbaker echoed the concern that 'comrades' were infiltrating the ranks of the CYC. Diefenbaker admonished: "Surely Canadians don't have to pay taxes to expand the opportunities for Communists to bring about changes in society."[25] The spectre of a communist takeover lurked in the shadows. An immediate investigation of the CYC was needed, according to Diefenbaker, "so that it [did] not become an agency for the propagation of communism or Communist philosophy."[26] Perhaps Diefenbaker was simply representing his constituency of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, or acting in his role as the leader of the Opposition. Regardless, for the federal Progressive Conservatives the CYC served as effective fodder to be flung about in the arena of partisan politics.

By January 1968, the three Prairie Premiers, Ross Thatcher of Saskatchewan, Ernest C. Manning of Alberta, and Walter Weir of Manitoba, joined forces in opposing the very presence of the Company of Young Canadians in their provinces. Manning indicated that two things in particular were of "great" concern: "One was the incredible waste of money. The other was that while some of the CYC were dedicated, others were agitators and radicals who had no constructive contributions."[27]

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[24]LAC, CB, CYC, RG6, Box 109, File 9-579, "Memo from Acting Director of the Multi-Ethnic Programme with a translation from Dutch Calvinist-Contact, article by Robert N. Thompson title 'The Company You Keep,'" 3 March 1967.
[25] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, *Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August 1967, Press Clippings, "Dief wants CYC probe," *Ottawa Citizen* 26 August 1967; and "Dief voit des elements communistes dans la Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens," *La Presse* 26 August 1967.
[26] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, *Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August 1967, Press Clippings, "Dief wants CYC probe," *Ottawa Citizen* 26 August 1967; and "Dief voit des elements communistes dans la Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens," *La Presse* 26 August 1967.
[27] "Prairie premiers ready to seek CYC's removal," *Globe and Mail* 19 January 1968, 8.

Saskatchewan's Ross Thatcher suggested that the CYC withdraw its volunteers, as "they go onto the Indian reserves to agitate and stir up trouble."[28] After Alan Clarke's invitation to the Premiers to come and personally visit the CYC projects that they had criticized,[29] was ignored, the CYC executive director rebuked the western criticism: "Poverty, discrimination, inequality – these are not nice dinner table topics of conversation. Anyone who gets involved in trying to do something about them should expect abuse and criticism."[30] Disapproval of CYC activities was not confined to the prairies.

Articles criticizing the CYC appeared in Ontario and Quebec newspapers. In the August 24, 1967 issue of the *Montreal Gazette*, the CYC garnered the headline, "Radicals Infiltrating the CYC in an Attempt to Seize Control."[31] At issue were the political actions of CYC volunteers David DePoe, Jacques Noel, and Art Pape. All three men were identified as people with strong leftist leanings associated with the CYC. DePoe was involved in an anti-Vietnam war protest in Toronto, and had been arrested. Moreover he was organizing the 'hippies' in Yorkville and causing trouble.[32] Proof of their delinquency lay in the fact that they were "active in demonstrating against the U.S., never against communist countries."[33] The discourse surrounding student activism was conflated: all youth involved in social action were radicals, all radicals were communists,

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[28] "Youth: Farewell to Angst," *Time Magazine* March 8, 1968, 13-14.
[29] Michael Gillian, "Western Hassle: Come and see, CYC asks premiers," *Globe and Mail* 23 January 1968, 4.
[30] "Youth: Farewell to Angst," *Time Magazine* March 8, 1968, 13-14.
[31] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "*Inter-Com* 2/8 29 August 1967 Press Clippings, "Radicals Infiltrating CYC in Attempt to Seize Control," *Montreal Gazette* 24 August 1967.
[32] "Mayor asks Ottawa to explain CYC's work: Attacks on hippies reopened by Lamport," *Globe and Mail* 14 September 1967, 5.
[33] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6, Box 109, File 9-579, "Memo from Acting Director of the Multi-Ethnic Programme with a translation from Dutch Calvinist-Contact, article by Robert N. Thompson title 'The Company You Keep,'" 3 March 3, 1967.

communists were anti-American, the CYC was a haven for communists, therefore the CYC was an unpatriotic institution. Canadian nationalism, it seems, was measured in terms of a Canadian citizen's support of American foreign policy.

Some segments of the Canadian public supported the CYC, some more vigorously than others. *Maclean's Magazine* framed SUPA's successors as super heroes fighting the good fight against cooptation: "They're volunteers in the Company of Young Canadians, an organization dedicated to using the power structure's money to right the power structure's wrongs. Despite foul-ups, hang-ups, too much talk, the experiment is working."[34] An article in *Le Magazine Macleans* reminded its readership, that when the CYC were annoying Canadian society, they were in fact doing their jobs: "La Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens irrite tout le monde mais c'est son rôle."[35] Although other segments of Canadian society may not have believed that the 'experiment' was working, they nevertheless rejected the idea of censorship. As one letter to the editor in the *Calgary Herald* articulated: "It is quite possible that there are people in the CYC with Socialist or Communist leanings. I hope that this country is not so weak and frightened that we have to resort to the suppression of any political or ideological belief to maintain our security."[36] The CYC's membership, be they radicals or not, were supported through the belief that freedom of speech was afforded to all Canadian citizens. Another letter rebuking the editorial in the *Calgary Herald* asked readers to recall the irresponsible and unwise behaviour of certain senior elected officials: "Remember Gerda Munsinger?"[37]

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[34] Alexander Ross and Michael Valpy, "the Kids We Pay to Rock the Boat," *Maclean's* August 1967, 26.
[35] Jacques Guay, "La Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens irrite tout le monde mais c'est son role," *Le Magazine MacLean* 9 Aout, 1969, 17.
[36] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "The CYC" *Calgary Herald*, 26 August 1967.
[37] See Bryan D. Palmer, "Chapter 3: Scandalous Sex: A Cold (War) Case," *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto, 2009), 77-109, for an account of the Gerda Munsinger Affair.

Although the concerned writer believed that the behaviour of the CYC was "ill advised," he also cautioned that, "no one, young or old, has a copyright on wisdom or the lack of it."[38]

Media interpretations of what it meant to be Indigenous and an activist are telling. The following account provides some insight. On July 18, 1966, Indian and Métis people of Wabasca marched on the legislative buildings in Edmonton. The demonstrators had requested financial and moral support from those attending the National Indian Conference in Calgary, and the Canadian Indian Youth Council (CIYC) responded, providing assistance on both fronts. Less than two weeks later, another march, starting from Wabasca, took place with members of the CIYC marching in solidarity. Two of the CIYC youth protestors involved, Duke Redbird and Jeannette Corbiere (Lavell) were also members of the CYC. They helped to organize an effective media campaign and lobbied provincial officials.[39]

Mainstream western media represented the Wabasca march as just another example of CYC's irrelevant, yet dangerous radicalism. When questioned about their involvement in the protest as "CYC radicals," Redbird and Corbiere simply denied protesting in their capacity as CYC volunteers, and therefore as radicals. They were acting as Canadian Indian Youth Council representatives. This platitude seemed to provide a satisfactory explanation.[40] It appears that Canadian society did not conceive of Native youth as capable of radicalism. The perception of the CYC as outside agitators played into stereotypes of Indigenous Peoples as being acted upon, rather than being actors. Whether or not one viewed Company of Young Canadians volunteers as

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[38] LAC, Finance, CYC, RG 19-F-2, Box 32, File 6820-01, "The CYC" *Calgary Herald*, 26 August 1967.
[39] Canadian Indian Youth Council, *Canadian Indian Youth Council Policy Report*, 1960, 7.
[40] "Young Canadians deny Ottawa Return Order," *Globe and Mail* 29 July 1966, 3.

'instigators' or as 'troublemakers,' they were, nonetheless, viewed as actively stirring up an otherwise passive Native population. Aboriginal youth were not imagined as instigators, in and of themselves, only if they were acting in their capacity as CYC members. CYC Indigenous volunteers used this position to their advantage, playing off their dual roles as CYC volunteers, and when need be Canadian Indian Youth volunteers. When required, Indigenous youth distanced their association with the CYC and its 'bad' reputation.

Service organizations, institutions and ministries across the country voiced their cautionary concerns about the CYC, couched in the language of veiled altruism. For example, although agencies such as the Canadian Welfare Council (CWC) were "pleased" with the CYC's plans to adopt "new and imaginative approaches" they also made plain that they continued to be the "experts" when it came to "Indians" and the "poor." Community development and social service agencies issued press releases, quick to stake out their territories, challenging the effectiveness of the CYC, and reminding the Canadian public (and themselves) that CYC volunteers were non-professionals. As Reuben C. Baetz, then CWC executive director, declared, "goodwill and enthusiasm are not enough in tackling the social and economic problems of today." The Canadian Welfare Council (CWC) seemed at pains to establish its place as the expert noting: "Professional skill and objectivity in finding and analyzing facts are essential." Not only did the CYC pose the potential threat of undermining CWC authority, it was also cutting into the agency's funding, and area of expertise.[41]

The Department of Indian Affairs put forth a proposal to the federal government, to create a "Company of Mature Canadians" to work in Native communities, as an

[41] "Propose CYC Planning Conference" *Canadian Labour*, 10 (November 1965): 36.

alternative to the CYC.[42] R.F. Battle downplayed the significance of such a proposal: "I don't see this as any great panacea but I just think it is better that Indians hear from many of their own people, who have been successful, that they need to solve some of their own problems."[43] What constituted 'success' is unclear. The goal was to bring more Indians into the department of Indian Affairs Branch who were not youth. Enacting the Company of Mature Canadians would have potentially succeeded in redirecting a significant percentage of the $2.5 million dollars in CYC funding to Department of Indian Affairs coffers.

In 1968, the CYC launched a public relations campaign in an attempt to bolster its tattered reputation.[44] The following quotation taken from the second annual 1968-1969 CYC report reads like both a rebuttal to negative media, and an affirmation of the importance of the CYC's work:

> Our job is to facilitate social change. This is done by making people aware of their rights and helping them organize to take full advantage of the democratic system in order to achieve their rights. There are several hard facts that the Company has accepted about social change. Four of the most important are: social change automatically has political implications; social change can not be achieved without organization at the community level; volunteers must put the community's needs ahead of their own ideologies; social change involves tension, emotion, and friction.[45]

The Philosophy and Structure of the CYC

When it began, the simplistically optimistic motto that "better worlds are made" and the urgent belief "that tomorrow is too late for change" inspired the Company of Young

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[42] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (May 12, 1967), 1.
[43] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (May 12, 1967), 2.
[44] Michael Gillian, "CYC plans Public Relations Campaign to Bolster Image," *Globe and Mail* January 1968, 8.
[45] "Our Role," *The Company of Young Canadian Annual Report* (March 31, 1969): 5.

Canadians. CYC volunteers set out in earnest to make change happen, in many cases without any idea what this change would look like, or how it would be achieved. The Company of Young Canadians took to heart the lessons learned from the failures of Neestow and ERAP and the necessity of entering Indigenous communities without an agenda. For the first two years of its existence, armed with an operational budget of $2,444,000 million dollars per annum, the CYC set up "projects." Almost a manifestation of a collective stream of consciousness, projects popped up across the country, from the most remote to the most populated areas of the country.

The Company of Young Canadians, not assigned to any federal ministry though headquartered in Ottawa was organized as a crown corporation and answered directly to the Privy Council.[46] Theoretically one of the central claims regarding power distribution within the CYC was that power resided with the volunteers in the field and the communities they represented. From its inception the structure of the Company of Young Canadians was imagined as a decentralized model. Project control and communication, then, was to flow from the 'field' to headquarters. According to a 1967 memo from then executive director Alan Clarke to then Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs, E.A. Coté, CYC volunteers were to be the primary decision makers within each project "allow[ing] the volunteer a maximum degree of freedom in deciding his own techniques and in using his own initiative and independence."[47] The volunteer would communicate the needs of the community to the field staff, the field staff would then relay concerns, reports and communiqués to the regional director of programs, or directly to the executive. The field staff and the regional director would negotiate with head office on behalf of volunteers

[46] By 1968 the CYC was overseen by Secretary of State, Gerard Pelletier.
[47] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 992335 "Memorandum to Mr. E.A. Coté by Alan Clarke" (December 19, 1967), 2.

and community members. An essential component of the CYC's decision-making process dictated that the CYC executive operate in a supportive capacity to volunteers in the field. The interim Provisional Council, composed of leaders from Canadian society,[48] - existed as a check and balance system to the CYC executive, until a permanent governing council, comprised of volunteers, was elected. A volunteer-controlled permanent council never materialized.

Although 'decentralization of power' was certainly given lip service by CYC headquarters in Ottawa, the executive never relinquished its power to the 'field.'[49] This created a divide between head office executives, and fieldworkers and volunteers. According to Margaret Daly the power dynamics fell between executives and field supervisors: "There were always these big power struggles between the regional staff and the Ottawa people with the volunteers getting caught in the middle."[50] Regional supervisors James Littleton and Gerald (Jerry) Gambill exemplify how this division was played out, and resulted ultimately in their dismissals. Interestingly, both Littleton and Gambill worked with projects that involved Native youth. In 1969, three years after the creation of the CYC, the executive still controlled all fiscal decisions with the federally appointed governing council's rubber stamp of approval. The unwillingness to hand over governing control to the field created a schism between volunteers and the CYC executive. In the case of Native volunteers this division was exacerbated by deep-seated suspicions and longstanding animosity towards Ottawa, or any centralized form of government.

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[48] The first provisional council members in 1966 were: Edward Lavallee, Arthur Pape, Duncan Edmonds, Alan Clarke, Walter Kubiski, Richard Thompson, Maurice Strong, Miss Jean Archibald, Norman Asselin, Marc Lalonde, Timothy Reid, Gordon Selman, Lloyd Shaw, and Douglas Ward.
[49] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 100.
[50] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 57.

When analyzing the proposed purpose of CYC projects other paradoxes emerge. On the one hand, CYC literature suggested that volunteers use a community development approach: first identifying a community need, planning a course of action, then finding the resources necessary to fulfill the plan. In the same breath the CYC advocated that its volunteers push against the establishment, attack and disassociate from government programs and other service organizations and institutions.[51] Despite the apparent contradiction of employing a social service model while at the same time implementing a social action model, the CYC reconciled these ideological disparities by defining projects as "multi-dimensional."[52] Associate director Jacques Noel distilled the meaning and purpose of a project as "an integrated set of actions on the part of volunteers acting as individuals or teams, of advisors and staff for the socio-economic development of a community through study and understanding of a situation and joint planning of a rational long or short term programme of action."[53] Projects were also broken down into a range of possibilities, categorized as: low risk, community development, research oriented or high risk, or a combination thereof.[54] Low risk CYC efforts entailed activities that included everything from reading to the blind, leading recreation programs, to apprenticing with Indian band clerks.[55] Community development and research efforts were conceptualized as "helping people to find a platform for their problems," in which the volunteer's role was a background one, working to "assist people to articulate their

[51] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File R "Relationships and Program Possibilities Between the Company of Young Canadians and Other Organizations by H.E. Thomas" (October 1968), 2.
[52] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "Three Month Western Regional Plan by B. Baich, M. Assheton-Smith and B. Moore " (1967), 1.
[53] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "Three Month Western Regional Plan: Section One, General" (June1967), 1.
[54] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File R "Relationships and Program Possibilities Between the Company of Young Canadians and Other Organizations by H.E. Thomas" (October 1968).
[55] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File R "Relationships and Program Possibilities Between the Company of Young Canadians and Other Organizations by H.E. Thomas" (October 1968), 5.

concerns."[56] That said, the CYC also envisioned volunteers engaging in 'high risk' programs:

> 'Boat rocking' may have a place here, especially where the public servant or organization staff are prevented by policy and legislation from doing what needs to be done. There is a risk of failure, but the volunteer can take this risk without shattering his career. The volunteer is in the testing-trying out period of his life. The volunteer can take part in out-reach, cutting edge programs, involving innovation and experiment.[57]

Volunteers involved in 'high risk' programs were to help people to identify problems, challenge the status quo and critique the establishment. Projects were decided on a case-by-case basis with volunteers adopting one, or several strategies of organizing.

CYC projects operated in a variety of ways. Some projects were classified as 'complete operation' programs, with the CYC and its executive administering, staffing, programming and financing these initiatives. For other projects, the CYC functioned in a more supportive capacity, donating money and/or volunteers to programs and organizations that meshed with its mandate of promoting social change. All decision-making remained with the external organization. As well, these independent organizations and external initiatives provided training and supervision for CYC volunteers, but volunteers were paid by the CYC. In other instances, the CYC merely served as an advisory body, or liaison between other organizations and communities.

Indigenous youth viewed social action through the CYC as a potentially useful strategy, despite having reservations of working within a 'government sponsored' youth agency. Using this strategy carried with it the proviso that community dictated the thrust of all social action. Wilfred Pelletier, a young Anishinaabeg activist from Wikwemikong

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[56] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File R "Relationships and Program Possibilities Between the Company of Young Canadians and Other Organizations by H.E. Thomas" (October 1968), 5.
[57] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File R "Relationships and Program Possibilities Between the Company of Young Canadians and Other Organizations by H.E. Thomas" (October 1968), 6.

Unceded First Nation, and member of the Canadian Indian Youth Council, was hired by the CYC as the director for Indian programs:

> Jock Turcot told me that here was an opportunity for young people to go into communities, particularly Indian communities, without any kind of objectives, to put their hand upon the pulse beat of the Indian people and to find out exactly what was happening. For this reason (and this reason alone), because it coincided with my own reasons for working with Indian people I felt this was a golden opportunity to create understanding, to create communication where communication had broken down, or understanding did not exist.[58]

Although Pelletier stated repeatedly that he did not speak for Indian People, his words represent, in hindsight, the views of the majority of Indigenous youth within the CYC. In debating the merits of social action versus social service projects, Pelletier indicated that other issues were paramount to Indigenous CYC volunteers, and in his capacity as a member of the CYC, he was not "primarily interested in seeing that Indians get services."[59] The parade of programs, services and initiatives implemented by government agencies and officials, in the name of solving and/or helping the "Indian Problem," had soured Native youth activists, as well as Indigenous peoples' taste for 'white' help.

There is no dispute that the CYC was a state initiative. However the Pearson government could not predict, nor was it able to control, all results or outcomes of CYC projects, particularly those involving Indigenous communities. Relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth, in the 60s and 70s, may have been uneasy. However, as the following pages will show, the CYC created and cultivated numerous connections between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, politically, ideologically and in praxis.

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[58] LAC, Company of Young Canadians fonds (hereafter CYC), RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers" by Wilfred Pelletier, 5.
[59] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers by Wilfred Pelletier" (date unknown), 23.

Chapter Three: Indigenous Projects and the CYC

"We offer no manifestos or decrees. We simply hope to provoke discussion that will lead to the manifestos of the future being written by Indians."[1]
CYC Newsletter 1969

"Fine...send us your white kids, poor devils, and we will put up with them while they learn something of value."[2] Anonymous Indigenous Community Member Participant

The following analysis of Indigenous projects in the Company of Young Canadians concentrates on the intersections of native and non-native volunteers, field staff, organizations, and communities and how these relationships were articulated, with only a cursory analysis of the centralized power structure in Ottawa.[3] That said, any discussion of CYC projects in Native communities must nevertheless bear in mind how power relations were ordered, paying particular attention to the centralized or decentralized nature that characterized this ordering, as it tended to mitigate project results.

The Company of Young Canadians had seventeen volunteers involved with nine projects in the western region as of May 1967, the majority of which targeted Indigenous communities, both urban and rural. In 1968, the number of volunteers working with Métis and Indians jumped to thirty-seven, the majority of whom were located in the northern and the western sections of the prairies, as well as northern Ontario and British Columbia. As of March 1, 1968, the Company of Young Canadians had 225 volunteers

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[1] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Bernard Muzeen fonds (hereafter BM), MG 31-K37 Box 1 File 34 "Yes we have running water...you have to run to get it!" *CYC Review* (1969), 17.
[2] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers" by Wilfred Pelletier, 18.
[3] For an analysis of the relationship of the CYC and the state see Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade: The Story of the Company of Young Canadians* (Toronto 1970); Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game: The Short, Unhappy Life of the Company of Young Canadians* (Toronto 1970). For a more recent account see Carrie A. Dickenson and William J. Campbell, "Strange Bedfellows: Youth Activists, Government Sponsorship, and the Company of Young Canadians (CYC), 1965-1970," *The European Journal of American Studies*, special issue on May 68 (2008): 1-25.

and trainees in Canada. Of that figure, thirty-seven volunteers, or thirteen percent of the total number, were working with Indians and Métis.[4] By 1971, the numbers had dwindled to 135 volunteers on the CYC's roster with only thirteen projects defined as "native situations."[5] The Northwestern Ontario project, the projects in British Columbia, and in the Great Slave Lake area all continued to obtain funding, and new efforts in the remote native communities in the region of Labrador were added.

According to Indigenous CYC consultants, any Native project should possess the "sensible strategy" of developing a "corps of Indian volunteers" to initiate all CYC programs in Indigenous communities.[6] Some Indigenous projects, as with a certain percentage of all CYC projects, were short lived or non-starters. Many projects were fleeting, or tangential, running the breadth of possibilities; some were without follow through, purpose or planning. Some CYC projects employed a community development model; others implemented a social service oriented style; still other projects engaged in volunteerism, or more pejoratively welfarism, a typical modality employed by government departments. The first few years of the CYC's existence, project volunteers were given latitude in terms of operational procedures, objectives and implementation methods. In part, this occurrence can be attributed to the social activist leanings of its executive directors, and a more hands off approach from the Pearson government. However at the end of the day, the CYC executive controlled financial decisions, travel budgets, and compensation for expenses. Ottawa issued the cheques. Volunteers were

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[4] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 1968), 1.
[5] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Company of Young Canadians Report on Present Situation by Peter Brodhead" (February 1971), 1.
[6] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File S "Relationship between the CYC and Indian Communities: Staff Papers by Wilfred Pelletier" (date unknown), 14.

often subject to intense budget justifications, and financial remuneration from headquarters was typically less than forthcoming. Ottawa was inconsistent with payroll, and chronically late in reimbursing expenses. Despite these setbacks, volunteers, along with the communities and projects they supported, nevertheless managed to achieve some impressive results. In Indigenous communities, projects ran the gamut of possible dimensions, varied in terms of goals, tactics, and community support. Some projects were uneventful, with a volunteer simply fulfilling an entire two-year commitment of working in communities, with little or no controversy, while if other projects generated such a contentious situation they were forced to shut down. A number of projects, in the classic Alinsky-style of community organizing, achieved very concrete successes, focused on quite specific goals. Some projects operated as joint initiatives with other organizations: usually the CYC contributed on a per annum basis money and/or people (that was the extent of their involvement). Of the aforementioned types, a handful of projects made significant and lasting contributions to local communities, as well as to the wider movement of Indigenous self-determination and social change throughout North America.

Emergent and Undefined Indigenous CYC Projects

One of the first Indigenous CYC projects started in the Maritimes. The Mi'kmaq First Nation of Eskasoni,[7] situated on Bras D'Or Lake in Eastern Cape Breton Island, requested and received a CYC volunteer in July of 1966. Bill Poole lived in a house provided by the department of Indian Affairs. Indian Affairs assumed that Poole would be working closely with the Indian agent, however as reported by to the Eskasoni Indian

[7] In 2011, the Eskasoni First Nation has the largest Mi'kmaq speaking community in the world.

Agent, "the volunteer established an excellent relationship to Indians but practically none to non-Indians of the area nor to Branch staff."[8] The Eskasoni Indian agent's comments about Poole seem peevish, fixated on a sense of entitlement. After fulfilling his two-year term Poole left the community of Eskasoni. By the fall of 1968, no staff members from the Company of Young Canadians were working on Indian reserves in the Maritime region. With the exception of the brief stint in Eskasoni, the Maritimes was not a priority area for Native projects in the CYC. With few surviving records of volunteer activities in the community the reasons for the disinterest remains undetermined. Perhaps like many CYC projects, the Eskasoni project simply faded away, never materializing into anything tangible or lasting. Perhaps the people of Eskasoni did not see any benefits arising from having a volunteer in the community. What the Eskasoni project does illustrate is the attitude exhibited by the Indian Affairs agent. Indian Affairs repeatedly and consistently reminded the CYC, in the Eskasoni case remarking with disdain the lack of consultation on the part of Poole, that Indian Affairs Branch provided expertise when it came to all things Indian.

The province of Manitoba was another region to receive several early CYC projects. Two rural community development (CD) projects occurred on the Oak River Reserve and on the Pine Creek Reserve. The Oak River project was a social development program for Indigenous children, in preparation for kindergarten and grade 1, run by volunteer Eleanor Hyodo. Hyodo, a young woman of Japanese descent from Brantford, Ontario, was well liked in the community.[9] Pine Creek requested a CYC volunteer to serve as coordinator for the local community centre. In the city of Winnipeg, CYC

[8] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22 Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential memorandum" by R.F. Battle (February 24, 1967), 1.
[9] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 164.

projects were created through alliances with various organizations, including the Winnipeg Indian Youth Project.[10] The overarching goal of this urban project was to obtain a 'project house' to operate as a base for various projects, including working with patients at the Selkirk Mental hospital,[11] volunteering as court workers, acting as counselors for part of the Winnipeg Indian youth project, and working for Indian-Métis Friendship Centres. Another proposal, listed in a June 1967 Western Regional report, included a project run by CYC volunteer Jeannette Corbiere (Lavell).[12] Unfortunately the particulars of the project are missing from the report. Nevertheless, from the surviving information, one can glean that part of Corbiere's project included the task of documenting Indigenous culture, in particular language. Part of the expenses listed for the Winnipeg project included the purchase of a tape recorder "to be used for research on Indian Cultures, Community Development and reserve situation" at a cost of $150.00 and a rental car for five months. Corbiere also included the cost of the supervision and administration of six CYC volunteers to work collecting information in her budget proposal. The project's modest budget totaled $1600. What is of particular interest in the records of the Winnipeg projects is the statement that "if possible projects involving Indigenous Peoples should seek to hire Indigenous youth as volunteers." This mandate was an essential component for most projects, not just in Winnipeg. By 1967 the CYC's involvement in the province of Manitoba mushroomed exponentially with twelve young Indian men and women working as volunteers in Winnipeg, Brandon and Selkirk. The

[10] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W, "CYC Western Regional Plan by B. Baich, M. Assheton-Smith and B. Moore" (May 1967), 9.
[11] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W, "CYC Western Regional Plan, Appendix D: The Selkirk Mental Hospital Project by Alona Ericson and Pat Roberts" (May 23, 1967).
[12] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "Three Month Western Regional Plan, Section One: General" (June 1967), 2. A detailed account of the Corbiere project, cited as "Appendix C", is missing from the document.

projects however ended no sooner had they begun, with all volunteers removed from the field.[13]

In the spring of 1968, the project in Winnipeg "split wide open." According to Ian Hamilton's account: "The Natives didn't like the work the whites were doing, and vice-versa. The two staff members, Harold Harper, and Indian, and Murray Smith, a white, could not seem to resolve the differences of opinion. A genuine hatred began to develop between the two groups and it took on racial overtones."[14] Fearing a public relations fiasco, should the news become public knowledge, Ottawa decided to shut down all projects in the city. With no field staff and therefore no support system left in the province for Hyodo, the project in Oak River was also closed, against Hyodo's wishes and the wishes of the community, collateral damage.[15]

A growing negative reputation from media created difficulties for CYC programs to successfully operate in many Indigenous communities. In May of 1967, the CYC surveyed the town of Prince Albert, Saskatchewan in preparation for initiating Native projects in the area. According to 'CYC Western Regional Report', the province of Saskatchewan had "a one man minority government with right of centre philosophy" and a power structure "mainly concerned with developing industry." The province had "removed the Community Development Program and the Youth Corps [was] struggling to survive."[16] The report cautioned that the "CYC could be the scapegoat for the communitys (sic) desiring social action but not wanting to pay the price for their

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[13] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 1968), 3.
[14] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 163.
[15] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 164.
[16] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "CYC Western Regional Plan" (May 24, 1967), 6.

actions."[17] Moreover, any CYC sponsored projects, undertaken in Saskatchewan, should proceed with caution: "It is a touchy situation and there are some influential people who have rather negative feelings towards the CYC."[18] This cryptic warning does not expose who these 'influential people' were. Were the opposing forces in question federal, provincial, municipal government authorities, or Indigenous leaders? The report concluded that the urban areas in Saskatchewan, in particular, were "potentially dangerous for CYC activities."[19] At first glance the statements made in the CYC report seem overly dramatic. However, throughout the 1960s, in tandem with the rise of Indigenous activism, racially driven murders and beatings by whites were a regular occurrence in the west.[20] The province of Saskatchewan was dubbed the Mississippi of the North.[21] Despite fears and misgivings, the first Company of Young Canadians projects started in the province of Saskatchewan in October 1967 in the Indigenous communities of Fort Qu'Appelle and Buffalo Narrows. The projects did not survive the year, and no records exist explaining why the dissolution occurred.

Native CYC projects were common in the 1960s, in every province boasting a sizeable Indigenous population with the exception of Quebec. No projects existed in the province. The Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens (CJC) was a very different entity than in

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[17] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "CYC Western Regional Plan" (May 24, 1967), 7.
[18] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "Three Month Western Regional Plan: Section One, General" (June 1967), 8.
[19] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "CYC Western Regional Plan" (May 24, 1967), 6.
[20] Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 398-399 gives a brief account of the killing of Allan Thomas, a Saulteaux man, near North Battleford Saskatchewan; see Howard Adams, *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*, (Penticton 1995), 82-83 for an account of the beating and detainment of white social worker Ron Thompson by the local police. Thompson was an ally and supporter of the Indigenous struggle; also see Murray Dobbin, *The one-and-a-half Men*, 243-254 for a discussion on the mysterious disappearance of radical Métis activist Jim Brady.
[21] Bryan Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 398. *Peter Gzowski Reader*, 103-15, reprinting Gzowski, "This is Our Alabama," *Maclean's*, July 6, 1963.

the rest of the country.[22] A constant power struggle existed between the English Ottawa-based CYC and the Quebec chapter. The Quebec chapter wanted a separate organization. CJC members wanted control of operations and decision-making power that did not require a stamp of approval from Ottawa. The CJC's political agenda was linked to Quebec nationalism, and focused on the struggle of the worker as well as the general poverty of the francophone population. Ideologically the Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens (CJC) was firmly grounded in syndicalism[23] and the perceived homogeneity of the Québéçois. CJC volunteers believed that their roles were to bring about a 'revolution' in the province of Quebec using the tool of *animation sociale.*[24] However, Indigenous Peoples in the province of Quebec were not interested in the CJC's agenda, nor did they identify with a sense of nationalism in being Québéçois. Moreover, for First Nations and Innu peoples the ideology of syndicalism and the strategy of social animation held no traditional footing in the North, nor did this language resonate with the majority of northern communities' conceptualization of 'worker.' CYC regional programmer, James Littleton, and the Indian Film Crew, attempted to start projects in the area with the help of NFB filmmaker and journalist Boyce Richardson.[25] Not until the 1970s did the CJC, and the IFC (now funded by the DIAND) begin work in the north of the province. By then, the CYC/CJC was decidedly a state run, community development organization in

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[22] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of the Compagnie des Jeunes Canadiens (CJC).

[23] Syndicalism is defined as: "a revolutionary movement and theory advocating the seizure of the means of production and distribution by syndicates of workers through direct action."

[24] Martin Beliveau, associate director for Quebec: "We believe that by educating the masses we will succeed one day in establishing true democracy here in Quebec. We believe that in order for democracy to take root, it is essential that the entire population, regardless of race or class, be aware of the collective problems inherent in the society in which we live." (Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 90.)

[25] National Film Board Archives (hereafter NFB Archives), Challenge for Change/ Société Nouvelle Program (hereafter CFC/SN), Box Company of Young Canadians (hereafter CYC) File Indian Film Crew (hereafter IFC), File Roy Daniels "Great Slave Lake Project: Memo" (April 1969), unpaginated.

the aftermath of the Parliamentary Committee investigation, the appointment of Claude Vidal and the October Crisis of 1970. The CJC/CYC through a joint initiative with the Happy Valley Inuit Association started the Labrador Friendship Centre. The Friendship Centre was created in 1973 as a response to "the concerns of Aboriginal people who had moved from a rural area on the Coast of Labrador to a more urban setting in Happy Valley - Goose Bay where the population was mainly of Euro-Canadian origin."[26] The Friendship Centre in Northern Quebec was part of a larger phenomenon, as Native Friendship Centres cropped up in urban areas across the country in response to the large migratory influx of Indigenous peoples to cities.

Community Development Indigenous Projects

In 1967, the CYC Victoria Park Project in Calgary was a community development project whose main goal was to establish a housing and tenant committee in the city of Calgary "in a neighbourhood where a number of Indians reside [d]."[27] The project volunteers formed alliances with a number of other organizations including: the Métis Club, the Victoria Community Association, the Mothers' Club, and the Youth Club.[28] After a consultation process with the residents of Victoria Park was completed, CYC volunteers determined that the project would focus on urban renewal, and public housing needs, implementing classic community organizing techniques. The coordinator, Elaine Krause, and volunteer Bernie Muzeen, worked with Indian and non-Indian residents using

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[26] Acknowledgements to the Company of Young Canadians is given on the website http://www.lfchvgb.ca/home/12: "The Labrador Friendship Centre, or the idea of a Labrador Friendship Centre originated in 1973 from work being done by The Company of Young Canadians and the Happy Valley Inuit Association."

[27] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (February 24, 1967), 2.

[28] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File W "Three Month Western Regional Plan: Appendix B" (1967).

SDS/ERAP style methods of organizing to effect change. Community members along with CYC volunteers lobbied government at many levels, in an effort to block the proposed private development that would see housing in the area of Victoria Park demolished, leaving low-income people without a plan for relocation. The project achieved concrete results. Both the municipality and the province were forced to offer consultation with the people of the neighbourhood, and the plan to 'develop,' or rather tear down, the low-income housing in the area around the Stampede Corral fairgrounds was stopped.

That same year, a very different CYC project happened in the rural community of Fox Lake, Alberta.[29] The Band Council, at the time representing 400 Treaty Indians, requested a taskforce to serve as an information resource conducting research into provincial and federal government practices surrounding services and industry. The CYC and the CIYC established an alliance, and together with community members, including a Cree speaking translator and member of the Fox Lake Reserve, formed the task force. The CYC/CIYC investigation uncovered discriminatory practices on the part of both the federal and provincial governments. The first finding was that welfare rates and payments in the community of Fox Lake were substantially less than those in the rest of the province. Once this discrepancy was brought to the attention of the community, it organized and lobbied for change. The community's campaign resulted in the adjustment of the welfare rates. The CYC/CIYC investigation also exposed the fact that the community of Fox Lake had not been consulted concerning industrial development in the area. No records existed indicating that the oil company, in the region's seismic line contract negotiations, had consulted with the chief, with council, or any member of the

[29] Fox Lake, Alberta is located approximately 600 miles north of Edmonton.

community except for two people, the local priest and the Indian Affairs agent. For although the band council had no copy of the contract and/or the minutes of the negotiations, both the priest of the community, as well as the department of Indian Affairs did. Negotiations with the company and the community of Fox Lake were reopened.

Although the project in Fox Lake was successful in terms of social action and community organizing, the CIYC/CYC taskforce made several recommendations regarding future projects involving Native communities. These recommendations point to an underlying tension between Native and non-Native activists. Canadian Indian Youth Council participants indicated that they were not convinced that "the CYC had the tenor of sensitivity needed to appreciate needs of Indian communities."[30] As such, the report recommended that the CYC adopt culturally sensitive criteria in its quest to hire, in all instances where possible, volunteers of Native ancestry. In addition, the report concluded that the Company of Young Canadians use Indian volunteers and make use of existing native organizations, such as the Canadian Indian Youth Council, in all future projects. These recommendations were, for the most part, adopted by the CYC in all subsequent Indian projects.

In British Columbia, CYC Indigenous projects were firmly planted within the ideological realm of community development. Two CYC volunteers were assigned to Alert Bay at the request of the Cormorant Island Youth Guidance Committee. In the community of Penticton, a "prairie Indian volunteer" was assigned August 1966 to work with delinquent youth. In larger urban centres, the CYC worked for the Victoria Youth Council, as well as the Vancouver Boys' Club project. What distinguishes the 1960s

[30] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182 File "Canadian Indian Youth Council Task Force Report."

projects in B.C. from all other CYC projects, whether CD driven or otherwise, was the willingness on the part of west coast volunteers to work with the Department of Indian Affairs. Although CYC volunteers in the rest of the country were willing to collaborate with many organizations, including some government agencies, working with the Department of Indian Affairs was rejected as a most repugnant prospect. West coast volunteers, both Native and non-native, dismissed the executive in Ottawa, and paid scant attention to any instructions coming from CYC headquarters. For British Columbian volunteers, it appears that taking orders from CYC headquarters in Ottawa was worse than the prospect of dealings with Indian Affairs. What factors can account for the distinctiveness of west coast Indigenous CYC projects? In practical terms this alliance provided B.C. volunteers with a solid source of revenue, and guaranteed political support from a government organization that carried more political clout than the Company of Young Canadians. Perhaps regional cleavages help explain this divide. Maybe the communities in question were not interested in pursuing social change per se; maybe individual CYC volunteers did not espouse radical views. Whatever the reasons, according to a confidential report from the Indian Affairs Branch in the province of British Columbia "a constant and fruitful" relationship existed between the CYC and the Branch.[31]

One Indigenous CYC project in British Columbia, though based on a community development model, was as innovative as it was ambitious. The Indian Post-Release Centre Society for Indian ex-inmates, the brainchild of the Indian Educational Club of the

[31] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (February 24, 1967), 1.

B.C. Penitentiary, was different from other CYC community development projects.[32] The Club approached the Company of Young Canadians looking for volunteer support. On January 29, 1967, CYC non-native David Berner, along with Richard Sutherland and Tony Antoine,[33] moved into the first house run by the ex-inmates located on 2974 West 5th Avenue, Vancouver.[34] The post-release centre provided a space for young Indian men released from prison to operate on two fundamental principles, self-support and self-determination. Structurally the program had two components: a residential and a business section both run by the ex-convicts. The program later incorporated as the X-Kalay (meaning path) Foundation and owned two residences. In four years the program boasted 125 people in residence, including women, owned and operated a Shell gas station, a hair salon, a pizza restaurant, and a hotel on Salt Spring Island. From Salt Spring Island, the Centre ran a summer camp for children.[35] Another component of the project included an income-producing venture, in conjunction with Imperial Oil. Imperial Oil permitted the parolees to lease and operate a service station. The slogan on the sandwich board outside of the gas station read: "Come and get gassed up by a junkie."[36] The project received funding assistance from organizations such as the Kiwanis Club, B.C. Federation of Labour, the Vancouver Indian Centre, as well as from the DIAND. In terms of advisory support the Post-Release Centre maintained strong links with the Indian Educational Club inmates, as well as organizations such as the John Howard Society and the National

[32] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Report on the Post-Release Centre for Indian Ex-Convicts by David Berner" (date unknown), 1.
[33] Tony Antoine was also president of Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP).
[34] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Report on the Post-Release Centre for Indian Ex-Convicts by David Berner" (date unknown), 1.
[35] David Berner, *David Berner speech – The History of X-Kalay Video*, presented at the Behavioural Health Foundation, St. Norbert Manitoba (August 29, 2009).
[36] Vid David Berner, *David Berner speech – The History of X-Kalay Video*, presented at the Behavioural Health Foundation, St. Norbert Manitoba (August 29, 2009).

Parole Service.[37] Though technically working within a CD model, Berner, a young Jewish man originally from Winnipeg, spearheaded a project that pushed the envelope of the meaning of "community development." Berner was provocative in both words and deeds, and used every innovative, radical, extreme, and "half-baked" CD technique at his disposal. The program at X-Kalay engaged in discussion groups or "attack therapy games": the purpose was to break a person down or instill fear of what you could be. Berner hybridized these techniques with an anti-establishment "no rule policy"[38] except for two: "No intoxicants and no violence." In many ways the Indian Post Release Centre was as extreme as any other CYC initiative created. However the Centre 'kept its nose clean,' avoided the language of radicalism, and steered clear of controversy, in this way denying that indeed 'the boat was rocking.'[39]

Controversial Indigenous CYC Projects

Other CYC project volunteers did not couch their intentions in acceptable language. Moreover, some CYC volunteers embraced controversy. Not only did volunteers vocalize the systemic racism they observed in northern Alberta, they printed it in the CYC newsletter: "The Indians and Métis creep around on the fringes of things, invisible."[40] This comment, as well as others made by non-native CYC volunteers Jeremy Ashton and Al Burger, caused quite a stir. The two volunteers arrived in the Lesser Slave Lake

[37] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R, "Report on the Post-Release Centre for Indian Ex-Convicts by David Berner" (date unknown), 1.
[38] David Berner, *David Berner speech – The History of X-Kalay Video*, presented at the Behavioural Health Foundation, St. Norbert Manitoba (August 29, 2009).
[39] In 1970 the X-Kalay Foundation expanded, establishing a house in St. Norbert, Manitoba. Built in the early 1900's the domed building served as a former orphanage run by the Les Soeurs de Misericorde (Sisters of Mercy), then later as a seminary for the Oblate Fathers. The large institutional building was donated to X-Kalay. The centre continues to exist in 2011 as the Behavioural Health Foundation, serving as a halfway house supporting people with drug and alcohol addictions.
[40] Quoted in Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 64.

community of Faust at the request of the Faust Community League and the Faust Métis Progress League, in August of 1966, to help 'keep the kids out of trouble' by setting up a recreation programme.[41] Initially Ashton and Burger worked with a classic community development style, setting up youth groups and sports teams, for a demographic essentially comprised of the community's Métis and Indian children. If setting up a youth recreation program to keep Indian children 'out of trouble' was the only thing the community members in Faust had wanted, then Burger and Ashton would have kept their jobs. However, Indian and Métis community members in Faust were concerned with more pressing issues than simply teen angst. Ashton and Burger, in keeping with the CYC's mandate to identify the root of a community's problem, surmised that in the case of the Lesser Slave Lake area the root problems were systemic racism and colonialism. Making public statements that exposed systemic racism, and the continuity of colonialism, did not sit well with the town's non-Indigenous elites. Non-native community members, led by business leaders, launched a media campaign, issuing statements that CYC activities were unwelcome, offensive, inappropriate, and their members were nothing more than communist agitators.[42] Non-Indigenous townsfolk also pressured provincial and federal officials to remove the 'unwanted' volunteers from their midst, as they were outsiders. However not everyone in town agreed. As one woman articulated, to non-Indigenous town members, the issue was not about CYC activities; the issue was "about the fact that you, a white person, don't want the CYC here. I'm a Métis and I do want them here."[43] Despite evidence of widespread support from the Métis

[41] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 65.
[42] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 71.
[43] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 68.

community, the CYC executive in Ottawa succumbed to white public pressure, and pulled the volunteers from the area.[44]

By 1968, despite occasional setbacks, the number of CYC volunteers in Alberta mushroomed to nineteen, with three main projects in operation. President of the Alberta Métis League, Stan Daniels, was a driving force, coordinating, supporting and helping to implement Native CYC projects throughout the province in Métis communities. In March 1968, Daniels was appointed staff person for the CYC's Lesser Great Slave Project, and given a seat on the CYC's Provisional Council.

Indigenous CYC volunteers Willie Dunn, and Rose Auger continued to organize and agitate in northern Alberta. They set up a drop-in centre in High Prairie. Tony Antoine, from NARP in Vancouver joined the efforts. However, racist attitudes driven by a colonial mentality were constant undercurrents in northern Alberta. Indigenous activists were subject to repeated harassment, were driven of the highway, were threatened and beaten. In the spring of 1969 the conditions came to an ugly head with an incident in Canyon Creek. A beer parlor fight involving eight Indigenous community organizers and fifteen whites resulted in the arrest of Dunn, Auger, and Antoine.[45] The incident garnered national attention, resulting in an informal alliance between radical Indigenous

[44] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 184, File L, "A Research Pattern for the Lesser Slave Lake Area by Al Burger" (1969). Addendum to the Lesser Slave Lake Project: Two years later Al Burger and Jeremy Ashton quietly returned to the Lesser Slave Lake Area and continued their work in the community. In the summer of 1968 a Lesser Slave Development Association (LSDA) formed operating with an "all-inclusive" mandate. The volunteers toned down their rhetoric. In a fifty page report prepared by Al Burger in February 1969 the word 'colonialism' was not used once. Instead the more acceptable discourse of 'the Indian problem' was given as the explanation for "intergroup" and ethnic relations. Although the word 'colonialism' was not stated explicitly, Burger's fifty-page report gives a detailed explanation of discrimination in the community identifying what segment of the population experiences discrimination and what are some of the causes.

[45] See Myrna Kostash, *Long Way from Home: The story of the Sixties generation in Canada* (Toronto 1980), 155 for a brief account of the incident in northern Alberta.

activists, government institutions, and student activists in an effort to combat institutionalized racism in Canada.[46]

In Northwestern Ontario, reports concerning the activities and whereabouts of CYC volunteers in the area began circulating in Indian Affairs' memos as early as February 24th 1967.[47] Again assistant Deputy Minister R.F. Battle expressed disdain that the CYC was engaging in activities that were "negative in nature," acting with "little or no consultation" with the Indian Affairs Branch.[48] However, the issue that caused the most consternation for R.F. Battle was that CYC volunteers in the Lakehead area had "concluded in advance that no progress for Indians [could] be achieved until the Department [was] destroyed."[49]

One of the early large-scale projects, the Northwestern Ontario (NWO) project attempted to unite isolated rural communities in Northern Ontario with members committed to "long-term building" with "big policies of agitation."[50] Such lofty goals were nonetheless grounded in the practical strategy of first developing strong "roots in the community."[51] Volunteers formed alliances with Indian Conference of Northwest Ontario members, as well as the National Congress of Indian Youth.[52] The Northwestern Ontario Project started with eight volunteers in the region. All Northwestern Ontario

[46] See Richard Price, "The New Left in Alberta," in *The New Left in Canada* ed. Dimitrios Roussopoulos (Montreal 1970), 46 for an account of the aftermath of the incident at Canyon Creek, and the formation of the Native People's Defense Fund. The Fund was established from an alliance formed between Red Power activists from NARP, Harold Cardinal, President of the Indian Association, the NFB employees, and York University student activists who raised bail and appeal money.
[47] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (November 7, 1967), 1.
[48] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle" (December 16, 1968), 1.
[49] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle" (December 16, 1968), 1.
[50] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 122.
[51] Margaret Daly, *The Revolution Game*, 122.
[52] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Confidential Memorandum by R.F. Battle" (November 7, 1967), 2.

Indigenous CYC volunteers, except one, were urban-based, living in Port Arthur or Fort William, and either worked at the Indian Friendship Centre or assisted in the Alcoholism and Drug Addiction Research Foundation of Ontario. By 1969 the project had a fiscal budget totaling $117,793.[53] In an effort to bring Native organizers into the fold, Ron Christiansen, the non-Indigenous CYC supervisor for the NWO, created a position for a dedicated coordinator of Indian social-cultural development, and hired Harold 'Buddy' Sault.[54] Indian leadership, it was felt, was more than capable of dealing with government organizations and the politics that went with them.[55] An imposing figure, Sault was big man who wore his hair shaven except for a centre strip, wore buckskins, "and talked of Red Power."[56] The goal was for Indian volunteers to focus on organizing Indian people throughout the region "to be able to confront the elements of white society which have oppressed them for so long."[57] Harold 'Buddy' Sault was the perfect choice for organizing and agitating in the area – he was a charismatic individual, "intense, angry, and committed" and had a wide appeal with Indigenous youth.[58] Sault's aim was to force the federal and provincial governments to drastically change policies and procedures when dealing with Native people.[59] Indigenous CYC volunteers fought to raise awareness, as well as facilitate alliances with other Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, organizations, and the wider Canadian public.

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[53] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "Information on CYC Indian & Eskimo Program," 1.
[54] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.
[55] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects," by James Littleton" (date unknown), 2.
[56] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 155
[57] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects," by James Littleton" (date unknown), 2.
[58] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 155.
[59] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 3.

Media played an important role contributing to NWO project successes, by lending support to Indigenous CYC volunteers and community actions. Creating the CYC-run northern Ontario newspaper *Kenomadiwin News*, and its sister radio station *Radio Kenomadiwin*, ensured news coverage of Indigenous events and concerns in the region.[60] Although the newspaper and radio station were created as separate CYC projects, volunteers did not conceive of them as separate entities. Instead, volunteers envisioned media as an "instrument" to be used within the context of the larger plan: the movement for lasting social change for Indigenous peoples. *Kenomadiwin News* networked with other Indigenous publications such as *Akwesasne Notes*,[61] *Toronto Native Times* (TNT),[62] and *Native Press*,[63] as well as with mainstream media. Many CYC initiatives in northern Ontario were supported by a media campaign that succeeded in maintaining public interest and support, thereby generating change.

For example, the CYC established a project in the community of Armstrong/Happy Valley, Ontario, and the two CYC volunteers stationed there worked mainly with Indigenous community members. The volunteers established a working relationship with the President of the Armstrong Indian Association, Hector King,[64] who later became a CYC volunteer. The overarching objective was to assist "Indian people gain recognition from non-Indian residents of Armstrong and from Canadians in

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[60] A more detailed analysis of *Kenomadiwin News* and Kenomadiwin Radio is discussed in Chapter 4.
[61] Jerry Gambill, Ernest Benedict, Mike Mitchell and Tom Porter founded the publication in December 1968.
[62] The Canadian Indian Centre and Native Youth of Toronto produced *Toronto Native Times* (TNT). The Nishnawbe Institute (formerly the Institute for Indian Studies) funded the publication.
[63] *Native Press* was published by the NWT Indian Brotherhood and funded through private donations.
[64] King was a security guard at the radar base in Armstrong. Armstrong was part of the Pinetree Line Radar defense created during the Cold War as an early warning system (the more well known was the DEW Line) against a Soviet Union airstrike. Although run by Norad, the U.S. Air Force manned the radar bases into the 1970s.

general."[65] The community of Armstrong/Happy Valley was divided, as were many small northern towns, into two racially distinct sections. The 'white' part of town had services, whereas the 'Indian' part of town had no running water, and no electricity. Indigenous community members sought equal participation in decision-making processes in Armstrong. With the help of the CYC, Hector King and the Indian Association campaigned to effect change. King engaged in unorthodox lobbying and publicity stunts. In one instance for example, King travelled to Toronto "crashing" the Indian Eskimo Association Conference banquet at the Lord Simcoe Hotel, pleading for a chance to speak at the conference about the conditions in Armstrong. The Company of Young Canadians paid for all travel expenses for King and four CYC volunteers.[66] King's actions generated significant mainstream news coverage, newspaper headlines, and television interviews. Alliances with groups such as the Indian Eskimo Association, coupled with newspaper coverage in the 'south' and in the north, helped the Armstrong Indian Association raise the town's profile, pressuring the provincial and federal government to consult with Indian members of Armstrong/Happy Valley. King obtained meetings with Jean Chretien, John Diefenbaker (then leader of the opposition), as well as Keith Penner, the MP for Thunder Bay. The Company of Young Canadians helped sustain public pressure on government and municipal officials, by keeping the community of Armstrong in the news. *Kenomadiwin News* kept its readership, as well as other publications, informed of the activities taking place in Armstrong. In its December 1968 issue, *Kenomadiwin* reported on a delegation consisting of one Native volunteer from Armstrong and two

[65] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.
[66] Dale Martin, Ron Christiansen and Buddy Sault from NWO and Jim Littleton, national staff member made up the support group.

non-native CYC volunteers, who spoke at a forum sponsored by the Carleton University Students' Association, exposing the racism experienced in Armstrong, and the growing Indian unrest in the community.[67]

One story in particular hit a nerve, in both Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities across Canada. A central concern put forth by the registered status Indians of Armstrong was that their children were not permitted to attend the public school in town, but were forced to go to a residential school located hundreds of miles away.[68] Children were gone for the duration of the school year, unable to live with their families and, if they were fortunate enough, were able return home only once or twice a year. Indian Affairs did not provide any money for transportation. People outside of the community responded. They sent money, donated clothes and school supplies. The Lakehead University French Club raised enough funds to charter buses to take 50 children home during the holidays, to communities such as Armstrong, Mobert, Gull Bay, Winnipeg, Fort Frances, Red Lake, Sioux Lookout, and White River. The December 1968 issue of *Kenomadiwin News*, headline declared "Kids Go Home for Christmas."[69]

Some non-Indigenous community members were not necessarily willingly supportive of the attempts to change the situation in Armstrong. In fact, non-Indigenous community members in Armstrong, such as the secretary of the school board, Mrs. Bertha Parker, viewed the work as destructive: "All the trouble started with those hippies who came here. They counseled the Indians and wrote letters for them – just got them all

[67] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.
[68] Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 154.
[69] "Kids go Home for Christmas," *Kenomadiwin News* 20 December 1968, 1.

stirred up."[70] The 'hippies' to whom Parker was referring were CYC Northwestern Ontario volunteers Dunn, Martin and Shirley. Parker's position was, it seems, supported by the Indian Affairs agent for the area, who reported that the "Indians bitterly attacked" the Armstrong school board for refusing to admit Indian children to the local school,[71] and that, in general the CYC were "critical of non-Indians in the community."[72] Initially the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) rationalized that the criticism launched against the department was due simply to the "militant attitude taken by the Association."[73] The DIAND then softened its position, after sustained media coverage and mounting public pressure declaring that the situation in Armstrong existed due to a "lack of communication" between parties. [74] Adverse publicity, along with alliances in the south, and negotiations with both the provincial and federal officials, finally forced the school board to reverse its decision, and "promise to admit Indian children as soon as space [was] available."[75] The DIAND earmarked funds, and promised to begin building an addition to the school within a year, thereby increasing the number of students able to attend. The sustained efforts of the CYC and Armstrong Indian Association proved effective.

Not all Northwestern Ontario CYC projects involved confrontation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous society but focused instead on the promotion and

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[70] LAC, CYC, Bernard Muzeen fonds, MG 31-K371, "Yes we have running water...you have to run to get it!" *The CYC Review* (1969), 17.
[71] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 1.
[72] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 1.
[73] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.
[74] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.
[75] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC by R.F. Battle: Appendix" (December 16, 1968), 2.

revitalization of Indigenous culture, language, and community. In the northern community of Red Lake, Ontario, Indigenous youth, including CYC volunteers, proposed establishing a Friendship Centre. The Town Council, as well as various citizens groups supported the initiative.[76] In November of 1968, CYC volunteer David Loonfoot and other members of an organizing committee for the area, lobbied for grants from local, provincial and federal sources. The committee did not count on government funding alone but also sought private investments. Donations were received through an extensive public fund-raising campaign. At one benefit, the raffling of one of Norval Morrisseau's paintings raised $177.00.[77] In addition to establishing the Friendship Centre within a year,[78] Indigenous CYC volunteers were also involved in neighbouring communities, addressing problems of employment, housing, transportation, and social and welfare services.[79] To a large degree, community members of Red Lake saw the work of the federal government as ineffectual, stating that, "we Indians, have looked at the situation and have undertaken the task of social change."[80]

In 1969, the structure of the Northwestern Ontario projects changed, separating into "Indian and white projects." According to James Littleton, the overall feeling regarding the split was positive as "nearly all the members of both projects" thought the move "to be necessary."[81] Volunteers anticipated re-organizing, and attending to their respective areas. However at this point in the CYC's history, the position of executive

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[76] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "Information on CYC Indian & Eskimo Program," 11.
[77] Morrisseau's paintings have been exhibited at the National Gallery of Canada and would today fetch thousands on the open market.
[78] Friendship Centres cropped up in other communities in the area, such as the Thunderbird Friendship Centre located in Geraldton, Ontario.
[79] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "Information on CYC Indian & Eskimo Program," 10.
[80] "Red Lake Indians Organize," *Kenomadiwin News* 15 April 1969, 1.
[81] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 2.

director fell to Claude Vidal. Littleton viewed the executive director's actions, in approving the split of the two projects, knowing that funds for two Northwestern Ontario Project's were not secured, as duplicitous.[82] Under the Vidal administration a palpable tension existed between Ottawa and the field. Remarking on the obstacles and difficulties encountered by field workers, Littleton concluded that, "the problems are not only in the communities where they are working, and in the social and political structure of Canada itself, but in fact in the very Company of which they are members."[83] The NWO non-Native CYC projects faded out of existence, and with them went some of the CYC's most radical non-Native members.

By contrast, Indigenous CYC projects in Northwestern Ontario continued to grow. In 1971, seven Native CYC projects still existed in the region although community based CYC project work tended to be social service oriented or business initiative. The community of Armstrong, Ontario still enlisted CYC volunteers, but the projects undertaken were either community development or economic development projects. The CYC assigned a volunteer to the Armstrong Indian and Métis Association, and the Gull Bay Band Council, who assisted in the planning and establishment of the Armstrong Pulp Corporation (a pulp-cutting operation). The volunteer had previously worked in McDiarmid and had helped the Lake Nipigon Métis Association establish a sawmill operation.[84] Some projects, took on short-term immediate goals such as in the community of McDiarmid, Ontario. Other economic and community development projects included

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[82] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 2.
[83] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 6.
[84] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Company of Young Canadians Report on Present Situation," by Peter D. Brodhead, (February 8, 1971), 12.

housing projects, wild rice harvesting, upgrading adult education levels, as well as providing technical training for community members. Canada Manpower Adult Retraining Program included Indigenous people on the curriculum committee, in large part, thanks to the advocacy efforts of CYC volunteers.

The 1970s marked the rise of CYC projects in Indigenous communities that focused on culture. In general, Indian country experienced a shift away from radicalism as new Indigenous political organizations across the country, armed with big government-funded budgets, took over the administration of Indigenous government. According to Howard Adams this shift marked "a new breed of native organizations" both "active, and politically powerful in the native world." However, because financing came from provincial and federal sources, Adams argued, these organizations had also "become extensions of the government, with Native officials administering the programs, a new Native elite."[85] Yet for many Indigenous communities, these organizations facilitated a means to reclaim control over education and create culturally appropriate services, organizations, and institutions. The Wikwedoong Cultural Centre was established in the city of Thunder Bay as a joint venture with Lakehead University. Founded in March 1970, the Centre operated as a non-profit all native organization. The principle mandate of Wikwedoong was "the preservation and dissemination of Indian culture" primarily through recording interviews with "the old storytellers" of the region. Two CYC volunteers worked for the Wikwedoong Cultural Centre. Jim Morris, from Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug, or Big Trout Lake, was one of the volunteers.[86] Morris, employed as a field interviewer, inscribed and translated syllabics for the audiotape

[85] Howard Adams, "Native Elite," *Toronto Native Times* April 1971, 2.
[86] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Company of Young Canadians Report on Present Situation," by Peter D. Brodhead, (February 8, 1971), 11; see *Kenomadiwin News* January 1971, 7.

library, and submitted articles in syllabics that were then published in *Kenomadiwin News*.[87] The tapes were also intended to serve as archival sources for future Indigenous publications.[88] The end goal was to compile an audiotape library of native legends, stories and folklore.[89] In northern Ontario, the Wikwedoong audiotape library operated as a repository to increase Native youth's knowledge of their culture, by improving and reviving Indigenous language skills. Intended for immediate use, the audiotapes were included as part of broadcasts on Kenomadiwin Radio. It is unclear from my research what became of such a rich resource.

Part of the vision for the library was to set up an exchange program that would be shared, part of a cultural resource for Native communities and scholars, as well as institutions of learning across North America. Many institutions, including the academic Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE) and the Department of Indian Affairs Cultural Development division supported Wikwedoong. Wilfred Pelletier, who in the 1970s now worked as the director of the Institute for Indian Studies at Rochdale College in Toronto, indicated the Institute's interest in obtaining a copy of the audiotape collection.[90]

The revitalization of language and culture were but two areas of focus; another was economic development. In keeping with the growing trend in the rest of Indian country, the Wikwedoong Centre also established the Wikwedoong Native Development Association. The Association supported and encouraged local economic development,

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[87] *Kenomadiwin News*, January 1971, 7.
[88] "Wikwedoong Moves Ahead," *Kenomadiwin News* 17 December 1970. It is unclear what became of this invaluable audiotape library.
[89] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Company of Young Canadians Report on Present Situation," by Peter D. Brodhead, (February 8, 1971), 11.
[90] "Wikwedoong Moves Ahead," *Kenomadiwin News* 18 December 1970, 4.

through craft and consumer co-operatives with Indigenous communities throughout northern region. The Centre provided research support on wild rice growth and planting, as well as finding markets for local pickers. The Centre functioned, then, as both a research facility, and a "broker" on behalf of local groups or individuals.

Another large-scale CYC project, the Great Slave Project, was divided between the communities of Yellowknife, Fort Rae (Behchokò), Fort Providence and Hay River. The project started in September 1967 with Marilyn Assheton-Smith acting as staff supervisor and moving into Yellowknife. In the early 1970s, Peter Puxley replaced Assheton-Smith as staff supervisor for the NWT Great Slave Lake project. The initial influx of CYC volunteers arrived in November, concentrating their efforts on the southern part of the Mackenzie District. The first order of business was to recruit both Indian and Métis youth to act as volunteers for their respected communities. The primary goal of the CYC volunteer "may be expressed as assisting native people to obtain the information and strength they need to deal with the world outside so that they may increase the degree of control which they have over their own lives. The predominance of local native volunteers in the project is in harmony with this goal."[91] The basic strategy was then defined in terms of community development or community organization.[92] The second task was to aid individual communities to identify and define their 'problems' while at the same time becoming knowledgeable about the area's local and the regional history.

Unlike other CYC projects, volunteers in the Great Slave Lake area took care not to be committed to any one project. Creating these conditions provided the flexibility

[91] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 7.
[92] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Great Slave Lake Project" by Marilyn Assheton-Smith (March 26, 1969), 3.

volunteers needed to move quickly, aiding different community representatives instantly. Specific, concrete successes occurred, because volunteers moved in tandem with the rising efforts and critical conditions in various communities. According to Assheton-Smith, when the Territorial Government was to present a new town site for the community of Rae/Behchokò, "four volunteers could drop everything and pump information into the men at Rae so they could finally come and present relevent (sic), valid briefs to council."[93] In effect, volunteers engaged with communities as quasi-consultants and campaign managers, creating documentation in the language that the newly formed Territorial Government understood and of which it took notice.[94]

The Department of Indian Affairs also took notice, wanting full disclosure from the CYC as to the nature of its activities in the area. According to the Department a lack of consultation with the state was "paralleled by an equal lack of communication" with Indian communities in general and represented an overall "negative attitude" on the part of the CYC in the Great Slave Lake area. The local Indian Affairs agent for the region concluded: "The resulting ignorance of Company of Young Canadians progress has created extensive confusion in the district with regard to the volunteers' intended purpose."[95] In a letter to CYC executive director Alan Clarke, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs E.A. Coté suggested that it would be "useful to us if you could describe your field organization and comment on how your field staff and our field staff might maintain

[93] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Great Slave Lake Project" by Marilyn Assheton-Smith (March 26, 1969), 3.
[94] The devolution of power from Ottawa to a territorial government with its capital in Yellowknife happened in 1967. Increasing territorial responsibility was based on the federal recommendations made in the Carrothers Report of 1965.
[95] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the Activities of the CYC: Appendix" by R.F. Battle (December 16, 1968), 7.

liaison and deal with problems that my arise."[96] Coté then 'suggest[ed]' that a chain of command be arranged for continuing liaison at the Headquarters' level because "some problems may arise which cannot be solved at the field level."[97] CYC executive Clarke's response was a subtle rebuke: "Because all of our fieldworkers will be working closely with the people in the communities in which they are placed, aiding them in reaching their own goals in the development of the North, it is unlikely that there will be any conflict with your Department."[98] Clarke then jabbed a lovely thorn in the Department's side, pointing out that should "consultation at the Ottawa level be required" the Department could contact the newly appointed Associate Director of CYC, Gerald (Jerry) Gambill.[99] Not six months earlier, the Pearson government had assured the DIAND that said Gerald Gambill would not be "working with the Indian people" in any capacity. Gambill was fired as a community development DIAND officer for the community of Akwesasne after engaging in organizing and ostensibly causing much unrest in the community.[100] The CYC was not averse to maintaining some level of cooperation with government organizations and institutions per se, and liaised with the Territorial Government, Band Councils, the Territorial Young Camper's Association, Kalami Housing Association, the Tree of Peace, the Youth Club, and the Y.W.C.A.[101]

For the North West Territories (NWT) the 1970s, not the 1960s, were times of significant change. In 1969, the highway connecting Yellowknife with Alberta was only

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[96] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum by E.A. Coté" (December 1967), 1.
[97] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum by E.A. Coté" (December 1967), 2.
[98] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum by Alan Clarke" (December 19, 1967), 1.
[99] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum by E.A. Coté" (December 1967), 2.
[100] Jerry Gambill, "Indians White Men and I," *The LightBulb* 1/1, December 1967.
[101] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 8.

recently completed and the MacKenzie region witnessed a mass onslaught of oil and mining interests. CYC program director James Littleton commented that the area "was virtually inundated by geophysical exploration and drilling crews working for major oil companies."[102] Oil had been discovered in northern Alaska and large-scale exploration and drilling had begun in the Great Slave Lake area. After two years in the area, Assheton-Smith reported on the "moderately" successful community development efforts of CYC volunteers in the NWT. By the 1970s the CYC fulfilled one of its primary mandates for the region: a significant percentage of CYC personnel in the NWT, trained in community development and organizing techniques, were local Indigenous peoples.

In the city of Yellowknife a profound socio-economic gulf existed between native and non-native northerners. Oddly the CYC reports in the 1970s seem to downplay the significance of such a gap, explaining that the distance was "accentuated by the fact that a double standard exist[ed]" and non-natives generally lived in better houses, in "more pleasant areas with greater social and recreational opportunities."[103] CYC projects in Yellowknife did however work almost exclusively with Indigenous Peoples, and as a result the non-Indigenous population did not respond to CYC efforts with "unqualified support."[104] Despite non-Indigenous disinterest, or active resistance, CYC volunteers in Yellowknife endeavoured to communicate and educate "whites" about native perspectives and cultures. Liz Petrovich devoted considerable time educating and enlightening Territorial civil servants on Indigenous culture and attempted to form

[102] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 4.
[103] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 11.
[104] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 11.

liaisons between government and Indigenous people in communities.[105] In addition, the CYC project involved a media communications component that involved taping legends and stories in order to represent the "Indian way of life." The tapes provided the basis for a weekly CBC radio program.[106] Another project organized by CYC volunteer Cindy Erasmus prepared and administered a language program that offered courses in Slavey and Dogrib for non-natives. In the summer of 1970, CYC volunteer Earl Dean attempted to facilitate "cross-cultural contact and understanding," by organizing a drop-in centre, as well as creating a free school, sponsored by the Indian Brotherhood and the CYC.

By and large, CYC volunteers in Yellowknife concentrated their efforts to native projects in "the Valley," "the Indian village," and "Old Town,"[107] establishing "excellent relationships with native people in communities where volunteers [were] directly involved."[108] Local activist and CYC volunteer, George Erasmus spearheaded many successful community development programs in Yellowknife. Erasmus helped to move the Territorial Young Camper's Association in a direction that more closely reflected native culture and established a community controlled recreation facility on Latham Island, part of Old Town, Yellowknife. Erasmus also served as the president of the Kalami Housing Association, a tenant organization set up by the Territorial Government to deal with housing maintenance in Yellowknife.

In Fort Providence, Indigenous people constituted the majority; 400 of the 500 population were registered Indians in 1970. Another 70 were Métis, though they spoke

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[105] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 9.
[106] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 16.
[107] Yellowknife was divided into four sections: 1. New Town: Modern amenities, businesses, offices and residential districts 2. Old Town: Lacked services, primarily residential 3. The Valley: An 'All-Indian' community with rows of government housing 4. The 'Indian' village: A settlement twelve miles from the town of Yellowknife.
[108] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 10.

Slavey at home.[109] The few non-native people in the community, however, held all of the positions of power, controlling institutions such as the school, the church, town council, the Settlement Council and most businesses, as well as informal organizations such as the Community Club and the Housing Committee. The only entity that Indigenous People had effective control over was Band Council whose limited power had been amputated with the implementation of the Settlement Council. Band Council's jurisdiction had been "relegated to Treaty matters" while the Settlement Council dealt with the social, and political life of the community.[110] The CYC endeavoured to rectify this inequity. The CYC volunteer for Fort Providence, recruited by M. Assheton-Smith, was Gabriel Gagnon. However, unlike the situation that unfolded in other CYC targeted towns, Gagnon was not considered a leader in the community, nor was he aware of community decision-making protocol. As a result, although "the people of Providence ha [d] positive feelings toward the CYC" they expressed reservations concerning the work of Gagnon, who "work[ed] on the basis of his own authority rather than to work with the community."[111] Gagnon helped the people of Fort Providence "to articulate their desire to manage their own affairs" but he was unable "to help them organize to do it."[112] The situation reached a critical point and the Chief of Fort Providence sent a letter to the government requesting that Gagnon be removed from the community as he was causing unnecessary "stress in that community."[113] In April 1970, Gagnon left the community of Fort Providence, and the CYC. The other CYC volunteer in Fort Providence, Earl Dean,

[109] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 178, File E, "A Basic Plan for Entry of CYC into the MacKenzie District" (July 4, 1967), 3.
[110] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 3.
[111] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 4.
[112] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 3.
[113] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "Memorandum to the Honourable Robert Stanbury: NWT Indian Brotherhood and the CYC" (July 30, 1971), 2.

also left the community, but under a different set of unfavourable circumstances. Dean had been "arraigned in court for allegedly bombing the United States Air Force building in Hay River."[114] None of the surviving accounts explain Dean's motivations for the bombing.

The work of the CYC in the community of Hay River was more positive. Hay River, located 183 kilometres southeast of Fort Providence on the south shore of Great Slave Lake, had a population of 2,500,[115] divided into various native and non-native sections. The non-native sections of 'New Town'[116] and 'Old Town'[117] had all the modern amenities. The native sections, a community across from 'Old Town,' and a fishing village located on nearby Bay Island, had no electricity or running water. The NWT government proposed a third site for Native residents in 'New Town', but this area of town would be exclusively for Treaty Indians. In working with the CYC Indigenous communities in Hay River identified two primary issues of concern "Land Rights and decision making."[118] The overarching government-imposed division between Treaty Indians, non-Treaty Indians, and Métis created disunity for the Indigenous population in the area, and weakened efforts to organize around these two primary issues. Raymond Sonfrere, a local Indigenous man and CYC volunteer, worked almost exclusively with people in the two Indian villages. As a local leader he held positions within many local organizations such as secretary of the Band Council, and secretary of the Trappers'

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[114] According to the *Globe and Mail* for Wednesday, May 5, 1971, Earl Leslie Dean, 28, of Hay River, was arrested and "charged with placing an explosive substance in the U.S. Air Force traffic coordinating office in Hay River on Feb. 13, 1971." Dean was also charged with "possession of an explosive substance-electric blasting wire-at his residence in Yellowknife and in a car owned by the CYC." An explosion at the 20-by-20 foot U.S. building destroyed the corner of the building. No one was in the building at the time of the explosion," 8.

[115] According to Assheton-Smith the population percentages are based on 1962 figures.

[116] 'New Town' included: homes, apartments, government buildings, RCMP barracks, and a school.

[117] 'Old Town' was the major commercial point in Hay River.

[118] NFBA, CC, IFC, File Roy Daniels "Report to George Stoney" (June 5, 1969).

Association. Indigenous organizer Nora Villabrun struggled to obtain a broader base of community support, in order to open a resource and recreation centre that would service both the people on the Island and the Indian village.[119]

The Sunrise Association "dedicated to the betterment of the town's native people – treaty and non-treaty Indians and Métis," with goals to further social and economic opportunities for native peoples, formed in July 1969. The story published in *TAPWE*, reprinted in the September issue of *Akwesasne Notes*, announced that, "the foundations were laid for the rise of Red Power as a significant factor in the life of Hay River."[120] The impetus for the organization came from within the community, with local leaders Raymond Sonfrere, Raymond Paul, and Frank Laviolette from Thebaca/Fort Smith heading the meeting, with over 50 Indians in attendance.[121] The aforementioned media coverage of the event illustrates an attempt to strengthen connections between local Indigenous communities. In this particular instance media support was facilitated through the interconnectedness of the CYC, the community of Hay River, and the Mohawk publication of *Akwesasne Notes*. Indigenous media support concerning local events allowed Indigenous communities across North America to communicate. In turn, this networking promoted solidarity within the Red Power movement.

In the 1960s, Fort Rae/Behchokò was a community with a population of about 1,200 that spoke predominantly Dogrib/Tlicho and "managed to preserve a strong sense of their identity and culture." [122] This success, according to CYC volunteers, was directly attributable to the control that Indigenous community members held over all local

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[119] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 5.
[120] Don Taylor, "Indians Organize," *Akwesasne Notes*, September 1969. Reprinted from *TAPWE*, an independent newspaper published "every Monday in Hay River, NWT by Boreal Press Ltd" 7 July 1969.
[121] Don Taylor, "Indians Organize," *Akwesasne Notes*, September 1969.
[122] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 6.

organizations, everything from the local community club to the housing association, from the Settlement Council to the handicraft shop. Fort Rae/Behchokò was different than most other communities in the area.

A prominent figure in the community was Charlie Charlo. Charlo, a leader in his community, was recruited as the CYC volunteer for the area. For Charlo, his CYC volunteer allowance "freed him to set about doing things in his community that he [felt] must be done. His election by the community to several organizations [indicated] their confidence in him."[123] Charlo pursued many initiatives aimed at strengthening the Indigenous communities of Rae/Behchokò. He assisted Chief Jimmy Bruneau in negotiating with the Territorial Government to transfer control of education over to the community. A member of the Rae/Behchokò school board, Charlo participated in re-designing a school based on the principle of community control, and implementing a curriculum representative of Dogrib/Tlicho arts and culture. Another victory was the right of the school board to stipulate that, all board members must also be residents of Rae District. In addition, the new program called for the principal-elect to spend "six months on the trap line."[124] These safeguards eliminated the possibility (as had happened in the past) that outsiders (in particular social workers, priests, and DIAND agents) would be able to determine Rae/Behchokò children's education. The community of Rae/Behchokò was the first community in the area to successfully achieve control in matters of education.

Charlie Charlo also advocated that all Indigenous people, be they Treaty, non-Treaty, or Métis speak in a united voice in matters of government. One of Charlo's

[123] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 7.
[124] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 6.

primary goals was to unite the Settlement Council and the Band Council. Settlement Council, where Charlo served as chairman, functioned as the governing body for non-treaty people as well as non-Indigenous people in the community. Band Council, reserved for treaty Indians only, was relegated to having control over treaty matters exclusively. Charlo wished to set up a "broadened Band Council as the basic building block of local government"[125] in order to ensure the preservation of tradition and at the same time enable the community to reap the rewards of "modern advantages." Interestingly, the community of Fort Rae/Behchokò, according to the newly appointed Commissioner of the NWT, S.M. Hodgson in a letter to R.A.J. Phillips, was flagged a "problem area."[126] Repeatedly, where Indigenous Peoples in the North West Territories engaged in efforts to promote self-determination and Indigenous control, all levels of colonial government viewed these actions as not only "problematic" but also as having a "negative impact" on the region.

CYC findings recognized that many of the 'problems' identified were not isolated issues, contained within each settlement. The CYC's solution was to increase and strengthen the system of communication, by organizing and holding meetings for community representatives throughout the region. Community representatives believed that a reasonable long-term solution was to establish a Brotherhood Association in the area, as a permanent force that could advocate on behalf of Indian People.[127] In its infancy any discussion of a NWT Indian Brotherhood was "top secret."[128] Non-native

[125] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 7.
[126] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum Personal & Confidential" by S.M. Hodgson NWT Commissioner (November 21, 1967), 1.
[127] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels "Great Slave Lake Project" (March 26, 1969), 2.
[128] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels "Report on Greater Slave Lake Research Work about Treaty #11 by Roy Daniels" (February 7, 1969), 2.

community leaders and officials in general were suspicious of the activities of the CYC, as well as those of Indian Brotherhoods. Moreover, officials did not see the value in "the work of the CYC in facilitating the organization of the Brotherhood."[129] Government officials maintained that the CYC should confine its work to community development-type projects and "avoid the noisier organizational roles such as the formation of the Indian Brotherhood."[130]

In July 1968, CYC volunteers Leon Sambele and Steve Iveson visited The Pas, Manitoba for a covert meeting with the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood; "they returned to the NWT convinced such an organization would help achieve the aims of the NWT people, enforce the Treaties and protect the land."[131] Given that land and treaty rights, as well as Indigenous self-determination, were not short-term resolvable goals, any "countervailing forces" of predominantly non-native organizations, such as the CYC and the IEA, were not sufficient. An organization like the Indian Brotherhood was needed to remain vigilant on behalf of Indian people.[132] Initially, several executive members and field workers of the Indian Brotherhood, "all whose homes [were] at Rae," maintained "a very warm relationship" between CYC staff and volunteers and the people of Rae.[133]

Information on matters concerning the Brotherhood flowed from the Territorial Commissioner to the Minister Indian Affairs. The following examples illustrate the position of the Territorial Government on Indigenous governance and industry, and its surreptitious relationship with Indian Affairs. In general terms, Territorial Commissioner

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[129] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18,1970), 9.
[130] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18,1970), 9.
[131] "What has the Indian Brotherhood done for us," *Native Press* 26 April 1974, 12. *Native Press* started in 1971, created by the newly formed NWT Indian Brotherhood. The publication survived through private donations.
[132] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Great Slave Lake Project" (March 26, 1969), 2.
[133] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18,1970), 7.

S.M. Hodgson believed that all residents in the NWT were simply "Northerners" and that no distinction should exist between 'Indians and Whites.' In a letter to then Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien, Hodgson expressed his growing concern over "ethnic organizations" developing within the Territories. The "ethnic organizations" to which Hodgson is referring are Inuit, Métis, and Indians Peoples of the region. Further, Hodgson viewed the CYC's "strong presence in the area," as an obstacle that "continually needle [d], provoke [d] and agitate [d] amongst the Brotherhood leading them up one blind alley after another." In terms of governance Hodgson remarked that the CYC had "chosen to see the growth of community councils as reducing the position of the Indian as an ethnic group and [was] advising the Indian Brotherhood and others not to let it replace the Band Council." Hodgon's language repeatedly dismisses the existence of First Nations rights, Aboriginal title and the validity of treaties. Business interests, corporations and large mining companies had stated that their preference was to deal with the new Territorial Councils:

> "We are told by exploration and development companies working in the North that settlements with councils are most effective in negotiating difficulties and problems arising from exploration and development. This local government concept as envisioned is built around a community with equal recognition of everyone regardless of race, creed, or religion. An individual's cultural views and concepts are not interfered with and the council acts as a cohesive unit with other associations such as Band Councils, Co-operatives and School Boards."[134]

The power of Aboriginal and treaty rights, according to Territorial Governor S.M. Hodgson, should operate on par with that of school board trustees. Hodgson's political agenda of reducing Indigenous rights to special interest group status and privileging

[134] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum" by S.M. Hodgson (May 14, 1971), 1.

capitalist interests above all other concerns had a profound impact on the relationship between the CYC and the NWT Indian Brotherhood.

In the spring of 1969, George Manuel,[135] Father Gauthier of the Thebacha (Fort Smith) Association as well as representatives from Fort Resolution, Providence, Simpson, Rae, and Yellowknife agreed that a Brotherhood should be formed to "achieve a fair settlement of Treaty rights."[136] By the fall a steering committee that included the Department of Indian Affairs, the Indian Eskimo Association, the Company of Young Canadians, the Chiefs of all the Bands in the NWT, and the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE)[137] debated the issue. The participants discussed the merits of forming a Treaty organization, such as a Brotherhood, or of forming a wider organization that included all Indigenous Peoples. Agnes Semmler, president of COPE, advocated representing all Indigenous Peoples, and uniting all Native organizations around their common interest.[138] An Indian Brotherhood, however, would qualify for Federal funding support; a more inclusive organization would not. In the end, the Chiefs felt that "the aims of all Native People would best be served by forming a Treaty Indian Brotherhood immediately to protect the special relationship between Treaty Indians and the Federal Government threatened at that time by the White Paper and the withdrawal of Indian Affairs from the Territories."[139] Armed with a modest budget of $52,506 for the 1969 fiscal year, the CYC worked to publicize and explain the work done by the

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[135] Manuel was president of the newly formed National Indian Brotherhood.
[136] "What has the Indian Brotherhood done for us," *Native Press* 26 April 1974, 12.
[137] CBC manager, Nellie Cournoyea, Bertha Allen Ellen Binder, and Agnes Semmler led COPE located in the MacKenzie Valley. Nellie Cournoyea went on to become the first woman premier of the Territories.
[138] "What has the Indian Brotherhood done for us," *Native Press* 26 April 1974, 12.
[139] "What has the Indian Brotherhood done for us," *Native Press* 26 April 1974, 12.

Brotherhood throughout the Great Slave Lake region.[140] By October of 1969 the NWT's sixteen chiefs formed the Indian Brotherhood of the North West Territories. The first interim president was Mona Jacobs with Neil Colin, Joe Catholique, Charlie Charlo, and Ray Sonfrere as vice-presidents.[141] Roy Daniels was elected first official president of the NWT Indian Brotherhood.[142] In the early 1970s the primary focus of the CYC's Great Slave Lake Project was firmly rooted in work with the NWT Indian Brotherhood "assisting it to establish itself organizationally throughout the Mackenzie District."[143]

Initially, the Indian Brotherhood rejected all funding from the Territorial government. At a meeting with the Indian Brotherhood in August of 1970 Commissioner Hodgson identified $20,000 in Territorial funds that would be made available to the Indian Brotherhood "for specific projects that had community support and did not interfere" with any government programs. Hodgson feigned incredulity that the "Brotherhood for one reason or another did not apply for these funds."[144] Many of the Indian Brotherhood staff remained on the CYC payroll, until April 1971 when the grants for the Indian Participation Division "obviated the necessity for this type of arrangement." [145]

Not two years later, the NWT Indian Brotherhood severed all ties with the CYC; all too familiar accusations emerged. According the Brotherhood, the CYC sent in

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[140] LAC, Department of Citizenship & Immigration – Citizenship Branch (hereafter CB), Canadian Organizations – CYC (hereafter CYC), RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "Information on CYC Indian & Eskimo program" (date unknown), 1.
[141] Jasmine Budak, "The Birth of a Nation," *Up Here: Explore Canada's Far North*, September 9 (2005), http://www.uphere.ca/node/47
[142] Daniels was Anishnaabe from Manitoba, a CYC volunteer working as a member of the Challenge for Change's Indian Film Crew. Daniels married a woman from the local community of Rae and was an accepted member of the community.
[143] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109, File 9-579 "Information on CYC Indian & Eskimo Program," 1.
[144] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum" by S.M. Hodgson (May 14, 1971), 1.
[145] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109, File 9-579 "Memorandum to the Honourable Robert Stanbury: NWT Indian Brotherhood and the CYC" (July 30, 1971), 1.

"totally incompetent and untrained activists, perhaps filled with good intentions but unprepared for the human relations angle"[146] only serving to arouse "bitterness and tension"[147] among Indigenous Peoples in the NWT. James Littleton's assessment contradicts the allegations: "Overall, the Great Slave Lake project impressed me as being extremely strong and as having well developed roots in the communities in which it was working, primarily because the issues with which it was dealing were those issues of most vital concern to the people in those communities."[148] Oddly enough, a letter from Commissioner of the NWT S.M. Hodgson to the DIAND corroborates Littleton's analysis. Hodgson indicated, as late as May 1971, that the CYC had a strong numerical representation in the Great Slave Lake area.[149] The accusations of the Brotherhood appear incongruent given past documentation, evaluations and progress reports of CYC volunteers, and puzzling given that a substantial portion of the Indian Brotherhood was comprised of CYC members, who were also local Indigenous community members.

Yet the Canadian National – Canadian Pacific telecommunication dated 6 July 1971 leaves no doubt as to the intent and wishes of the Indian Brotherhood. The communiqué related that, "the following motion from the Board of Directors of the Indian Brotherhood of the NWT was passed unanimously" at the all chiefs meeting held in Fort Rae:

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[146] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109, File 9579 "Memorandum by Ian Watson MP Chairman of the Standing Committee Indian Affairs and Northern Development to Secretary of State to Gerard Pelletier (July 8, 1971).
[147] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109, File 9-579 "Memorandum by Ian Watson MP Chairman of the Standing Committee Indian Affairs and Northern Development to Secretary of State to Gerard Pelletier (July 8, 1971).
[148] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 181, File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton" (date unknown), 6.
[149] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum" by S.M. Hodgson (May 14, 1971), 2.

> Whereas in the opinion of this Board, the Company of Young Canadians as it functions in the NWT is operating in ways that are hostile to the interests of the Indian people of the NWT be it resolved that: The Board of Directors of the Indian Brotherhood insists that the Federal Government suspend immediately projects and operations of the Company of Young Canadians in Indian communities in the NWT and withdraw immediately all personnel and members of the Company of Young Canadians from those communities.[150]

The actions taken by the Indian Brotherhood at first seem incomprehensible. However, surviving documents provide a composite sketch of contributing factors, and converging forces, that offer insight into the situation.

The rejection of the CYC was a reaction to an incident involving a former CYC Indian Brotherhood member. The unnamed individual, in addition to bringing large quantities of alcohol to the annual meeting at Fort Rae – a dry community - was also involved in an alcohol related automobile accident during the conference. The day after the accident, the resolution calling for the withdrawal of the CYC was passed. The resolution, however, was the culmination of much longer and deeper issues around the involvement of the CYC in the North.

A letter from S.M. Hodgson certainly makes clear the Territorial Government's position concerning the CYC. Here is an excerpt of the correspondence to Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien:

> Last week, a two-year CYC worker, was arraigned in court for allegedly bombing the United States Air Force base in Hay River. No doubt this will become a much talked about situation. The Territorial administration has not come into a direct confrontation with the CYC but it would seem to us that the Government of Canada may think well of suspending the CYC activities in the Territories for the next 18 months. Now that Mr. Puxley is leaving and Mr. Dean is before the courts, the opportunity presents itself for such a move.[151]

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[150] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Telecommunication from Indian Brotherhood of the NWT addressed to Ian Watson, M.P." (July 6, 1971).
[151] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum" by S.M. Hodgson (May 14, 1971), 1.

Wishing to capitalize on the bad public relations around the Dean affair, as well the gap in CYC leadership with the departure of Puxley, the Territorial administration attempted to curry favour with the Federal government, and have the CYC kicked out of the NWT. Hodgson was unsuccessful but undeterred. Hodgson and his administration wanted to influence the direction taken by the fledgling Indian Brotherhood executive, and the CYC was only 'getting in the way.' The CYC's reputation in the region was tarnished after the bombing in Hay River and by the alcohol-influenced accident after the annual meeting.

By 1973, the push by the Territorial government, and its smear campaign against the CYC, had also made significant inroads. The Territorial government de-legitimized Indigenous leaders who formed alliances with non-Indigenous activists, maintaining that "communist white advisers" not only wrote speeches for Indigenous leaders, but also dictated "policies that had more to do with left-wing politics of the south than with the claims of the NWT Indians."[152] As well, the Territorial government promised consultation, power, control and large sums of money to the Indian Brotherhood, as long as it participated in the newly formed community councils. Indigenous leadership in the NWT was split in terms of the correct political path to achieve Indigenous self-determination. James Washee was willing to negotiate with the Territorial government, in the hopes of gaining control over the legislature and territorial councils, thereby achieving, in practical terms, Indigenous political control. George Erasmus, however, rejected all negotiations with the NWT Territorial Government. For Erasmus and his supporters, the Dene Nation (formerly known as the NWT Indian Brotherhood) should push for Aboriginal self-government.

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[152] John David Hamilton, *Arctic Revolution: Social Change in the Northwest Territories, 1935-1994* (Toronto 1994), 141.

Interestingly, when James Washee, the NWT Indian Brotherhood president who succeeded Roy Daniels, was interviewed in 1975, he explained non-native alliances in revisionist terms, with little acknowledgement to the contributions made by native or non-native CYC volunteers.[153] By 1973, the CYC's presence in the NWT was downplayed, and former CYC programs, such as the Tree of Peace, "soft pedaled their association with the Company, so that it was not immediately associated or identified with CYC."[154] Even if there was an affiliation, most of the volunteers did not make a point of claiming any relationship. As CYC volunteer, Liz Petrovich, explained, it was "desired that volunteers, don't lead, but be part of the melting pot where if there is success, the volunteer doesn't get the credit. The people do."[155] NWT volunteers followed the stated objective of the CYC that the purpose of the project was to increase the social and political independence of Indigenous peoples in the area.[156] Regardless of the political spin put forth by Indigenous or non-Indigenous leaders, CYC volunteers, be they Indigenous or not, had a profound impact in the region.[157]

The North American Indian Travelling College and Rochdale College: CYC Projects in Education

The CYC also had its hand in two significant educational projects that emphasized Indigenous education: the North American Indian Travelling College (NAITC) and the

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[153] John David Hamilton, *Arctic Revolution*, 142.
[154] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 178, File A "In Regards to the Activities of the CYC and Its Staff and Volunteers in the Northwest Territories by R.T. Holmes" (date unknown), 23.
[155] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 186, File V (September 18, 1970), 16.
[156] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 185, File R "Company of Young Canadians Present Situation Report by Peter D. Brodhead" (February 1971), 19.
[157] Roy Daniels' important audio recordings of elders on Treaty 8 and Treaty 11 will be discussed at length in Chapter 5.

Institute for Indian Studies at Rochdale College.[158] These projects differed from other CYC projects for although the CYC contributed personnel, finances, and other resources, it did not dictate policy, nor did it control the ideological or philosophical thrusts of either college. Exercising executive and operational control permitted NAITC and Rochdale a further level of autonomy not enjoyed by direct CYC projects. This unique environment fostered spin-off projects. Redirecting CYC money allowed both the NAITC and Rochdale to support offshoot efforts, not directly associated with the CYC. Offshoot projects fostered by the NAITC include *Akwesasne Notes*,[159] the White Roots of Peace Council,[160] as well as the joint CYC/NFB's CC Indian Film Crew.[161] The CYC supported Rochdale College, which in turn supported the Institute for Indian Studies, known later as the Nishnawbe Institute.

The North American Indian Travelling College (NAITC) was the brainchild of Ernest Benedict[162] and Jerry (Gerald) Gambill.[163] The NAITC was envisioned as an

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[158] The CYC also supported non-Indigenous alternative educational programs such as the Everdale Place School Community, located on a 100-acre farm in Hillsburg, Ontario. Other CYC sponsored alternative schools included Knowplace and Barker Free School, part of the Vancouver Youth project until June 1969.
[159] See chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of the newspaper *Akwesasne Notes*.
[160] The White Roots of Peace Council was committed to the preservation of traditional leadership in the Mohawk Longhouse.
[161] See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of the Indian Film Crew.
[162] Laurence M. Hauptman, "Where the Partridge Drums: Ernest Benedict, Mohawk Intellectual as Activist," *Seven Generations of Iroquois Leadership: The Six Nations since 1800* (Syracuse 2008), 164-187.
[163] A brief account of Jerry Gambill's (Rarihokwats) activities prior to 1967 is pertinent and clarifies the relationship between Gambill, the Mohawk people of Akwesasne, the CYC, and the Department of Indian Affairs. Gambill was a controversial figure, a radical non-native CYC volunteer, who lived on the Mohawk reserve of Akwesasne (St. Regis). In the mid-1960s Indian Affairs fired Gambill from his job as a community development worker with the Department, after 18 months. Gambill was discharged for failing to "achieve harmonious relationships with officials of the Branch." In a four-page article, published in the CYC's *The LightBulb* (Jerry Gambill, "Indians White Men and I," *The LightBulb* 1/1, December 1967). Gambill recounted his personal experience, exposing department policies that "set up Indian agents in the power position," not only detailing his time employed for the DIA on the reserve, but also naming government officials, Indian agents and their paternalistically racist attitudes. Gambill continued to explain how on his first day on the job a senior official advised him to let people of the community of Akwesasne "know who's boss." Moreover, that if Gambill "gave the Longhouse people any encouragement they'd find another man for the job." Gambill made himself an enemy of the Department, as is evident in the following

alternative educational model for Indigenous people in North America. As Benedict noted: "That our present system is causing unhappiness, grief, resentment, apathy, withdrawal, social deviation – not to mention that it fails to educate significant numbers of Indian children – should be sufficient justification for trying some alternatives."[164] Moreover, the education system failed to instill in Indian children a sense of pride, or awareness for their "cultural heritage." Regardless of its intended policies, the federal government was "failing in its attempts to assimilate Indians and make good Canadians of them."[165] Gambill took a different tack in his appeal to the CYC for funding support: "The idea of Indian members of the Company of Young Canadians taking education to their people by means of a travelling college is a good one. In this plan to upgrade Indian education there lies fresh hope for a greatly improved future for the first citizens of this land."[166]

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letter received by CYC executive director Alan Clarke, from deputy minister E.A. Côté, dated June 23, 1967: "Recently, Mr. Battle heard that the Company may be considering the employment of Mr. Gerald Gambill on a full-time basis. You will recall that in your exchange of correspondence with the Prime Minister respecting St. Regis, you received Mr. Pearson's assurance that Mr. Gambill had not been working with the Indian people since his [blanked out] and that it was not intended that he should do so. It has now been confirmed in a discussion with the Headquarters of the Company of Young Canadians that Mr. Gambill was employed as Director of the Company in Ontario." (LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG22, Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memorandum" by E.A. Coté, (June 23, 1967). Jerry Gambill joined the Company of Young Canadians in the summer of 1967. He was "picked up by the CYC" immediately after Indian Affairs fired him, and "rose very quickly" within the Company ranks. By the end of summer, Gambill was appointed regional director for Ontario, then, took on the role of associate director in charge of English programs (Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 101). Gambill "had an amazing talent for helping Indian projects get off the ground" (Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 101). This expertise did not alter the fact that Gambill and Rick Salter were entangled in a power struggle. By the summer of 1968, Gambill tendered his resignation stating that he regretted "but without apology" that his position as associate director "ha [d] been considered untenable" (Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 107). By 1969, Jerry Gambill moved back to the community of St. Regis, worked as the editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, and co-founded the White Roots for Peace Council. Gambill was adopted, or 'naturalized,' by the community of Akwesasne, and given the name Rarihokwats (He who digs up information).

[164] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 11.

[165] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 11.

[166] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "The North American Indian Travelling College by Jerry Gambill" (May 1967).

Though the Travelling College resembled another alternative educational organization of the time, Frontier College,[167] it drew its inspiration from earlier Indigenous models, such as the Unity Caravans of the 1950s, and the Akwesasne Counselor Organization of the 1930s.[168] The long-term objectives of the College were for the complete re-evaluation of the kind of education available to Indians, and the initiation of community action processes that would create programs of "self-help" in Indian communities.[169] Benedict and Gambill felt that "if the Indian Travelling College concept [got] its chance to operate, the implications [would be] enormous."[170]

As the Travelling College's project director, Ernest Benedict carried out executive decisions and managed personnel. Initially decision-making rested with Benedict until a constitution, with by-laws and a board of directors was implemented. The board of directors was comprised of "Indians from the Great Lakes area" including Jeannette Corbiere.[171] The initial Travelling College budget was a modest sum of $4,500, for two community program directors, consultants, and $18,350 for equipment, materials and supplies.[172] Although the CYC underwrote Benedict's salary, funding for operational expenses did not materialize from CYC coffers. CYC "spending restraints," effective as

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[167] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "The North American Indian Travelling College by Jerry Gambill" (May 1967).
[168] The Akwesasne Counselor Organization encouraged Indigenous youth to participate in outdoor recreation learning wilderness survival skills, as well, elders taught Indian history, demonstrated craft making techniques. The goal was to inspire Mohawk pride through the process of watching and listening to elders. LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "The North American Indian Travelling College by Jerry Gambill" (May 1967).
[169] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "Project Report: The North American Indian Travelling College by Ernest Benedict" (June 15, 1968), and "The North American Indian Travelling College by Jerry Gambill" (May 1967).
[170] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "Project Report: The North American Indian Travelling College by Ernest Benedict" (June 15, 1968), 2.
[171] It is unclear when this board was formed. Andrea P. Morrison & Irwin Cotler, *Justice for Natives: Searching for Common Ground* (Montreal 1997), 19.
[172] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N "Project Report: The North American Indian Travelling College by Ernest Benedict" (June 15, 1968), 4.

of April 1, 1968, prohibited the initial budget plan of $80,000 needed to underwrite the College infrastructure.[173] The money that was allotted to the Indian Travelling College was earmarked for the joint CYC/NFB Indian Film Crew, already underway.

Benedict remained undaunted. The Travelling College arranged promotional tours in an effort to raise awareness, and funds, for the project. Benedict screened a nine-minute National Film Board promotional film titled *The Travelling Indian College* to potential college audiences. The short film illustrated "Indian heritage" and contrasted with contemporary conditions. Several Indigenous performers and/or traditional speakers, on contract paid by the CYC, accompanied Benedict. The NAITC sought donations from private organizations and public institutions, recommending several endowment options. Contributions could be made in the form of scholarships. The low sum of $1,800.00 per annum, would not only pay for a student's tuition, but would also include funding for room and board.[174] Other encouraged forms of support included sponsoring a community program, covering expenses connected with seminars, films, exhibits, or sponsoring training conferences. More modest donations included books, classroom materials, school supplies, or audio-visual equipment. The NAITC also welcomed practical gifts, such as household utensils, bedding, food, and dishes.[175] Following a promotional tour in Watertown, the New York State Methodist Fund for Reconciliation donated $4,000 and pledged an additional $5,000.[176] Lakehead University's Student Union, as well as the

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[173] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 13.
[174] LAC, National Archives of Canada fonds (hereafter NAC), Universities, Miscellaneous N, North American Indian Travelling College (hereafter NAITC) RG37, Box 437, File 60-9-N, "Information to Donors to the North American Indian Travelling College," (date unknown), 1.
[175] LAC, NAC, NAITC, RG37, Box 437, File 60-9-N, "Information to Donors to the North American Indian Travelling College," (date unknown), 1.
[176] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 13.

Ottawa branch of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) promised books and equipment. By 1971, charitable organizations, various foundations, and service clubs funded the Travelling College.[177] In July of 1974, the North American Indian Travelling College acquired a permanent building on the Mohawk territory of Akwesasne.[178]

The college served Indigenous communities across the North American continent, offering its alternative education model.[179] Benedict, a sociology graduate from St. Lawrence University, along with a small staff, brought books, conducted religious ceremonies, and taught Indigenous history. As staff member Barry Nicholas recounted, "we do pick-and-shovel work, we even play lacrosse, bring libraries to the reserves, and train people to find sources of information."[180] The Travelling College consulted and networked with a number of other fledgling Indigenous educational programs. Benedict and the Travelling College offered guidance and input to universities in the process of setting up some of the first university level programs in Canada, such as the Indigenous Study Program at Carleton University in Ottawa.[181]

The North American Indian Travelling College was also an avenue for recruiting and training young Indigenous leaders, grooming them to engage in the cultural revival of

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[177] "North American Travelling College," *Native Press* 11 June 1971, 3.
[178] In 2000 was renamed Ronathahon: ni Cultural Centre. The name Ronathahon: ni means "They who paved the path." The cultural centre continued to be instrumental in preserving and maintaining the Mohawk cultural, history and language. Salli M. K. Benedict, Ernie Benedict's daughter ran the centre.
[179] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 180, File N, "The North American Indian Travelling College by Jerry Gambill" (May 1967), 2.
[180] "North American Travelling College," *Native Press* 11 June 1971, 3.
[181] "North American Travelling College," *Native Press* 11 June 1971, 3. Trent University in Peterborough, Ontario was to be the first university in Canada to offer a degree in Native Studies in 1969. Benedict worked at Trent as both a professor and a lecturer. The Gathering Space at Trent is named in both his, and his wife Florence's honour.

the Long House traditional government.[182] The White Roots of Peace Council, founded by Tom Porter and Jerry Gambill, was based on this premise, and supported through the NAITC. The White Roots of Peace Council "harked back to an earlier Mohawk group," Akwesasne Counselor Organization founded by Ray Fadden (Tehanetorens).[183] Throughout the 1930s, the Counselor Organization travelled throughout Six Nations territory, "inculcating Indian pride among Mohawk youth hoping to influence young Mohawks to take up leadership roles in the Longhouse."[184] Gambill and Porter revived and strengthened this commitment to tradition, using the same strategy as Fadden. Using the NAITC literally as a vehicle, Gambill and Porter, travelled to speaking engagements "to preserve tradition by bringing back the Great Binding Law," in Indigenous and non-Indigenous communities, organizations, and school audiences across the North American continent.[185] The White Roots of Peace wished to spread the teachings of the Great Law of Peace to all First Nations, as well as non-Indigenous society.

In contrast, Rochdale College was a concrete locus, but it too attracted both Indigenous and non-Indigenous youth.[186] Founded in September of 1967 as a 'free'

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[182] The Longhouse is the traditional form of government of the Haudenosaunee, or Mohawk peoples. Literally translated the term Haudenosaunee means the People of the Longhouse.

[183] Ray Fadden was born in New York State, and was of Scottish descent. He married a Haudenosaunee woman from Akwesasne, and was adopted (naturalized) into the community. Fadden is considered a Mohawk leader, educator, and elder.

[184] Troy R. Johnson, "Roots of Contemporary Native American Activism," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 20/2 (1996): 141-142.

[185] Troy R. Johnson, "Roots of Contemporary Native American Activism," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal*, 20/2 (1996): 142.

[186] Rochdale College took its name from the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, a cooperative commissary organized in 1844 by textile workers in Rochdale, Lancashire. For further readings on Rochdale see Henry Mietkiewicz & Bob Mackowycz, *Dream Tower: The Life and Legacy of Rochdale College* (Toronto1988); David Sharpe, *Rochdale: The Runaway College* (Toronto 1987); Howard Adelman, *The Beds of Academe: A Study of the Relation of Student Residences and the University* (Toronto 1969) offers a section on Rochdale. Articles of the day include: Barrie Zwicker, "Rochdale: the Ultimate Freedom," *Change* November-December 1969, 37- 40; Sarah Spinks, "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience," *This Magazine is about Schools*, 4/1 (Winter 1970): 87.

school, Rochdale was to be "an experiment in higher education and urban living."[187] Rochdale College began in 1965 with the establishment of a group of houses known as the Campus Co-op residents.[188] The goal was to establish an alternative model in education, in tandem with the development of a student-housing co-op. In the first year of operation, Rochdale occupied six rented houses, awaiting completion of its 18-storey high-rise apartment building at Bloor and Huron, capable of housing 850 residents. Rochdale was to be an alternative model for education, with a focus on language and culture. The Rochdale catalogue indicated that numerous workshops, courses and seminars were being offered in 1968 despite architectural setbacks. The 1967-1968 College calendar stipulated that course and seminar proposals "reflect the interests of individuals," and would not be approached from a systematic pedagogical understanding.[189] For hundreds of young people at Rochdale experiencing "the ecstasy of learning within its walls and dope, dog shit and dirt [were] as important as I Ching, Zen Buddhism, the Beatles and Marcuse."[190]

Even the types of housing facilities at Rochdale were labeled to illustrate its alternative nature. One could choose from accommodations in the Ashram, Franz Kafka, Aphrodite or Zeus suites, or perhaps the Gnostic Chambers.[191] Almost immediately, Campus Co-op, which had been in operation for thirty years, distanced its association with Rochdale, clarifying that it did not own the Rochdale College building. Moreover, Campus Co-op did not necessarily agree with the Rochdale movement. In fact, director

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[187] Dennis Lee, "Getting to Rochdale," *This Magazine is About Schools*, 2/1 (Winter 1968): 80.
[188] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light without Shadow* (Toronto 1971), 32. The back cover of the book reads, "Bound and Published in Rochdale by Mindless Acid Freaks.
[189] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: 1967-1968," *There can be no Light*, 195.
[190] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 401.
[191] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 229.

Bagnall articulated that the 'do your own thing' premise was the 'most vapid commandment of the current pop faith'.[192]

The Company of Young Canadians did not, however, distance its association with Rochdale. In fact, the CYC was the College's single major financial contributor from 1966 to 1969. From September 1967 to September 1968, considered "Phase 2 Pilot Project," the CYC contributed $18,000 towards salaries for Rochdale's resource staff and $3,000 towards other expenses.[193] In "Phase 3" from September 1968, into the era considered 'the Rochdale Education Project,' $40,000 of the College's budget was derived from CYC financial support.[194] As well as providing money, the CYC also supplied volunteer support. Rochdale, however, maintained executive and operational control over all workings of the facility.

Two prominent full time organizers at Rochdale College were Dennis Lee and John Ian MacKenzie, both non-Indigenous activists, and both on the Company of Young Canadians payroll. Lee and MacKenzie each received $10,000 per annum. Dennis Lee was a poet, and one of Rochdale's resource persons.[195] John (Ian) MacKenzie was an Anglican priest who helped found the Rochdale Center for Indian Studies, and served as its director.[196] Other CYC paid Rochdalians included Ken Drushka, who received three months salary from the Company of Young Canadians "to study the possibilities for education." In October 1966, Drushka was appointed fulltime education director of

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[192] Appendix, "From the *Globe and Mail*," *There can be no Light*, 308.
[193] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 105.
[194] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 105. The only other source of revenue was $90,000 anticipated from "tax exemption income" as a student residence.
[195] Dennis Lee was also the co-founder of House of Anansi Press. Lee is perhaps best known as a children's author, for works such as *Alligator Pie* (1974).
[196] John A. MacKenzie spent four years in Harlem, New York, before returning to teach courses in race relations and group conflicts at Trinity College.

Rochdale College.[197] A. Alan Borovoy was also a staff member at Rochdale. Borovoy, also worked as the associate secretary for the Human Rights Commission, worked as the director of the Ontario Labour Committee for Human Rights, and was General Counsel for the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.[198]

Ironically, the aesthetic reality of the buildings' structure stood in sharp relief to any utopian visions: "The draw-backs of high-rise living doubly plagued Rochdale. The number of stairwells, the dimly lit corridors, elevator lobbies and lounges, all provided plenty of 'dead space' where people piss[ed] and [threw] their cigarette butts. The ugly exterior of the College shaped in a sideways L, so that in the space created by the two wings of the building, a great whirlpool of cigarette wrappers [flew] round all day."[199] That the building was a "grey, bleak architectural articulation of 'socialism realism'"[200] seems to confirm the title chosen by Peter Turner to represent Rochdale College, that "there [could] be no light without shadow."[201]

High up on the seventeenth floor, away from the swirling dust at ground level, sat the Institute for Indian Studies. The Institute, almost two years old when it threw in its lot with the College, was indeed a shining light at Rochdale. The Institute was imagined as a collective devoted to education and activism. On a local level, the Institute operated as an Indigenous place of learning and resource centre, serving as a support network for

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[197] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: 1967-1968," *There can be no Light*, 192.
[198] Interestingly Borovoy, as discussed in chapter five, was also the lawyer who represented Mike Mitchell and the other Mohawk protestors, charged with obstruction in the international bridge blockade at Akwesasne (St. Regis) in December 1968. Indigenous people in the Kenora area also approached Borovoy to help organize an anti-discrimination campaign. Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: 1967-1968," *There can be no Light*, 206.
[199] Sarah Spinks, "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience," *This Magazine is about Schools*, 4/1 (Winter 1970): 87.
[200] Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, 207.
[201] The words of Albert Camus, also served as Rochdale College president Peter Turner's 1971 book by the same title, *There Can be no Light without Shadow*, published in 1971.

Indigenous people, many new to the city. Indigenous youth "comfortable" with urban life helped "Indians newly arrived in the city" make the transition from their previous homes in rural communities.[202] The Institute also functioned as a centre that promoted cross-cultural connections and alliances, as well as the advancement of pan-Indianism. Another contribution to Indigenous educational activism was the Institute's efforts to promote spiritual/religious inter-tribal unity, by contributing to an inter-continental Indian ecumenical movement.[203] More generally, the Institute for Indian Studies functioned as a "major clearing-house for information on Indian activities across the country."[204]

The Institute for Indian Studies was the first native run educational institute of higher learning in Canada, described in its first brochure as "an educational-residential centre, which provides an opportunity for Indian people to study and teach their own languages, histories, and cultures in their own way."[205] The Institute worked on the same premise as the rest of Rochdale, in terms of how curriculum was designed, with each member determining the form and content of their educational process. The people who made decisions at the Institute were "the people affected by them, and responsible for implementing them."[206] Participating in the larger community of Rochdale, the Institute offered courses, conducted T-groups, and hosted conferences. As noted by Sarah Spinks, "these lofty aspirations squared against the deficiencies in infrastructure such as the filthy washrooms."[207] Nevertheless, the founders of the Institute were committed to exploring

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[202] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 222.
[203] See James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire: Native Religious Activism in the Red Power Era*, (New York 2003) for a discussion of the Indian Ecumenical Conferences in Canada and the United States.
[204] Sarah Spinks, "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience," *This Magazine is about Schools*, 4/1 (Winter 1970): 91.
[205] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 222.
[206] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 222.
[207] Sarah Spinks, "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience," *This Magazine is about Schools*, 4/1 (Winter 1970): 91.

the possibilities of what constituted an 'alternative' educational model. According to Ian MacKenzie, one "of the exciting things at Rochdale was the possibility of people beginning to examine fundamental problems of human existence once all the external structures have been removed."[208] Meetings and discussions had no clearly defined goal. But out of these kinds of gatherings, MacKenzie maintained that, "things began to happen which had a total effect on one's life."[209] This particular technique became the method by which the Rochdale Indian Institute proceeded. Some of the participants rejected what they perceived of as group sensitivity sessions. However, MacKenzie was convinced that, "those who stuck with the Institute ended up feeling that they had experienced in the span of a week, a very important learning experience which resulted in a better perception of themselves, their work and, in this case, the ways in which they were relating to Indian communities."[210]

In the summer of 1969, the Institute tried to extend an alternative understanding of how Rochdale could govern itself, but with little success. Members of the Indian Institute, who consistently played a dominant role in the affairs of Rochdale, became more prominent. They made a concerted effort to explain "tribal horizontal government."[211] But as Peter Turner, president of Rochdale, explained, "the power of the peace pipe and a trust in consensus was difficult for many to accept."[212] The Institute did, however, succeed in bringing together Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants, who

[208] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 217.
[209] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 217.
[210] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 217.
[211] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 378.
[212] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 378.

were interested in "serious research into Indian culture" and its "linguistic, historical, and psychological aspects."[213]

The Institute gathered resource people qualified to teach and write about Indigenous history and cultural traditions with the goal of promoting the "preservation of Indigenous languages" through research and training.[214] In the 1967-1968 academic year, three men and three women rounded out the main personnel at the Institute for Indian Studies: Wilfred Pelletier, John Ian Mackenzie, Farrell Toombs,[215] Jeanette Corbiere, Carol Wabegijig, and Edna Manitowabi. Prior to becoming the president for the Institute, Wilfred Pelletier had been an involved member of the Toronto Indigenous activist movement, taking on roles as president of the Toronto Indian Club, executive director of the National Indian Council, and director of Indian programs for the CYC. An Odawa from Manitoulin Island, Pelletier met non-native John Ian MacKenzie through the Indian Eskimo Association (IEA). Prior to his involvement with Rochdale College and the Indian Institute, John Ian Mackenzie was an organizer for the Canadian Indian Youth Workshop, through his association with the IEA. The first workshop sponsored by the Canadian Indian Youth Council, in cooperation with the University of Manitoba, invited Dr. Robert K. Thomas from the Carnegie Corporation Cross-Cultural Education Project in Oklahoma, and Wilfred Pelletier from the Company of Young Canadians, to participate as instructors.[216] Edna Manitowabi and Jeannette Corbiere were also from Manitoulin. Manitowabi was an educator, a writer, as well as being part of the Odawa

[213] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 222.
[214] James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 103.
[215] Tombs was an animator trainer for many CYC projects.
[216] CIYC, "Report of the First Canadian Indian Workshop 1966," 7.

Project, an Indigenous language initiative at the University of Toronto.[217] Jeannette Corbiere was an Indigenous community activist. She had served two years in Winnipeg as a field supervisor for the CYC. She was also the former executive secretary for the National Indian Council.[218] At 27 years old, she was the Youth Director of the Canadian Indian Centre in Toronto as well as working at the Institute for Indian Studies. Corbiere was also appointed to the permanent CYC council in 1969. The growing list of resource personnel expanded to include two other significant contributors: D.G. (Ted) Poole, a freelance writer, activist, sculptor, and Robert K. Thomas, a Cherokee anthropologist. Poole served as the resource person for the first cross-cultural workshop held by the Indian Institute, and was the resource person for the Canadian Indian workshop held in 1968 at the University of Waterloo.[219] In 1971, Poole took over as director of the renamed the Nishnawbe Institute. Thomas served as a mentor and teacher to both Pelletier and MacKenzie, and had a strong influence on members of the Institute, as well as, other Indigenous activists across Canada and the United States.

Within the community of Rochdale itself, a preponderance of Rochdalians viewed Indigenous and non-Indigenous alliances as self-evident. As Peter Turner explained:

> There are many similarities between middle class student living at Rochdale who advocate replacing the maple leaf flag with the cannabis flag and the Canadian Indian who proclaims that he is not and never has been a member of Canadian society. What can they have in common when they come from structurally opposite sections of society. Both groups suffer anomie. Both are fringe groups. Both are liminal. Both seek a spiritual communion with other men and with the cosmos. Both want change.[220]

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[217] For example the story "Woman who sold her Sons," told by Sam Osawamik, recorded and translated by Edna Manitowabi was published in the April 1971 issue of the *Toronto Native Times*, 7.
[218] LAC, CB, CYC, RG6 Box 109 File 9-579 "News Release: Government Appointments to CYC."
[219] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 220.
[220] Peter Turner, *There can be no Light,* 401.

The problematic assessment of the commonalities between the plight of Canadian Indians and middle class student youth aside, Turner's comments nevertheless illustrate how non-Indigenous residents at Rochdale understood their connections with Indigenous peoples. The authors of *Dream Tower* explain the interest exhibited by non-Indigenous Rochdalians in more self-serving terms, explaining that it "meshed neatly with the counter-cultural interest in non-traditional spiritualism, folk arts and the recreational use of exotic new drugs such as peyote."[221] Yet, the goal of working to make significant changes in Canadian society, to rid it of the afflictions of capitalism, imperialism, and "destructive materialism" was shared by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous members of Rochdale. Moreover, encouraging and exploring the possibilities of meaningful alliances between Native and non-Native activists and organizations, was indeed an ideological commitment held by members of the Institute for Indian Studies.

In 1966, teachers, social workers, and child-care workers conceived of *This Magazine is about Schools* as "a radical magazine about schools."[222] Two years later, the CYC provided volunteer support for editing, as well as funding for "the magazine's development," at the publication's Huron street address in Toronto.[223] The editor of the magazine, Robert Davis, was also one of the founders of Everdale Place in Hillsburgh, Ontario. Everdale was an elementary 'free' school, with a small enrollment of 25 full time students, and 20 children attending nursery school.[224] In 1968, the Everdale Place School had eight CYC volunteers working as staff members at the school. Robert Davis also sat

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[221] Henry Mietkiewicz & Bob Mackowycz, *Dream Tower: The Life and Legacy of Rochdale College* (Toronto 1988), 47.
[222] Robert Davis, "Editorial," *This Magazine is About Schools*, 1/1 (April 1966): 1.
[223] *CYC Review*, (Toronto 1968): 19.
[224] The CYC also supported Barker and Knowplace Free Schools as part of the Vancouver Youth Project. LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 31.

on the CYC provisional council.[225] Author and television personality, Pierre Berton, sent his children to Everdale, as did actor Bruno Gerussi.[226] Edna Manitowabi and Wilfred Pelletier both published in *This Magazine is about Schools.*[227]

The Institute for Indian Studies also succeeded in establishing its own publishing outlet, Neewin Publishing Company. Neewin strove to reach a wider audience. They created activist material to be used as "valuable source material for anyone who wishe[d] to understand the situation of Indians in Canada" and circulated it widely among schools, universities and churches.[228] The first publication put out by Neewin, the booklet *Two Articles* by Wilfred Pelletier, was well received by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous readers.[229] The second Neewin publication, *For Every North American Indian who begins to disappear I also Begin to disappear*, was a collection of essays "concerned with the quality of human relations between the red and white peoples of the continent."[230] A beautiful silkscreen print of Daphne Odjig's *the External Conflict* adorns the book's cover. According to the preamble, "the essays [were] written by people who, in their professions and through the Nishnawbe Institute [had] been working together, in trying to bridge the cultural conditioning which makes it difficult for the two peoples to communicate in a meaningful way."[231] Contributors consisted of Institute for Indian

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[225] *CYC Review*, (Toronto 1968): 19.
[226]LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 182, "The CYC, a Social Catalyst: Colourful but Competent by Robert Sinclair" (April 1969), 31.
[227] See Edna Manitowabi, "Ojibway Girl in the City," *This Magazine is about Schools* 5/2 (Spring 1971): 8-24.
[228] Wilfred Pelletier, D. G. Poole & John Ian MacKenzie, *For Every North American Indian who begins to Disappear, I also begin to Disappear* (Toronto 1971), endnotes.
[229] *Two Articles* by Wilfred Pelletier was a booklet published in 1969 containing, as the name suggests, two articles: "Childhood in an Indian village," and "Some thoughts about organization and leadership," (Toronto 1969).
[230] Wilfred Pelletier, Poole & Mackenzie, *For Every North American Indian who begins to Disappear, I also begin to Disappear*, ix.
[231] Wilfred Pelletier, Poole & MacKenzie, *For Every North American Indian who begins to Disappear, I also begin to Disappear*, ix.

Studies personnel including Pelletier, MacKenzie, Poole, and Toombs.[232] The introductory words also point to the difficulties encountered by the writers, after "years of sometimes frustrating experience, stemming from each man's deep, personal involvement in the dynamic process of inter-personal and inter-cultural understanding."[233] Despite the hurdles of negotiating inter-cultural cooperation that were sometimes uneasy collaborations, joint projects nevertheless arose.

The Institute's commitment to form alliances manifested itself in modest ways, such as holding Tuesday night gatherings "for anyone interested in Indians or the Indian way of life."[234] The Institute also extended its aim further afield, hosting seven cross-cultural conferences. Conference participants consisted of university professors, government officials, police officers, social service workers, "pleasantly naïve ladies," anthropologists, psychologists, intellectuals, "besides Red Power advocates and impatient militants."[235] Conference agendas varied and included everything from discussions on Red Power, observing an Ojibway lesson at the Toronto Indian Centre, socializing at an Indian Princess Pageant, "pubbing" at the Brunswick Hotel, to viewing films from the Challenge for Change series.[236] What is evident from these conferences is the Institute's goal of forging meaningful connections between individual activists and organizations, whether Indigenous or non-Indigenous, radical or moderate.

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[232] Another publication by Neewin: *Who Is the Chairman of this Meeting?: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Ralph Osborne (Toronto, 1972). Two articles of note: Robert K. Thomas, "The Prophecy," and Robert K. Thomas, "Nationalism" written under the pseudonym of Anderson Dirthrower.
[233] Wilfred Pelletier, Poole & MacKenzie, *For Every North American Indian who begins to Disappear, I also begin to Disappear*, ix.
[234] James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 105.
[235] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615, "Report on Rochdale College Indian Institute - May 8-15 by Noel Starblanket," (year unknown).
[236] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615, "Report on Rochdale College Indian Institute - May 8-15 by Noel Starblanket," (year unknown).

The CYC/CC's Indian Film Crew was connected with Rochdale College's Indian Institute. Film crewmembers Willie Dunn, Mike Mitchell, and Noel Starblanket all networked with the Institute. Willie Dunn even resided at Rochdale for a time.[237] Starblanket attended one of the cross-cultural conferences organized by the Institute. At one of the conference seminars there were screenings of several films from the NFB's Challenge for Change series.[238] According to Starblanket, the films were well received, and generated significant and lengthy discussions by participants. Although the conference was paid for by the CYC, Starblanket had his own agenda for attending the workshop. In a budget justification letter to CYC headquarters, Starblanket begins: "To say that my interest solely in the work of the CYC of the Indian –non-Indian relationship at the workshop can justify my trip to Toronto would be false. Mainly my interest lay in trying to understand the sociological, political, economical, and cultural implications and/or ideas that could be derived from this cross-cultural exchange."[239] While attending the conference, Starblanket met Robert K. Thomas, who counseled him to attend a powwow in Oklahoma. According to Thomas, the powwow was to mark a return to "the traditional path to Indian philosophies, religions, ideologies, and rituals, part of an authentic reversion or mass movement called Pan-Indianism."[240] Thomas taught at Wayne State University in Detroit but commuted to Toronto on a regular basis. He was a

[237] Bernie Muzeen received an invoice for rent from the Institute for Indian Studies, Rochdale College on April 18, 1969 totaling $108.00 dollars for Willie Dunn. Dunn had rented one of the apartments for a period of 18 days at $6.00 per day from April 1st to the 19th that included "the use of the facilities and services of the college, paper, phone, postage etc." LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615 "Correspondence, General" (April 18, 1969).
[238] The CC films shown were prior to the first IFC film *You Are On Indian Land.*
[239] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615, "Report on Rochdale College Indian Institute - May 8-15 by Noel Starblanket," (year unknown).
[240] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615, "Memo: An Urgent Idea by Noel Starblanket," (date unknown).

significant contributor, mentor, and principal organizer at the Institute.[241] In addition Robert K. Thomas was a strong advocate of trans-continent Indigenous unity; in 1970 he published "Pan-Indianism."[242] Thomas' views were in keeping with the Institute for Indian Studies as they developed contacts within pan-Indian movements in North and South America. As a centre for "cross-cultural exploration and dialogue," the Institute for Indian Studies not only encouraged cross-cultural exchange locally and trans-continentally, but set its sights on expanding its connection to other cultures in Europe and Asia. The Institute, it was thought, would draw people concerned with "the differences and similarities in styles of life which exist in the world community" who would come to the centre "to learn more about the values and cultures of North American Indians."[243]

The Institute for Indian Studies was also the coordinating, and administrating centre for the Indian Ecumenical Conferences. The annual conference brought together Indigenous spiritual and religious leaders, of both Christian and Indigenous beliefs, "to discuss common problems with the hope of overcoming religious disunity in Indian communities."[244] Between 1968 and 1972, Robert K. Thomas was a key resource person in the development of the Institute for Indian Studies, and instrumental in the foundation of the Indian Ecumenical Conferences. The Steering Committee planned all year for the summer conference that took place in the first year at the Crow Agency, in Montana, then in subsequent years at the Stoney Reserve in Morley, Alberta. The conference drew

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[241] John A. (Ian) MacKenzie, "Robert K. Thomas – Some Reflections on his Contributions in Canada" presented at the 43rd Annual Conference Western Social Science Association (date unknown).
[242] Robert K. Thomas, "Pan-Indianism," *The American Indian Today*, ed. Stuart Levine & Nancy O. Lurie (Baltimore 1970), 139-140.
[243] Appendix, "Rochdale College Calendar: September 1968," *There can be no Light*, 222.
[244] Wilfred Pelletier, Poole & MacKenzie, *For Every North American Indian who begins to Disappear, I also begin to Disappear*, endnotes.

hundreds of Indian religious leaders from Indian priests, ceremonial leaders, medicine men, Indian ministers, Indian doctors and chiefs.[245] The conferences' ultimate objective was to connect, first and foremost, as North American Indians. As conference participant and Cherokee leader Andrew Dreadfulwater recounted, "We should have started something like this a long time ago. We have almost let all this religious squabbling smother our spiritual power and destroy us as a strong people."[246] The unity effort was part of a growing push to develop a Pan-Indian movement. Moreover, a key component of reclaiming of Indigenous pride and identity was a return to traditional religion: "In 1970, AIM took a long look at itself. We looked Indian, we dressed Indian, but we didn't know why we were Indians. We decided to go back to seek out the old people and find out. We returned to traditional Indian religion."[247] According to Timothy Baylor's historical analysis,"the modern Indian spiritual leaders represented a thread of ongoing Indian resistance,"[248] and served as a form of "prefigurative politics."[249]

In the late 1960s the Rochdale experiment was highjacked by deterioration and disillusionment. Drugs, gangs, and suicides overshadowed any utopian ideals of cross-cultural unity, and/or a positive environment for Indigenous studies; the Institute for Indian Studies moved out of Rochdale College. Perhaps as a way of marking a new beginning, the Institute changed its name to the Nishnawbe Institute.[250]

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[245] "Second Indian Ecumenical Conference," *Toronto Native Times*, April 1971, 1.
[246] James Treat, *Around the Sacred Fire*, 105.
[247] Russell Means, "Penthouse interview's Russell Means," *Penthouse* 12 April 1981, 136-138, 188-194.
[248] Timothy John Baylor, "Modern Warriors: Mobilization and Decline of the American Indian Movement (AIM), 1968-1979," PhD, University of North Carolina, (1994), 86.
[249] Timothy John Baylor, "Modern Warriors," 87. See Wini Breines, *Community and Organization in the New Left, 1962-1968* for a discussion of the concept of "prefigurative politics".
[250] Eric LeBourdais, "The Other Side of Rochdale," *Toronto Life* January 1971, reprinted in *There Can be no Light without Shadow*, 320.

Conclusion

Indigenous projects in the Company of Young Canadians spanned the country, with projects in both urban and rural communities. Projects also ran the gamut of possibilities. The relationship between native and non-native volunteers, field staff, organizations and communities varied, and multiple factors influenced whether or not a project was successful. Despite operational and structural hurdles, strong oppositional forces in society and government institutions, some Native CYC projects managed to achieve autonomy in terms of focus, aims and implementation through direct and/or circuitous means.

James Littleton, Gerald (Jerry) Gambill, and Marilyn Assheton-Smith, proved invaluable allies to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous volunteers in the field. Repeatedly, these staffers advocated on behalf of volunteers, argued for budget support when needed, and lobbied for volunteer autonomy and self-determination in the field. Littleton, Gambill and Assheton-Smith served, in a way, as the conscience of CYC headquarters, reminding the executive and the council of the promises made to Indigenous peoples. Although the CYC was organized with a top down approach to its structure and distribution of money, volunteers and field staff still managed to maintain control over projects, despite administrative inefficiencies, and power struggles between field staffers and headquarters. Notably, projects that achieved more radical results were either entities that maintained ideological and operational control separate from the CYC, or spin-offs organizations not directly funded by the CYC. The underlying component for any successful Indigenous CYC project was community support, and the imperative of consultation. Heeding Pelletier's words that community interests were paramount helps us

understand how such diverse projects existed between communities, while still supporting the idea of pan-Indianism.

Cross-pollination between organizations and the CYC, including partially or completely funded CYC projects, created an informal network committed to social change. Organizations such as the Institute for Indian Studies (the Nishnawbe Institute), the NAITC, including its offshoots the IFC, and the White Roots of Peace Council, as well as Indigenous media, such as *Akwesasne Notes* and *Kenomadiwin News*, formed a network of communication via the CYC that would not have existed otherwise. This informal network facilitated trans-continental Indigenous communication that contributed to the larger Indigenous activist movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Chapter 4: Indigenous Print and Audio Media and the CYC

> *"There are often contradictions within state hegemony, and even government-controlled access and dialogue can have consequences not anticipated by those in power."*[1]
>
> *Though media was perceived as a technological tool that served the hegemonic forces of the state, and worked as "the handmaiden of colonialism," it also held "the promise of liberation" for Indigenous peoples.*[2]

Media in the 1960s was a means to support activism, specifically Indigenous activism. Some media efforts were more effective than others in terms of impact and longevity. The Company of Young Canadians contributed to two successful print media initiatives: *Kenomadiwin News* and *Akwesasne Notes*. The success of these two publications was contingent not only on the kind of support given by the CYC, but also the kind of support each publication received from Indigenous communities. *Kenomadiwin News* and *Akwesasne Notes* also differed in the kinds of partnerships established between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples, although similar in their efforts to promote Indigenous self-determination. At times these relationships were uneasy. In the case of *Kenomadiwin News*, non-Indigenous supervisors and regional directors supported the efforts of Indigenous editors. In addition, money was earmarked for the media project, part of the CYC's northwestern Ontario budget. By contrast, although the editors of *Akwesasne Notes* also happened to be paid CYC volunteers, the newspaper itself accepted no money from the CYC, but was instead financed through private donations. *Akwesasne Notes* was unique, for although it was an Indigenous activism publication, the editor was non-Native. The interplay

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[1] Michelle Stewart, "The Indian Film Crews of Challenge for Change: Representation and the State," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies/Revue canadienne d'études cinématographiques*, 16/2 (Fall 2007): 50.
[2] Gerald Wilkinson, "Colonialism through the Media," *Indian Historian,* 7 (1974): 30. Wilkinson was Cherokee, an activist and executive director for the National Indian Youth Council.

of these factors determined the relative success of each publication. Although the genesis and execution of *Kenomadiwin News* and *Akwesasne Notes* differed, both media projects formed alliances with other Indigenous publications throughout Canada and the United States, shared information, traded stories and promoted communication throughout Indian country. As well, both *Kenomadiwin News* and *Akwesasne Notes* helped organize and unite Indian communities locally and nationally. Both publications promoted a positive view of Indian identity and contributed to the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous culture. In addition, the two publications assisted in politicizing and mobilizing Indigenous people. The CYC attempted to expand its media presence with the creation of Kenomadiwin Radio. A sister project to the newspaper bearing the same name, Kenomadiwin Radio pioneered Indigenous community radio in Northern Ontario, but its impact on the region was less significant than its unintended lasting global effect. In sharp contrast, the impact of the *Honey Bucket* appears minimal, controversial, and even detrimental to the effort to promote Indigenous self-determination in the NWT, though Indigenous CYC volunteers did contribute to the publication. This chapter will analyze specific print media productions affiliated with the CYC in order to demonstrate emergent grassroots indigenous control of media and its link to activism.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s a shift in the national discourse occurred in Canada.[3] State run media organizations such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) directed attention to 'the poor and the marginalized,' creating programming concerned with social justice issues. In tandem, the global media's attention turned to issues of racial inequality, colonialism, imperialism and capitalism. Invariably, the Canadian

[3] The publication of the Hawthorn-Tremblay Report advocating cultural relativism, advocacy work by organizations such as the IEA concerning the "Indian problem," and the intense media coverage of the civil rights movement in the United States were all contributing factors.

media's gaze was redirected to the plight of Indigenous communities within Canada and the United States. Indigenous peoples living within colonized/settler states suddenly became 'newsworthy.'

In response Indigenous peoples capitalized on the media attention that offered a potent means of garnering widespread non-native support from both grassroots and broad-based audiences for their causes. Aboriginal peoples used the technology of mainstream mass media not only to voice their concerns on the subject of poverty and marginalization, but also to analyze the pervasive effects of colonialism. In 1968 a Cornwall journalist commented on this strategy, observing that "North American Indians speedily [were] becoming the most skillful users of communications media in the country."[4]

Dominant mediums produced by non-Natives ineffectually, or inaccurately, addressed native perspectives or identity. Articulations on native life produced by the mainstream mass media were in many instances misguided and misrepresented the voices of Indigenous communities. Even supportive and well-intentioned non-native journalists relied on inflammatory and provocative discourse. Remarks taken from the transcripts of the Pierre Berton Show typify a large segment of supportive mainstream coverage. According to the television series, aired on CBC in 1969, the 'job' of the broadcast was to "explain why the Indians [were] angry and why some of them [were] on the verge of revolt."[5] The guests on the show, Howard Adams, William Wuttunee, Wilfred Pelletier and Andrew Delisle were Indigenous leaders who represented a cross-section of political affiliations, philosophies and beliefs. Adams was indeed a Métis "militant;" he also held a PhD from the University of California and was an educator in the province of Saskatchewan. Wilfred Pelletier, an

[4] The first edition of *Akwesasne Notes* was called *Akwesasne News*, unknown date.
[5] Pierre Berton, *The Pierre Berton Show - The Indian Revolution*, CBC Transcripts (1969).

educator for the Institute of Indian Studies and former CYC volunteer, did not qualify as an "angry Indian,"[5] although he was indeed a passionate activist for Indian people. Delisle, a Mohawk chief and founder of the National Indian Council, also promoted self-determination for Aboriginal peoples but through recognized political organizations. Wuttunee was not a radical in the least: an assimilationist, a lawyer and author of the much maligned book *Ruffled Feathers*, he supported the abolition of the Indian Act. The introductory remarks denote the tenor of the series: "In exactly one minute you will meet some angry Indians on the first of five programs about the Indian revolution which may surprise and anger you."[6] Whether or not this strategy succeeded as supportive or was simply sensationalism is debatable. In scrutinizing the transcripts of the show one is left questioning the producers' tactics, which are without question engaging. For although Berton's style hooked people into listening, it also perpetuated an 'othering' of Indigenous peoples to an intended audience largely comprised of a non-native Canadian public.

It is within the aforementioned context that the Company of Young Canadians participated in a larger phenomenon – the birth of Indigenous media throughout North America. The CYC supported Native media initiatives in print, radio, and film, supplying both human resources (native and non-native volunteers) and financial support.[7] The following chapter discusses three case studies. Two Native print media programs to emerge from a CYC/ Native community alliance were: the northwestern Ontario regional publication the *LightBulb,* renamed *Kenomadiwin News*, and the transnational Mohawk newspaper *Akwesasne Notes*. A third publication, the North West Territories local CYC newsletter the *Honey Bucket*, is worth discussing as a variation on an Indigenous/non-indigenous media

[6] Pierre Berton, *The Pierre Berton Show - The Indian Revolution*, CBC Transcripts (1969).
[7] See chapter 5 for a detailed discussion of CYC film & radio initiatives.

alliance. Both *Kenomadiwin News* and *Akwesasne Notes* mirror other nascent Indigenous print media programs of the time. In contrast, the *Honey Bucket*, anomalous to the other Native publications, mirrored non-native radical publications of the period.

In consultation with Indigenous youth organizations and other Indigenous advisors, a fundamental principle informed the Company of Young Canadians' Native Media initiatives: Indigenous CYC youth would control all Indigenous media initiatives. Non-Indigenous CYC members would function in a supportive capacity only. From this starting point, several key CYC media objectives emerged. The first objective was to organize Indian communities both locally and nationally to unify as part of a Pan-Indian movement. The second objective was the desire to inform Aboriginal peoples of their treaty rights and human rights as well as help them gain a better understanding of the Indian Act. A third objective was to promote a positive view of Indian identity by reclaiming a sense of 'Indian pride.' The fourth objective was the preservation and revitalization of Indigenous culture, concentrating on areas such as language, education and spirituality. As well, media programs were to inform others of Indian viewpoints on social and economic issues. The 'other' in this case was dominant Canadian society. All of these objectives were to be achieved by politicizing and mobilizing people with the help of communications technology.

The LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News

In 1967, the CYC sponsored a summer programme hiring sixteen native youth from various communities in northwestern Ontario to assess the needs of Aboriginal people throughout the region. As the summer ended the consultants concluded that a dialogue between regional communities (both Native and non-native), as well as with the rest of Canadian society, was

an important avenue upon which to focus their attention. The youth produced a prototype newsletter in August 1967 proposing that the publication continue as a monthly. As with all Company of Young Canadian projects, the long-term goal was to see the *LightBulb* become "an integrated part of the community."[8] The CYC supported the newspaper financially with the end goal that local people would take over the operation and publication of the *LightBulb/ Kenomadiwin News* following a period of two years.[9] After such time it was hoped that the newsletter would make the transition to a sustainable entity, fully supported by the communities it represented. A successful CYC project meant that volunteers and financial support could be withdrawn, their services no longer required.[10]

The first official issue of the *LightBulb* was published in December 1967 in Port Arthur, Ontario.[11] The opening statement proclaimed that "Indian people in northwestern Ontario face many of the same problems whether in Mobert, Sandy Lake, Geraldton or wherever" and that these northern communities had "a better chance of accomplishing something worthwhile if they worked in close cooperation with each other."[12] The young publishers - by then all hired on as CYC volunteers – explained that the *LightBulb* would "provide an opportunity to tell stories of legends, express opinions on anything, submit poetry and above all just to tell one another about ourselves."[13] The editorial's closing remarks declared, "This newsletter is for you, the Indian communities in NWO. Make full

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[8] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 3.
[9] Funding for Indigenous media emerged from both private and state sponsored enterprises. The majority of finances flowed, both directly and indirectly, from various federal governmental departments and organizations. The Company of Young Canadians was but one source organization that contributed significant resources from 1966 until its demise in 1977.
[10] In many cases, then, if the project proved successful the surviving records of Company of Young Canadians involvement are minimal or non-existent. However because of the nature of the Kenomadiwin project - print media – one finds an extensive paper trail.
[11] In January 1970 the twin cities of Port Arthur and Fort William located on the north shore of Lake Superior amalgamated, forming the city of Thunder Bay.
[12] *LightBulb*, December 1967, 1.
[13] *LightBulb*, December 1967, 1.

use of it."[14] Throughout the publication the discourse expresses a desire to raise awareness, on an individual and group level, as well as nurture a sense of collectivity. Print communication, it was believed, would bring Indian people into contact with each other despite great distances, "pool[ing] information on social and economic problems, better preparing the Indians to discuss and deal with them."[15] According to the *LightBulb* attempts to unite reserves in the northwestern region of Ontario had been tried before without success. People formed the Northwestern Ontario Indian Association after having gathered in Fort Williams at the first Conference of Northwestern Ontario Indians in October of 1966. They met there to discuss issues and to connect with people from across the region. Communities were united only on paper not in action, and the momentum achieved at the time of the conference was not sustained throughout the region.[16] This time, according to the first issue of the *LightBulb*, Indigenous people from northwestern Ontario would respond collectively, united in the pursuit of social change and the *LightBulb* would help facilitate this change.

Perhaps proof of the newspaper's success lies in its detractors' views of the publication. Indian Affairs took a great interest in the goings on of CYC volunteers in all Native projects, and the distribution of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* was no exception. Substantial documentation was accumulated on the part of Indian Affairs concerning the Northwestern Ontario project. As early as 1967, deputy minister of Indian Affairs R.F. Battle noted with concern that the CYC co-coordinator was "publishing and circulating a newsletter 'the *LightBulb*' to all Northwest Ontario Indian Reserves with the **expressed** aim of

[14] *LightBulb*, December 1967, 1.
[15] *LightBulb*, December 1967, 1.
[16] "Ogama speaks," *Kenomadiwin News* February 1969, unpaginated.

promoting a union of Indian people of Northwest Ontario."[17] Why the possibility of Aboriginal people uniting was such a concern to the Department of Indian Affairs is not stated; the underlying tone, however, is of a perceived threat. Another memo titled, "Company Activities Related to Departmental Interest" addressed to then Minister of Indian Affairs Jean Chrétien, illustrates such a protectionist mentality. The report states that, "the Lakehead volunteers" were of 'departmental interest' for they published the *LightBulb*, and that was of "great...concern because of its negative attitude toward our policies and programs."[18] It seems that any critique or criticism by Indigenous peoples on the policies that affected them engendered a strong reaction from department officials.

In order to increase the distributorship and community involvement the newspaper attempted to cultivate a healthy rivalry between communities. The *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* challenged communities to be the most active of all Native communities in northwestern Ontario. The November 15th 1968 issue lists the names of correspondents from Red Lake, Lake Helen, Armstrong, Fort Frances, and Heron Bay, then querying: "What about Kenora, Sioux Lookout, Long Lac, Hudson, Geraldton, Aroland, and Nakina?" Subscribing to the adage that 'there is strength in numbers,' the publication worked to grow its membership urging communities to keep the list of contributors to the *LightBulb* expanding, while at the same time promoting unity. As the newsletter expanded its distributorship and its time in print lengthened, so too did the range of topics it printed.

The *LightBulb*'s mandate was to provide a forum that highlighted community efforts, thereby offering inspirational illustrations that other communities could also realize. Upon

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[17] LAC, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds (hereafter DIAND), Arctic Youth Corps-Company of Young Canadians (hereafter AYC-CYC) RG 22 Box 970, File 99-2-335 "Memo on the activities of the CYC by RF Battle" (November 1967), 1. (Emphasis mine)

[18] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG 22 Box 970, File 99-22-335 "Memo on the activities of the CYC by RF Battle" (December 1968), 3.

closer review, however many of the examples provided are the activist efforts of CYC volunteers within northwestern Ontario Aboriginal communities, documenting the opinions and actions of both Native and non-Native CYC volunteers. These articles, however, are not simply CYC progress reports. Communities drove activist CYC projects, such as the one in Armstrong, Ontario, although instigated by CYC volunteers.[19] In addition, it is important to bear in mind that being a CYC volunteer and a community member were not mutually exclusive.

Providing its readership with the tools necessary to make informed decisions around issues concerning their lives was another objective of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*. Readers were encouraged to seek out resources that could contribute to this education, and the CYC was one of the main resources suggested by the editors of the publication. If anyone had any questions "regarding such things as fishing and trapping laws, legal items, Ontario Medical Services, or anything else" they were to contact the Company of Young Canadians office in Port Arthur.[20] The Company of Young Canadians headquarters in Thunder Bay provided information to individuals and/or directed them to specialists capable of advocating on their behalf. The *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* then functioned as a networking system, connecting the CYC to readers throughout northwestern Ontario.

In its first two years the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* promoted a strategy of coupling information and communication with a bid to act. The newspapers' authors called upon people to submit their opinions, their plans, and their experiences, but more importantly, for people to take "the necessary steps to correct, or to improve any conditions

[19] See chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of the CYC project in Armstrong.
[20] *LightBulb*, November 1968, 3.

that warrant such action."[21] Although the editorial staff was a proponent of individual and collective 'action' the newspaper's first issues do not express an overtly militant tone; neither, however, do they simply echo a social animator model of community development. That said, the newspaper did on occasion print fringe ideas and even views advocating violence, such as the article entitled "Do-Gooders Take Heed." The last paragraph written by an anonymous youth rails: "Exploit the whiteman for all the injustice and the way they push their sick society upon me. Why impose this way of life upon me and destroy me as an Indian. Do I want a society that only knows violence! KILL! KILL! KILL! What I am, you forced me to be!"[22] Another article written by Fred Kelly, a 26-year-old Ojibway from Kenora expounds the belief that the creation of a separate state for Indians in Canada was the only solution for Indian People.[23] Though these extreme positions are anomalous as feature articles, the tone of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* remained decidedly political.

From 1967 until 1970, the relationship between Indigenous peoples and the government of Canada was a constant topic of discussion, with a significant percentage of the publication devoted to the examination of racist, assimilationist and paternalistic attitudes of the colonial Canadian state. Articles addressing the impact of the Indian Act and Indian Affairs' policies on the lives of Indian People, both past and present, filled the pages of the newspaper. The paper employed humour, using cartoons and commentaries as tools to poke fun at and ridicule the attitudes of the Indian Affairs Branch. The *LightBulb*'s pre-occupation with the State, and its campaign to raise awareness about Indigenous rights, coincided with the public announcement that federal government was to begin talks on the formation of a 'new' Indian Act. The *LightBulb* kept the department of Indians Affairs in the spotlight, in

[21] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 1.
[22] *LightBulb*, May 1968, 2.
[23] *LightBulb*, May 1968, 2. Fred Kelly was a student at Lakehead University Centre for Indian Studies.

order to inform Indian people of the government consultation process taking place across the country on the subject of policy reform. By promoting an Indigenous media perspective, the *LightBulb* wanted to inspire its readership to not only be aware, but also to mobilize for change.

Part of the *LightBulb*'s information campaign sought to stir the collective memory to remember historical injustices. In particular, the newspaper wanted to expose the perpetual lack of meaningful consultation on the part of department officials, and remind its readers that the paternalistic attitudes ingrained within the department of Indian Affairs ran deep. A simple yet effective means of illustrating the longevity of such practices was to reprint historical documents. For example in the April 1968 issue the editors of the *LightBulb* printed excerpts from former Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott's official correspondence[24] with northern Ontario Indian agent J. P. Donnelly. The writings expose the controlling colonialist advice Scott gives to his underling on how 'best to deal with Indians'[25] in regards to their request for seed potatoes and the purchase of a cow for the community of Pic River. The tribal chief's request to Donnelly for financial assistance to purchase a cow for the community was denied by Scott on the grounds that "the department ha [d] no funds for the purchase."[26] The following memo suggests another motivation for the refusal – the imperative of budget. Scott reminds Donnelly that the seed supply should not exceed "in value the amount of their shares of the next Robinson Treaty payment." Scott's memo then comments, that above all other considerations, "the Indians should be educated to habits of economy and forethought."[27] Scott's priority is to,

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[24] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated. Dated May 4, 1896.
[25] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated.
[26] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated.
[27] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated.

above all other considerations, educate and inculcate Indigenous peoples with 'white' values. Ironically, if Duncan Campbell Scott would had followed his own advice, then logic would have dictated approving the finances necessary for the purchase of a cow: purchasing a cow did demonstrate both thrift and foresight.

Reprinting historical documents was also an effective means to highlight specific grievances such as Indigenous Treaties and Treaty Rights. In March 1968, the *LightBulb* reprinted in its entirety "A Petition to the King's Most Excellent Majesty" written almost exactly 51 years earlier by Frank Pelletier and Alex McCoy, then representatives of the Fort William and Pic River Bands respectively.[28] Unable to "obtain redress" through the Department of Indian Affairs, the petitioners sought "justice." They "beseech" King George V to command the federal government to: uphold the hunting and fishing rights of the Indian people as guaranteed to them in the Robinson-Superior Treaty; they opposed the provincial government's heavy handed tactics of fines and imprisonment used to enforce its 1915 Ontario Game and Fisheries Law.[29] The petition chronicles the extreme coercive tactics used by the provincial government against Indigenous communities in northwestern Ontario, such as imprisonment. At the time of the 1917 petition a large percentage of young Aboriginal men were fighting overseas[30] and many remaining community members, left with no income, forbidden to hunt lest they be prosecuted, starved. Pelletier and McCoy's petition details how one man from the community, after his release from prison because of a hunting violation, froze to death while trying to return to his home some 300 miles away.

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[28] *LightBulb* March 1968, unpaginated.
[29] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated
[30] See Fred Gaffen, *Forgotten Soldiers* (Penticton 1985) for a discussion of Indigenous involvement in the Canadian Armed Forces.

The *LightBulb* editorial comment on the 1917 account admonished the government's flagrant disregard for the sanctity of Treaty rights, urging its readers to mobilize:

> Many years have passed and the events of that horrible time are now but troubling memories but the wrong still sits heavy on the hearts of those who, like Mr. Pelletier, still recall what happened. It is my hope that no longer shall such a wrong be allowed to become lost within the bureaucratic red tape of the governmental institutions. In the future perhaps when we become aware of these things, we shall force the government to act on them, to act quickly and justly. No longer should a fair and just deal be denied our people. Next time, and there will be a next time, we shall act and continue to do so until justice is achieved.[31]

This journalistic device of reprinting historical documents, petitions and correspondence then juxtaposing them to current events created an effective link between the past and the present, emphasizing the continuity of Indigenous peoples' activism, simultaneously documenting for the readers the legacy of dishonesty, paternalism and racism exercised by the Canadian state. Practically, providing historical documentation as background to current events was a solution to the obligation of producing copy for *Kenomadiwin News* on a monthly basis. More importantly, by drawing these parallels, the past served as supporting documentation for contemporary Indigenous political positions on current events.

Arguably one of the most important issues to face Indigenous peoples in the late 1960s was the Canadian state's agenda to reform the Indian Act. The department of Indian Affairs' released a booklet, entitled *Choosing a Path* "a handbook for Indian People,"[32] outlining the process. The preface of the booklet was reprinted in the 1968 March issue of the *LightBulb*. The reprinted text outlined the proposed changes to the Indian Act, and proclaimed that this time "Indians must be consulted if they are to look after their own

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[31] *LightBulb*, March 1968, unpaginated.
[32] Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Choosing a Path: A Discussion Handbook for the Indian People* (1968).

community affairs and have a full and equal place in Canadian society."[33] The proposed method of consultation, according to the booklet, would be through a nationwide comprehensive consultation process, and in order to ensure inclusion, the department had created an All-Indian Advisory Board to act as liaison between government and communities. The *LightBulb* juxtaposed a countervailing article that exposed the government's 'doublespeak.' An accompanying story in the March 1968 issue, reprinted from the *Globe and Mail*, detailed Indigenous leaders' opposition to the consultation process, as well as presenting the All-Indian Advisory Board as nothing more than another attempt by the State to control Indigenous peoples. Omer Peters and Wilmer Nadjiwon, then president and vice-president of the Union of Ontario Indians, both charged the department of Indian Affairs of engaging in "Gestapo Tactics:" keeping files on members of the All Indian Advisory Board; and monitoring "Indians who spoke out against department operations or personnel" thereby providing a "built in self-protection" for Indian Affairs.[34] Peters and Nadjiwon's comments regarding the consultation process echo the sentiment expressed in Indigenous communities across Canada: that the All Indian Advisory Board was a mere 'mouthpiece' for the Federal government. Aboriginal people dubbed the DIA booklet 'Being Led Down the Garden Path,' a humourous reference to the mistrust surrounding the government's intentions. The release of the infamous 1969 White Paper, the outcome of this supposed "consultation" process, confirmed their suspicions.[35] The *LightBulb*'s closing editorial on the consultation process is a call to act, foreshadowing what in the following year was a widespread movement that swept across Indian country: "Too long we have been

[33] Canadian Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. *Choosing a Path: A Discussion Handbook for the Indian People* (1968).
[34] *LightBulb*, March 1968, unpaginated.
[35] CBC, Ideas in the Afternoon, *Red Paper/White Paper*. Interview with Walter Rudnicki.

deprived of our right to be regarded as a nation. Too long have decisions made in Ottawa...had a controlling effect on our lives...It is time we dictate to others what is to be done on our lands...Ojibway control our Ojibway land...Mohawk control over Mohawk land. That should be our aim."[36]

Inspiring readers with examples of Indigenous militancy was another tactic used by the editors of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* in the hopes of mobilizing Indigenous communities. The *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News* pilfered from regional and national non-native newspapers, gathering and reprinting articles that forwarded this agenda. For example the reprinted *Sudbury Star* article entitled "Attitude to Indian Citizens Exposes 'National Disgrace,'"[37] reminded readers that the northern Ontario town of Kenora was not "unique in its open hostility, exploitation and intolerance of the Indians."[38] Addressing the pervasiveness of racism, the *Star* article also forewarned that if conditions and dominant Canadian attitudes did not change, "Kenora and other communities where similar problems exist could erupt as areas of Negro suppression in the U.S."[39] Six years later the armed takeover of Kenora's Anicinabe Park seemed to confirm the *Star's* prediction. The editors of the *LightBulb* viewed militancy as a legitimate, albeit unfortunate means to effect change.

It is important, however, to contextualize the newspaper's position. During the late 1960s and early 1970s Indigenous radical discourse was published in all types of publications, whether militant, mainstream or academic. For instance the militant group the Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP), which published its own newsletter, had articles reprinted in *Kenomadiwin News*. However, NARP was also published in the anthology *The*

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[36] *LightBulb* March 1968, unpaginated.
[37] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated. Reprint *Sudbury Star* 29 December 1967.
[38] *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated. Reprint *Sudbury Star* 29 December 1967.
[39] "Attitude to Indian Citizens Exposes 'National Disgrace,'" *LightBulb* April 1968, unpaginated.

Only Good Indian, an academic book printed through the newly formed Native Studies Programs at Trent University published by New Press.

As the 1960s ended, events in Indian country, particularly in the United States, turned more militant, even violent, with a rise in protests, marches, sit-ins, stand-offs and sieges. Oddly, the *LightBulb*, renamed *Kenomadiwin News*, appears less overtly political. Treaty rights, Aboriginal title, land rights, collective protest and militant action, although still present, were no longer primary topics of discussion. Community, culture, language, education, spirituality and Aboriginal women became the new issues of the day, with an increased percentage of stories focused on individual people, their communities and the lived experience of small town life. In terms of political agendas, the impact of the Indian Act on Indigenous women comes to the fore.

The 1970s mark a gendered split within some Aboriginal communities occasioned by the challenge to the Indian Act by Jeanette Corbiere-Lavell and Yvonne Bedard. The two women's Supreme Court challenge and subsequent appeals to the international world through the United Nations, exposed the gendered discriminatory practices of the Indian Act surrounding Indigenous women who 'married out.' Both women's plights are featured in *Kenomadiwin News*.[40] Prior to the 1970s, Aboriginal women were certainly not a featured topic within the pages of the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, even when participating in something that would certainly be considered 'newsworthy.' For example, in 1968 no coverage of the presentation by the Alberta Native Women's Conference to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Edmonton was presented in the newspaper.[41]

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[40] "Jeannette Lavell wins Indian Rights," *Kenomadiwin News*, 31 October 1971, 1. (Jeannette Corbiere-Lavell); "Will Not Leave Reserve," *Kenomadiwin News* 30 September 1971, 5. (Yvonne Bedard)
[41] Barbara Freeman, "Same/Difference: The Media, Equal Rights and Aboriginal Women in Canada, 1968," *The Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 28/1 (1998): 98.

In the December 1970s issue Buffy Sainte-Marie challenges cultural appropriation in the story, "Fake Indian Fashions Enrage Cree Singer." Sainte-Marie, an activist and singer states bluntly: "We're sick of being told that we should feel honored that people want to look like us...they say it's a memorial to our noble race, but that's a lot of bull."[42] A more chilling piece is a missing person's bulletin, placed in the public announcement section of the same issue as Sainte-Marie's. According to the bulletin, a fifteen-year-old Aboriginal teen had been "missing from her home since Oct 1st, and her family [was] frantic with worry."[43] The article implored: "If you have seen her or know of her whereabouts please contact Miss Buffalo at Indian Association of Alberta office in Edmonton."[44] To the left of the announcement a photo of the young woman is displayed. Forty years later, the news item is a sobering reminder of the disproportionate number of Aboriginal women whose missing person's reports more often than not result in the gruesome discovery of their murders.[45] In the November 1970 issue of *Kenomadiwin News* a story examining Indigenous women's reproductive rights and its links to racism was also published. The story recounted New Democrat Party MP for York South David Lewis's allegations, in the House of Commons, that Inuit women from the community of Holman Island were being unwittingly subjected to a government sterilization program. Then minister of Indian Affairs, Jean Chrétien denied that any such policy existed, with a caveat that "if" indeed the occurrence proved to be "true" it would be the work of individuals and not something sanctioned by the state.[46] Less controversial and disturbing items concerning Indigenous women, such as winner of the Ontario Indian princess

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[42] *Kenomadiwin News*, 18 December 1970, 5.
[43] *Kenomadiwin News*, 18 December 1970, 6.
[44] *Kenomadiwin News*, 18 December 1970, 6.
[45] See Amnesty International *Stolen Sisters: Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada*, http://www.amnesty.ca/stolensisters/amr2000304.pdf
[46] "Indian Affairs: Sterilization of Eskimo Women," *Kenomadiwin News*, 4 November 1970, 1.

competition, upcoming craft shows, as well as a government sponsored hairdressing program, also lined the pages of *Kenomadiwin News*.[47]

On an operational note, the early 1970s marked a change in staff as Elisabeth Morriseau took over as the newspaper's editor, replacing Nazareth Therriault.[48] Though the timing of Morriseau's takeover seems apropos, it is difficult to ascertain whether the shift in the publication's focus was because the new editor was a woman, or if it was representative of a shift in Indian Country. Regardless, with Morrisseau as editor, Aboriginal women and women's issues take a place of prominence in the newspaper. National in scope, the topics and themes are wide ranging, representing a cross-section of Indigenous women's opinions, concerns and actions.

In its nascent form, the *LightBulb* printed very few articles that dealt with local issues or covered community involvement not linked to the CYC. By the 1970s the focus of *Kenomadiwin News* was markedly changed. The newspaper covered topics surrounding the revival and strengthening of Indigenous languages, with articles in syllabics submitted by local community members.[49] The introduction of a small Community News section, printing local announcements and listing engagements, marriages, births and deaths, hockey scores and other upcoming sports events was an early indicator of the newspaper's new direction. The 1969 February edition of *Kenomadiwin News* describes the Christmas feast in Red Lake in festive detail. CYC volunteers Matrine Therriault, McCall Monias and Mike Beardy organized the feast; the evening's savory supper menu consisted of "moose stew, rabbits stew, beavers, turkey, chicken and bannock," with "live local musical entertainment provided

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[47] *Kenomadiwin News*, 18 October 1970, 6 and *Kenomadiwin News*, 30 June 1972, 3.
[48] Nazareth Therriault was editor for a short time. Therriault had replaced William E. Sault. Sault was one of the founding editors of the *LightBulb*.
[49] *Kenomadiwin News*, 15 June 1971, 8-10 and *Kenomadiwin News*, 30 August 1971, 4-5.

by Abbias Kakepetum and Ken Meekis accompanying him."[50] Alongside the Christmas article, with its detailed and itemized holiday menu, sits an advertisement for the Ontario Human Rights Commission. In later issues, the publication shifts its concentration from the politics of Aboriginal title and treaty rights to discussions of human rights. The pages of *Kenomadiwin News* now included government-sponsored advertisement. One advertisement read: "The laws of our Province prohibit discrimination. If you require assistance or feel that your rights have been violated, contact Mr. B. Lenton and Mr. G. Piper at 235 Bay st. Port Arthur."[51] The newspaper consistently encouraged its readership to be well informed, and to enlist the services of those who engaged in advocacy work. This adherence to a philosophy of action remained throughout the life of the newspaper. Arguably the advertisement is representative of the interests of the state – even if the Commission proclaimed to be championing human rights. Nevertheless, *Kenomadiwin News* presented human rights discourse as a new language of protest, overshadowing the language of Aboriginal rights or Aboriginal title that was so prevalent in the late 1960s.

How does one understand the change in the outlook of *Kenomadiwin News*? One explanation to account for the shift in the newspaper's discourse - the new focus on local rural communities and human rights – is related to the phenomena of mass urban migration of Indigenous populations. News coverage addressed the large migration of Aboriginal people from rural to urban settings that occurred in the 1960s into the 1970s. As people moved from reserves and re-settled in urban areas, the issue of land, land rights and collective treaty rights no longer applied. In addition, news from home provided a regular connection for people now relocated in urban centres, hundreds of miles from their

[50] *Kenomadiwin News*, 1 February 1969, 4.
[51] *Kenomadiwin News*, 1 February 1969, 4.

communities. As well, advertisements from Native Friendship Centres across the province of Ontario appear in the publication, offering Indigenous community in an urban setting. One advertisement in the December 1970 issue read:

> Moving to Toronto? The following may be of interest to you: Have you just moved to the city?? Do you need emergency assistance? Having problems finding a job? Do you want to meet other Indian people? Have you lived in the city for Awhile? Do you want to help your own people? Do you want to join in the sports programs? If so come to...Canadian Indian Centre of Toronto, 210 Beverly Street, Toronto 2B, Ontario. A Place to Watch TV! A place to help! A place to regain your Indian Identity! A place to seek advice![52]

Friendship Centres served as sites where one could connect with community, affirm one's sense of identity, and get local support in an urban context.

Another brand of advertisement also donned the pages of *Kenomadiwin News* – job postings. Numerous postings were advertised for the newly formed National Indian Brotherhood: "National Indian Brotherhood requires a financial controller - $12,000 per annum; National Indian Brotherhood requires an executive director - $15, 000 per annum; National Indian Brotherhood requires a recording secretary - $8,000 per annum.[53] The job advertisements were set alongside a number of articles declaring big grants for Indian people: "Spring Grant for Ontario $35,000; $110,000 Grant for Indian cultural and social programs; $35,000 Grant for economic projects."[54]

When the newspaper changed its name, it also expanded the scope of its coverage, still concentrating on activists' concerns, but including the concerns of community life. By the 1970s the newspaper was a publication that seemed to appeal to a wider cross-section of Indigenous readers. That said, the newspaper did not completely abandon its more political philosophy as illustrated in the February 1969 editorial that proclaimed: "The People are on

[52] *Kenomadiwin News*, 18 December 1970, 5.
[53] *Kenomadiwin News*, 30 April 1971, 3.
[54] *Kenomadiwin News*, 30 April 1971, 2.

the move. In their own way, and in their own sweet time, with their own ideas, their own priorities, the people are organizing. The Indian people of Northwestern Ontario will no longer be invisible. The days of silence are over."[55] In making culture, *Kenomadiwin News* focused its energy on the local and the personal as representations of the political. The very existence of the publication was at once a local grassroots communal enterprise, a participant in and representative of, the Indigenous activist movement. *Kenomadiwin News* grew from its roots as a Company of Young Canadians initiative and achieved its goal of being relevant to the Indigenous communities in Northwestern Ontario that it was designed to serve.

Kenomadiwin Radio

In the late 60s the CYC's Northwestern Ontario Project expanded its media program, with the formation of a community radio project Kenomadiwin Radio.[56] Under the CRTC draft proposal, Kenomadiwin Radio was listed as, "an independent organization directed, staffed and supported by Ojibway people."[57] The proposal distanced its involvement with the CYC, stating its goal to move towards independent financial support through the Foundation for Northern Ojibway Education, a non-profit organization.[58] Harold "Buddy" Sault served as the "liason (sic) man" with Native communities[59] with non-native activist Liora Proctor lending her technical expertise as consultant on the project.

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[55] "Ogama Speaks," *Kenomadiwin News*, 1 February 1969, unpaginated.
[56] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 2. Kenomadiwin Radio began broadcasting in 1967, the same year that the 'Frontier Package' broadcasting in seventeen Inuit communities in the Western Arctic. See Valerie Alia, "Indigenous Radio in Canada," in *More than a Music Box: Radio Cultures and Communities in a Multi-Media World*, ed., Andrew Crissell, 81.
[57] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File "N: Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education" (November 1968).
[58] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File "N: Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (November 1968). The Foundation's Board of Directors was comprised of CYC members: Harold Sault, Ron Christansen, Mildred Barrett, Priscilla Simard, William John, and Liora Proctor.
[59] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 2.

With connections to the CBC, Proctor worked for radio Kenomadiwin for three years.[60] Working executives Harold Linklater served as president and Priscilla Morrisseau (Simard) acted as secretary respectively. Willy La Chance, Dave Loonfoot, and George Simard rounded out the first Kenomadiwin Radio team.[61]

From the beginning CYC Indigenous members defined, in specific terms, what constituted 'community radio' after consulting communities in northwestern Ontario. The following criteria for the radio station were reached through community consensus. First, the radio station had to be mobile and go to the people. Secondly, programming must include content that was local in origin, produced in Ojibway. Thirdly, the operating costs had to be inexpensive, financed primarily with the resources at hand, through the CYC and private donations.[62] In addition, technologically it had to be simple and user friendly so people would use it, build it and fix it without fear.[63] Overall it "had to look like it belonged in the community, spoke for the community, and educated people to political activity within the community."[64] The radio station provided "a forum for people within communities to express and develop their views" and aimed to be "responsive to the needs and wants of the native people."[65] According to the *LightBulb/Kenomadiwin News*, the goals for the community radio project were not only to establish a regular weekly

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[60] See Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media including a Book on Community Radio," MA thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1973, 9.
[61] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 2.
[62] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File "N: Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (November 1968). The partial list of supporters in the electronics industry and broadcasting association included: Tomar Publications, Minnesota Mining Company, Andrew Antenna, Electrovoice Corporation, Caldwell A.V. Equipment, Boston Insulation Company, Prodelin, Timmins Broadcasting, Warner Bros., Quality Records, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, CJRT, Phonodisc Records, E.S. Gould Sales, Abitibi (Radio Division). Radio Stations supporters included: CBD, CFOC, CKDR, CHTM, CFPL, CKEY, CJOB, CKDR (Dryden), CKPR (Port Arthur), and CKXL.
[63] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 14.
[64] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 14.
[65] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Operations 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970: Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (July 30, 1968), unpaginated.

broadcast in both English and Ojibway, or Anishinaabemowin, on several radio stations, but also to increase the participation of the community in the content and direction of the radio programs. The radio programs were to be "their voice," an expression of whatever views, issues and information the targeted communities wished to address. The more long-term vision for the community radio project was the establishment of a small educational radio station "run by and for the people of NWO."[66]

Initially the radio station, considered 'low-power' radio, was unlicensed and operated from an Econoline van. The van travelled between Indian communities, offering programming broadcast in Native languages and gathering news to be shared between reserves. The van was used for live "broadcasting" into community halls and gatherings. The mobile radio drove vast distances between communities in inclement weather and road conditions. The total mileage of the trip was approximately 700 miles and included the Lake Helen Reserve near Nipigon; Pays Plat Reserve; Long Lac Reserves, #77 7 55; Rocky Bay near McDiarmid; as well as communities such as Geraldton, Nakina, and Armstrong with large populations of Indigenous peoples identified as "squatters."[67] The radio station was to "provide a forum for people to express their views." The van would

[66] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 3. This same issue reports on the Cree Radio Program in Alberta established by Eugene Steinhauer providing inspiration that the same be achieved in North Western Ontario. Article titled "Cree Radio Program Has Good Response" looks to the success of Ed Steinhauer and Ed Burnstick leaders in Western Aboriginal media who founded the Alberta Native Communications Society (ANCS), the magazine *The Native People* (1968-82) as well as Eugene Steinhauer's efforts to establish a Cree Radio broadcast. These two men serve as important profiles of 'the native activist.' Eugene Steinhauer came from a long tradition of activism and advocacy, as did many 60s and 70s native activists. Ed Burnstick illustrates how activism had many dimensions. Burnstick was instrumental in bringing the American Indian Movement (AIM) to Canada. Expand on this using the *Light-Bulb* April 1968 article on Burnstick, the radio broadcast and the issues.

[67] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File N "Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (November 1968). "Kenomadiwin on the Road Again," *LightBulb* April 1968. The absurdity of the language that identified First peoples as 'squatters' is important in understanding how settler communities rationalized excluding 'Indians' from all town services and institutions. The community of Armstrong denied Indigenous children the right to attend the town school (see chapter 3 for more comprehensive discussion.)

spend one day a week in each community and broadcast for five or six hours per day. The equipment needs required to perform "live" broadcasts were modest: one 40 watt mobile transmitting unit and antenna, one turntable and speakers, one amplifier, two outdoor speakers for a public announcing system, one 16mm projector and screen, surplus tapes, and records (mainly Country and Western).[68]

Kenomadiwin Radio attracted the attention and disapproval of the DIAND. In this particular instance, the DIAND did not appear to anticipate the need to interfere in the project. Deputy minister of Indian Affairs R.F. Battle's assessment of the possibility of the radio project succeeding is smug in its prediction of failure: "It is very doubtful, that the technical, financial, and legal difficulties inherent in this proposal can be successfully overcome."[69] The proposal envisioned a radio station with six permanent antennas while remaining mobile between communities. Yet the antenna system "would be a simple wire strung between two pine trees."[70] The makeshift effort of Kenomadiwin Radio makes the 'modernity' of technology seem incongruent, as technology is adapted to suit the environment and context of its use.

The initial impetus in creating a northern radio station was for political purposes, and "seemed to fit well with an underlying hostility to the Department of Indian Affairs and to white men's society in general."[71] This deep-seated anger towards white society by Native participants manifested itself in the interaction between native and non-native

[68] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File N "Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (November 1968).
[69] LAC, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds (hereafter DIAND), RG 22 Box 970 File 99-2-335 "Company Activities Related to Departmental Interests: Appendix by R.F. Battle" (December 16, 1968).
[70] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 15.
[71] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 14.

CYC participants involved in the radio project.[72] However the Native and non-Native participants, according to Liora Proctor, were committed to working through these valid yet immobilizing feelings and "everyone in the original group felt good about taking the time to develop trust and group solidarity."[73]

As Indigenous media Kenomadiwin Radio and *Kenomadiwin News* were not created to function as "separate entities but as instruments to be used within the context of the larger plan."[74] The "larger plan" was organizing northern Indigenous communities "to be able to confront the elements of white society which have oppressed them for so long and to begin to force these elements to drastically change their manner of relating to native people."[75] Interestingly, when members of Kenomadiwin Radio submitted a proposal to the CRTC for licensing approval, the radio station's purpose was presented very differently. The proposal stated that, "Kenomadiwin [was] an attempt to use radio as a tool of community development. The idea is that radio can be used as an educational medium helping people develop an articulate understanding of their problems."[76] The proposal downplays the radical potential of the endeavour, couching its aim as one of benign community development. This framing differs from the language employed in *Kenomadiwin News* whose readership was comprised of Indigenous peoples in question and not government agencies. The language in newspapers such as *Kenomadiwin News*, communicated a more moderate discourse. Radio Kenomadiwin's mandate presented the same sentiment as the Indian Film Crew's: "To serve as a catalyst. To promote better

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[72] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 15.
[73] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 16.
[74] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 181 File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton."
[75] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 181 File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton."
[76] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 184 File "N: Proposal for Northern Ojibway Radio for Community Education," (November 1968).

understanding between Indian and White communities."[77] Kenomadiwin Radio's Native participants were forced to deal with colonialist institutions and engage with non-native bureaucrats licensing practices. As a result, Kenomadiwin Radio participants developed a "double speak," using palatable language that was recognizable to bureaucratic institutions. Self-censorship or 'double-speak' was employed as a means of securing funds. The words "political activity" were replaced with "community development," and the use of the term "information" in document became neutral, innocuous. The original members of Kenomadiwin Radio used this shift in language but their radical positions remained unchanged. Kenomadiwin members adhered to their agenda to use radio as a vehicle to disseminate information and create unity among isolated communities in order to promote action that would result in social change and self-determination for Indian people.

However, with numerous and lengthy delays and setbacks, the Kenomadiwin Northern Ojibway Radio Station took almost four years to establish. By that time, all of the original membership with strong political motivations for creating community radio had moved on, and "the Kenomadiwin that was licenced bore little resemblance to what the original group had wanted."[78] The disingenuous intent of the language used in promotional material and in government reports, was lost on the new recruits who accepted the language at face value.

Regardless, Kenomadiwin Radio boasted the first community broadcast radio effort licensed by the Canadian Radio and Television Commission in Canada (CRTC).[79] A permanent antenna was established at Long Lac, with broadcasting starting in 1973.

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[77] *LightBulb*, January 1968, 2.
[78] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 15.
[79] Liora Salter, "An Exploration of Citizen Participation in the Media," 1.

Although Kenomadiwin Radio gave people access and control of local Indigenous-run media, setting up a permanent station was a trade-off to the original vision of Kenomadiwin as a mobile community radio station.[80] Other Indigenous radio programming existed prior to the creation of Kenomadiwin Radio, however these programmes were piggybacked on non-Indigenous network radio stations, such as CBC North. Despite shifting from an Indigenous activist agenda to a state sponsored community development model, Kenomadiwin Radio represents groundbreaking media in Canada. Out of necessity to serve and unite isolated Indigenous communities in the north, the experimental efforts of community-based radio emerged. Members of the Kenomadiwin Radio took non-Indigenous radio technology in Canada, with all its structural colonialist baggage and made it their own – community-based broadcasting. That said the technology of community-based radio did not, in and of itself, serve to promote Aboriginal culture or self-determination. Moreover, Kenomadiwin Radio was coopted by the state, used to promote community development and not social activism. R.F. Battle was mistaken: Kenomadiwin Radio did succeed in achieving its goal of licensing, however its role as a catalyst was neutralized.

Still, the Micropower American Pirate Radio Kiosk (MAPRK) website, geared towards activists and anarchists, and bearing the motto "Kill capitalism before it kills you!" recognizes the CYC initiative as groundbreaking. MAPRK credits Kenomadiwin Radio, for establishing "practical and policy precedents which allowed the development of future community-based radio experiments in southern cities and towns" in Canada.[81]

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[80] LAC, CYC, RG116 Box 182 "Developing a Community Base for the Operation of Radio Kenomadiwin."

[81] C. Fairchild, "The Canadian Alternative: A Brief History of Unlicensed and Low Power Radio," in *Seizing the Airwaves: A Free Radio Handbook* ed., R. Sakolsky and S. Dunifer (San Francisco 1998), 50.

On an international level, Kenomadiwin Radio is one of the models upon which other low frequency community-radio operate, and has "provided invaluable insights that have help[ed] shape and inform subsequent community radio efforts."[82] Kenomadiwin serves as an example of a "grassroots" initiative with the potential to "create democratic media systems."[83] Heady accolades for a simple wire strung between two pine trees.

Akwesasne Notes/News

On December 18th, 1968 at 9am, on the windswept International Seaway Bridge Crossing, 150 people from the community of St. Regis used themselves and their vehicles to form a blockade and brought all bridge traffic to a halt. At issue was the Canadian government's attempt to restrict the free movement of Indians to travel across the international border with goods without paying customs as guaranteed to them according to the provisions made by the Jay Treaty of 1794.[84] The St. Regis reserve, also known as Akwesasne[85] is Mohawk territory and straddles the US/Canadian border, as well as the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and the state of New York. The Mohawk Nation has asserted its sovereignty within its territorial boundaries through various means, one of which was through a tradition and legacy of activism. The purpose of the protest was to dramatize the plight of the Mohawk people, thereby garnering enough political support to pressure the Canadian government into

[82] Kevin Howley, "Wireless World: Global Perspectives on Community Radio," *Transformations: Journal of Media & Culture*, 10 (February 2005) http://www.transformationsjournal.org/journal/issue_10/article_01.shtml

[83] Abhilaksh Likhi, "Globalization, Public Sphere and Community Media: Issues, Initiatives and the Road Ahead," *Panjab University Research Journal (Arts)* XXXIV/1&2 (April-October 2007): 45.

[84] The Jay Treaty clause on freedom of Indian movement was based on the sovereign status of Indian nations, which could not be abrogated by a treaty to which they were not a party.

[85] Translation from Haudenosaunee: "Where the Partridge Drums."

ratifying the Jay Treaty. The bridge blockade lasted less than five hours.[86] Forty-two people, young and old, were arrested on charges of obstruction.[87] This relatively brief direct action resulted in long-term consequences of transnational significance: "a bold act which attracted media attention from throughout the world and raised the spirits of Native people throughout Anowarakowa (Great Turtle) Island."[88] Not only did this political protest attract media attention, it was also a catalyst in creating media. The mimeographed newsletter *Akwesasne Notes* arose from this political exigency.[89]

Two of the main organizers of the blockade, Ernest Benedict and Mike Mitchell, were also two of the founders and editors of *Akwesasne Notes.*[90] At the time, Ernest Benedict-Kaientaronkwen, a former ironworker turned educator was 50 years of age. Mike Mitchell - Kanentakeron was a young man of 25, an activist and an articulate, resolute spokesperson for Indian people. Educator and traditionalist Tom Porter -Sakokwenionkwas,[91] and non-native activist and honorary Mohawk, Jerry Gambill – Rarihokwats[92] rounded out the editorial staff. These men believed that the tactics of activism and the power of the media could effect change.

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[86] The event was filmed by the NFB's Challenge for Change and became the documentary "You Are On Indian Land." See Chapter 5 for discussion.
[87] The exception was Kahn-Tineta Horn, who was also charged with "possession of an offensive weapon." The offensive weapon in question was a pocketknife.
[88] Doug George-Kanentiio, "Supreme Court Loss a Call for Direct Action," www.peace4turtleisland.org/pages/bordercrossingkanentiio.htm
[89] The other outcome was the creation of the film *You Are On Indian Land,* which inspired Richard Oakes in the takeover of Alcatraz. Alcatraz is considered the event that sparked the Red Power Movement throughout North America and will be discussed in chapter five.
[90] Kahn-Tineta Horn drew a lot of media attention. A beautiful, outspoken, sometimes outrageous Mohawk woman, she wore provocative clothing and performed outrageous acts. She was not from the community of St. Regis/Akwesasne but from neighbouring Kanawake. She did not speak for the community of Akwesasne. Benedict and Mitchell confirmed this fact and viewed some of her more controversial tactics and statements as detrimental to the cause.
[91] Translation from Haudenosaunee: "The One Who Wins."
[92] Translation from Haudenosaunee: "The One Who Digs Up Information."

Because *Akwesasne Notes* did not possess the financial resources or the staff to produce enough copy for a monthly publication, the newspaper reprinted local and national coverage of events in both Canada and the United States from mainstream non-native publications, adding handwritten commentaries in the margins. Following the incident on the international bridge, the January 1st, 1969 edition of *Akwesasne Notes* carried articles from the *Philadelphia Inquirer*,[93] the *Ottawa Citizen*, the *Globe and Mail*, as well as local publications from both sides of the border. However, not all of the stories "from the front pages of North America's newspapers"[94] supported an Indigenous point of view. Articles chronicling the events at Akwesasne carried misleading information on the status of negotiations between Mohawk people and the government of Canada. Cognizant that this information was being communicated to the North American public, the editors of *Akwesasne* contested the inaccuracies contained within these reprinted articles clarifying that in fact, "No agreement ha [d] been reached despite press reports on previous pages."[95] Other mainstream articles such as, "Our Police: Well-Deserved Praise," placed a hegemonic veneer over events.[96] Again, the editors of *Akwesasne Notes* critiqued non-native journalists' colonialist assumptions, raising the question: "whose police?"[97] For further emphasis, inked in the margins alongside two photographs depicting the arrests of the bridge protestors, the statement "the police were not on *our* side," drives home the point.[98] This technique was an economically effective strategy of providing extensive North American coverage on current events while simultaneously producing an Indigenous voice in the media.

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[93] "The Oldest Daily Newspaper in the United States- Founded in 1771."
[94] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated.
[95] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated.
[96] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated.
[97] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated.
[98] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated. (Emphasis mine)

In part, the creation and distribution of *Akwesasne Notes* was a reaction to the forty-two people arrested: the publication was a pragmatic means to raise money for their legal defense.[99] In the top right-hand corner of the front page, handwritten information regarding the 'Legal Costs Benefit Fund' was provided. If you wished you could mail your contributions to "E. Benedict Route 3, Cornwall Ontario or phone (613) 932-0230."[100] A modern "moccasin telegraph," the newspaper networked with rural and urban Indigenous communities across North America in the hopes of securing funds. After the charges for those arrested were dropped and legal funds were no longer required, the editors of *Notes* continued to network with individuals and organizations across the continent, connecting with communities beyond the boundaries of the Reserve. The editorial staff nurtured alliances formed with both native and non-native communities across the continent. In the March 1969 issue, Ernest Benedict, Tom Porter, and Mike Mitchell co-author "an editor's view" urging readers to "write us and let us know your feelings" that "letters of support and encouragement will help keep our hearts strong."[101] Although the newspaper's content carried many articles concerning Indigenous peoples in Canada, the newspaper's readership appears to be decidedly American. In the September 1969 issue of the "Editors' Mailbag" what stands out are the place names; letters came from towns such as Harrisburg, Pennsylvania; Crown Point, New Mexico; Portage, Indiana; Shawano, Wisconsin; Wapato, Washington; Lakeland, Florida; and East Hartford, Connecticut. Inhabitants of the United States signed the vast majority of responses, published in the "Letters to the Editors" section. Seeking support through whatever means necessary, Mitchell, Benedict, Porter, and Gambill connected with both radical and moderate community development individuals and

[99] Mike Mitchell a CYC/NFB IFC member was among the people arrested.
[100] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, unpaginated.
[101] *Akwesasne Notes* March 1969, 15.

organizations. Many donations and subscriptions from a wide range of organizations were postmarked in the United States. Subscription requests came from the Director of the Museum of the American Indian in New York as well as the Association of the Red Man. Educators such as the Librarian from Black Hills State College in Spearfish, South Dakota also joined the *Akwesasne Notes* list of subscribers.

The Company of Young Canadians also contributed to *Akwesasne Notes*. Although *Notes* editor Jerry Gambill's past experience with Indian Affairs and the CYC executive was a repeatedly negative one, the government-sponsored youth activist organization and the publication of *Akwesasne Notes* were enmeshed in various, sometimes convoluted, financial and interpersonal ways. All four of the editorial staff received or had received remuneration from the Company of Young Canadians, but not in their capacities as editors. In 1967 Jerry Gambill, then regional director of programs for the CYC,[102] established a structure for the North American Indian Travelling College that placed control in the hands of the Mohawk organizers. This structuring provided then director Ernest Benedict a distance from the Canadian state affording him discretionary powers in terms of spending and programming not available to other CYC programs. Benedict was on the CYC's payroll at the time he co-created *Akwesasne Notes*. The CYC also provided finances for a significant portion of the College's programming budget, which included hiring Tom Porter as an educational consultant. Mitchell was a member of the NFB's All Indian Film Crew, but he was paid through the CYC, classified as a volunteer within the North American Indian Travelling

[102] Gambill worked for the CYC starting in June 1, 1967. He was fired amid a cloud of controversy in a non-work related matter in the summer of 1968. Gambill was accused of having sex with a male CYC volunteer. By the time *Akwesasne Notes* was created in the winter of 1968, Gambill was back living in the community of Akwesasne, no longer on the payroll as the CYC's regional program director.

College program. Money was but one resource available to the editors through their involvement with the CYC.

The Company of Young Canadians, through its nationwide volunteers and field workers that included a roster of native activists and organizers within its ranks, supplied the newspaper with a national network that would not have otherwise existed. Prior to the establishment of *Akwesasne Notes*, Jerry Gambill, again as regional director of CYC programs, crisscrossed Canada on a regular basis, visiting volunteers in the field. Mitchell and Benedict also had the opportunity to travel extensively as members of the CYC. Visiting Native communities across the country, all three men established personal connections and formed alliances with Native and non-native CYC volunteers, as well as Indigenous community members. When the Mohawk newspaper emerged in 1968, these relationships provided a ready-made national network of correspondents and valuable sources documenting and participating in Aboriginal political mobilization in Canada. Reciprocally, *Akwesasne Notes* provided a transnational forum where Native CYC project volunteers could voice their concerns, highlight their efforts and increase the potential to sustain support beyond the local, passing along 'news' occurring in remote parts of the country.

Akwesasne Notes' 1969 coverage of the isolated Métis community of Loon Lake offers a fitting illustration of the interconnectedness. The CYC had begun work in Loon Lake; conjunctively Willie Dunn and the IFC were shooting a documentary on the abysmal living conditions in the northern Alberta community. Sickened by the poverty that they witnessed, Willie Dunn, along with community members and other CYC volunteers, including 20-year-old Rose Auger, organized a protest march. The group marched 488 kilometres to the provincial legislature in Edmonton in the hopes of raising awareness. The

demonstration had the desired effect of precipitating mainstream media attention; it also got Dunn and Auger arrested on charges of obstruction. In the months that ensued, the Mohawk newspaper ran several articles highlighting the aftermath of this direct action.

Generally, the analysis of the Loon Lake action privileged militant mobilization, through legal and political means. In the April 1969 issue of *Notes*[103] a reprinted article on the University of Alberta's International Week warns that "Only Indians' patience [is] holding back violent revolution." Indigenous CYC volunteer Rose Auger, one of the speakers at the event, lays out the inevitably of militancy "unless something is done darn fast." Auger is also quoted stating: "If you had to live in the conditions such as those which the native people in Loon Lake live, you'd be marching down to Edmonton in two weeks flat." [104] Other articles in *Notes* chronicle activism in Loon Lake as the issue went through the court system, such as the formation of the Native Peoples Defense Fund of Alberta. The Defense Fund was created to combat the fact that Native people in general "received unfair treatment from police and in the courts"[105] following an incident that occurred four month earlier on January 6, 1969 in Canyon Creek.[106] Both articles recounted the successful acquittal of Rose Auger with the help received from the Defense Fund, and told of the unfortunate conviction of Willie Dunn.[107]

Two photographs printed in *Notes* on the Loon Lake affair effectively frame the relationship and tactics of Indigenous activism and the CYC. The first newspaper image shows a stockpile of food goods; the other depicts a crowd shot of Indian protestors carrying

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[103] Jerry Gambill had taken over as editor of the newspaper.
[104] *Akwesasne Notes* April 1969, 4.
[105] *Akwesasne Notes* June 1969, unpaginated.
[106] A brawl at a local tavern involving Native and non-native patrons resulted in the arrest of only the Native participants. Willie Dunn, Rose Auger, and Tony Antoine were all arrested. Antoine was president of NARP and had come to northern Alberta to help the CYC and the IFC organize in the area.
[107] Dunn ignored the advice of council and pleaded guilty to the charge of obstruction.

placards. According to the short caption under the first photo, the food was seized by Canadian Customs officials, removed from a truck "laden with cartons of food for a starving Indian family at the reservation at Loon Lake."[108] One of the leaders of the food drive was Mike Mitchell who had again staged a blockade of the Seaway International Bridge, this time in protest of the confiscated goods. Mitchell refused to pay duty on the items brought from the U.S. side of the border. The two photographic images express the layers of connections between the newspaper and its editors and the Red Power movement and the Company of Young Canadians. Many times *Akwesasne Notes* did not explicitly state what the connections of Indigenous activists with the Company of Young Canadians were. For example, articles in the June 1969 issue of *Notes* address the disapproval by Ontario Indians over the lack of meaningful consultation on the part of Indian Affairs concerning the proposed White Paper. The words of Harold 'Buddy' Sault denouncing the proposal as insulting are cited: "At this point in Canadian history white people are searching for their identity. I don't have to. I'm an Ojibway Indian on my own land and I'll die an Indian on my own land."[109] Sault was an organizer, a member of the Union of Ontario Indians, as well as being a long time northwestern Ontario CYC member, and editor of *Kenomadiwin News*.

Even when illustrating the government's lack of accountability towards Indigenous peoples, the publication chose examples that also demonstrated acts of dissent. Not only did *Notes* publish articles documenting the opposition from Indigenous communities, such as those in Ontario concerning the gross inadequacies of the state, the newspaper also illustrated that opposition to government policies concerning Indians took root within government departments and organizations. One story headline, "10 Indian officials quit; Legislature in

[108] *Akwesasne Notes* March 1969, 2.
[109] *Akwesasne Notes* June 1969, unpaginated.

uproar," tells of a mass resignation.[110] The entire staff of the Indian community Development Branch of Social and Family Services gave their notice, protesting the government's subterfuge surrounding its promise to follow through on meaningful community development.

The editors of *Akwesasne Notes* were well aware of the ability of information to influence actions, sometimes in profound ways that could not be foreseen. They were also well aware of the power of information to shape history by creating myths for posterity. As today, the writing of history acts as a method of contributing to a cultural identity, perpetuating the myths of communities and of nations. Benedict, Mitchell, Porter and Gambill documented the blockade and the events that followed through print media "so that the people of St. Regis [could] have a historical record of their struggle to win rights for themselves and other North American Indians."[111] The newsletter then served to write a history that was reflective and representative of the people of Akwesasne.

More broadly, the newspaper served as a vehicle and part of an emerging transnational political movement to raise awareness and gain supporters of Indian causes. In its first year of publication 'the cause' that *Note*'s editors wished to keep in the public's mind was "the story of Akwesasne's struggle."[112] The editors believed that what was at stake was not merely self-interest on the part of the Mohawk people, but that the fight "to protect the right of North American (Indians) to travel freely" held transnational significance. Indian leaders across North America, both moderate and militant, agreed. In support of the position taken by the community of Akwesasne, Benjamin Paul, an official for the North American Indian Brotherhood stated: "As far as Indians are concerned, there is no demarcation line at

[110] *Akwesasne Notes* May 1969, 1.
[111] *Akwesasne Notes* March 1969, 6.
[112] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, 1.

the 49th parallel."[113] Ray Bobb, a spokesman for the radical west coast based group Native Alliance for Red Power (NARP), concurred, "We are citizens firstly of North America."[114] The statement is representative of a pan-Indian discourse that gained currency within Indigenous communities during the late 1960s and continued into the 1970s.

Aboriginal leaders not only articulated the legitimacy of Aboriginal title; they also viewed direct action as a valid strategy for change, whose time had come. Although radicals like Bobb took the predictable stance that the blockade was the "sort of action that [was] necessary and good,"[115] they were not alone in support of activism. Telegrams from across the North American continent, carrying statements of solidarity for the actions taken by the Akwesasne protestors, were posted in the newspaper: "Stick to your guns. The Indian People of Vancouver Island B.C. are behind you one hundred percent. Its time we acted rather than talked."[116] Chief Phillip Paul's words of encouragement exemplify the kind of correspondence sent to the editors of *Notes*. These communiqués are representative of the widespread belief among Indigenous leaders in the 60s that the sovereignty of First Nations, which existed prior to the arbitrary demarcation of settler states boundaries, continued to exist. The collective push to guarantee this sovereignty and Indian rights in general culminated in what was coined the Red Power movement.

In the first year of publication *Akwesasne Notes* regularly featured stories documenting the rise of Red Power. The presented text consistently reflects a radical tone, turning its readerships gaze more often than not towards activism – and to Canada. The editors highlighted the efforts of Indigenous peoples across the continent, including the

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[113] *Globe and Mail*, 20 December 1968, reprinted in *Akwesasne Notes* 1 January 1969, unpaginated.
[114] *Akwesasne Notes* January 1969, 7.
[115] *Globe and Mail*, 20 December 1968, reprinted in *Akwesasne Notes* 1 January 1969, unpaginated.
[116] *Akwesasne Notes* December 1968, unpaginated.

activities of Indians north of the 49th parallel. As one article declared in its opening remarks, "Indian Power has raised a militant fist in Canada."[117] Still another story titled "Indians Organize" informs the reader that, "the foundations were laid this week for the rise of Red Power as a significant factor in the life of Hay River" in the North West Territories.[118] Two other articles relate how the Montagnais had clashed with Quebec police over fishing rights.[119] The message the editors of *Akwesasne Notes* wished to impart is epitomized in the November 1969 issue. Hand-written in block letters in the middle of the page are the words: "The way you get power is to take it."[120] The commentary is in reference to the actions taken by *Notes* editor Mike Mitchell. For two years Mitchell battled the St. Lawrence Seaway Bridge Authorities, pushing to have a fence that divided his property removed. The fence prevented him from building a road to his home. Mitchell's negotiations with the Bridge Authorities and the Department of Indian Affairs had become mired in a bureaucratic inertia. Mitchell found a solution to his problem: he cut the fence.[121] Communicating radicalism was a means of both, informing Aboriginal peoples of events and strategies used in other communities across Canada, as well as a growing sense of unity.

In retrospect, the closing remarks of the first issue of *Akwesasne Notes* ring out as a call to arms, foreshadowing events of transnational significance: "There is more to come. Our big struggle is yet to happen. Indians of North America: Our struggle is your struggle. Hear our words. Tell us of your support. Join us when we call."[122] In November's

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[117] *Akwesasne Notes* June 1969, 14.
[118] *Akwesasne Notes* September 1969. Originally taken from *Tapwe* an independent newspaper published in Hay River, N.W.T.
[119] Philip Winslow, "Police, Indians clash," and "Ask probe of warden's behavior," *Akwesasne Notes* June 1969.
[120] *Akwesasne Notes* November 1969, unpaginated.
[121] *Akwesasne Notes* November 1969. Reprinted from article, "Indian protests About Fence On His Property-Wants To Build Home," *Standard-Freeholder* Cornwall, Ontario.
[122] *Akwesasne Notes* January1969, 1.

publication,[123] almost a year to the day of the bridge blockade at Akwesasne, having maintained a radical focus, married to the single issue that had spawned its existence. A new focus emerged. The headline taken from the *New York Times* on 10 December 1969 reads, "'Silent too damn long' Alcatraz: Taken Back." The article, written by journalist Earl Caldwell, tells the story of the militant, united and disciplined Indian takeover of the island of Alcatraz.[124] The Indians of All Tribes organized the protest with Richard Oakes serving as the unofficial spokesperson for the group on the island. Oakes was a young twenty-six year old Mohawk from the Akwesasne Reserve studying in the San Francisco Bay area. Oakes had family connections to the community, as well as political connections. The actions and words of the Mohawk protestors related to readers across the continent had a huge impact, none perhaps more significant than the impact on the Indians of All Tribes. According to editor Doug George-Kanentiio: "Mike Mitchell gave hope to other young aboriginal leaders including our own Richard Oakes, then a college student in San Francisco and within months to become an organizer of the occupation of Alcatraz Island in November 1969."[125]

Akwesasne Notes achieved a strong political presence in the late 1960s and early 1970s, with a distribution that spanned the North American continent. At its peak the publication had a circulation of over 100,000.[126] Throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s *Akwesasne Notes* regularly printed articles concerning the fight of Indigenous peoples world

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[123] Either there was a delay in the publication by a month or the date of the issue is a misprint for the takeover of Alcatraz happened on December 9th, 1969.
[124] Former federal penitentiary closed on March 21, 1963.
[125] The quotation is taken from Doug George-Kanentiio's website. Doug George-Kanentiio was the editor for *Akwesasne Notes* in the 1980s. He is the co-founder of the Native American Journalists Association. According to his biography from Greenwood Publishing Group, Douglas Kanentiio was born and raised on the shores of the Kaniatarowanenneh (St. Lawrence) River on the Akwesasne Mohawk Territory. An award-winning writer and journalist, Kanentiio has also worked as a land claims negotiator, was co-founder of Radio CKON, as well as the editor of *Akwesasne Notes* with its changed format as a journal. He resides on Oneida Territory with his wife, the singer Joanne Shenandoah.
[126] Alice Beck Kehoe, *North American Indians: A Comprehensive Account* (New Jersey 1981), 254.

wide, following stories of activism and protest around the globe. In the 1980s, due to internal political strife in the community of Akwesasne, the newspaper folded.[127]

The Honey Bucket

Not all CYC grassroots publications succeeded as tools in promoting social change or Indigenous unity; nor did they achieve transnational distribution levels. Some CYC supported publications, such as the *Faust News*, appear to have functioned in a more modest capacity as a weekly community news bulletin.[128] It appears that other CYC newsletters, such as the *Lesser Slave Lake News*, did not succeed as viable publications, or at least their circulation or longevity was such that I was unable to uncover any surviving archival material. I offer several possible hypotheses to explain this phenomenon. Some publications may not have been effective at increasing their distributorship, or were unable to promote Indigenous community participation. Without contributors to the newspaper's content, participants to help with operations, or a loyal readership, newsletters would not be sustainable. In the case of the CYC sponsored newsletter the *Honey Bucket*, the successfulness of the publication is undetermined. Moreover it is difficult to ascertain the impact or the significance of the publication as only one issue was found. Cognizant that the following analysis is based upon one issue of the publication only, the language within the publication and the controversy surrounding its distribution in the NWT region are nonetheless worth examining.

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[127] The community of Akwesasne was taken over by gambling and cross-border smuggling operations. *Akwesasne Notes* regularly printed articles opposing these rising forces within the community. The newspaper's building was burned to the ground, contributors and their families were threatened, and in 1998 the issue of intimidation came to a head with a shoot out on the reserve. One person was killed with the editor of *Akwesasne Notes* arrested for murder.

[128] See http://www.albertburger.com/company%20of%20young%20canadians.html for sample publication.

The sixth issue of the *Honey Bucket* (1971) appears true to its namesake. The North West Territories CYC newsletter was provocative and controversial, alienating, it appears, to Natives and non-natives alike, an equal opportunity offensive publication. The publication includes a healthy dose of profanity, and extreme dialogue. Slogans such as "power to the people," "decide today!" and "up with the revolution," also dot the issue, along with diatribes about the "commissars' doings" in the north. An excerpt, allegedly, taken from a CBC interview with S.M. Hodgson, then Commissioner for the North West Territories is cited, exposing Hodgson's racist assumptions: "Whites are a little more sophisticated in some areas. This is true." Political poetry and lyrics from a song by Raymond Sonfrere entitled, "Sad Change" are also included. In the majority of articles, including "The Law as an Ass," and "The Commisar (sic) Opens a 'Sewage Plant,'" the contributors are anonymous, signing with either a pseudonym or with initials. Particularly revealing is the "Letters to the Editors" section, which begins with the disclaimer: "We don't have to listen to you, or love you, in order to print you. We refuse to be responsible for you." One satirical letter to the editor entitled "A Message from the Tepee: by two whites (Aryans)" begs the question of "how much longer will pussy-footing liberals, tax-gorging Indian-lovers be allowed to spend PUBLIC money?" The dig is perhaps in reference to the CYC's presence in the area. The article concludes: "Racism must not be allowed to obscure the harsh economic reality. Rebellion will be squashed, roads will be built, and money will be printed. Law and order will return, poverty will be abolished and the subversive CBC will not be allowed to remain a den of Communists." A swastika with a dollar sign serves as a watermark underneath the names of the authors 'Adolf and Ayn.' Another letter signed 'dissatisfied' lambastes the publication, stating that the *Honey Bucket* was run by "a bunch of stoned freaks venting

[their] frustrations on a gullible unsuspecting public." The letter also claimed that the civil servants in the region, who account for the majority of the readers, are just as neurotic as the editors of the newspaper. The publication's editor was Peter Puxley, a CYC staffer who, with the help of his wife Lois, put out the *Honey Bucket.* Contributors to the 1971 issue include other CYC volunteers. Some of these volunteers, however, were also young members of local communities. In the case of Ray Sonfrere he was also a leader, part of the newly formed Indian Brotherhood in the NWT. Oddly the assistant editor of the *Honey Bucket* also submitted a letter to the editor, in which he describes the publication, that he is a part of, as "pointless, dull, and unreadable." The letter also accuses the newspaper of promoting "liberal and adolescent views," and concludes that the cost of a quarter is "too much to pay for a bunch of garbage."[129] In May 1971, S.M. Hodgson forwarded the issue of the *Honey Bucket* as proof of the unstable nature of the CYC to Jean Chretien Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development in order to plead the case for the suspension of all CYC activities in the NWT.

Conclusion

During the late 1960s and early 1970s Indigenous peoples worked to harness control over what information concerning them was imparted, and how it was disseminated in both Indian country and the rest of North America. Newspapers, journals, magazines, radio and television programming created and run by First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples, sprung up across Canada and the United States. With Aboriginal media, Indigenous peoples gained the means to control what content was created and how it was disseminated, with an Indigenous voice as the voice of authority and the predominant target audience a North American Indigenous

[129] LAC, DIAND, AYC-CYC, RG 22 Box 970 File 99-2-335 "The Honey Bucket 6" (date unknown).

one. Aboriginal media meant the power to make culture - creating programming that held Indigenous content, worldviews and values. Whether radical or conventional, militant or moderate, Indigenous leaders in the Sixties used Aboriginal media to foster unity among Native peoples, and to promote and preserve Indigenous language, culture and history.

Chapter 5: Film and the CYC, Making Culture

Indigenous film and audio, like print media, was a means to support Indigenous activism. Like print media, film and audio were used in the effort to achieve social change. The technology of film, more specifically hand-held video, was adapted, incorporated to suit the needs of Indigenous peoples, and then used against the colonial power structures. This chapter examines the CYC/NFB supported audio/visual projects of the All-Indian-Film Crew (IFC). The first section provides an overview of the Challenge for Change and the re-focus on Indigenous peoples as media makers.[1] An analysis of the formation of the Indian Film Crew and key issues to emerge from the program will be given.[2] Of particular interest is how the All-Indian-Film Crew used film and audio to further an Indigenous political agenda, negotiated through their sometimes-competing roles as CYC volunteers, NFB filmmakers, and Indigenous activists, and how non-Indigenous members within both the CYC and CC formed alliances with the IFC. What is of interest is how Indigenous youth in the CYC used media as a tool, incorporating media representations as part of a complete strategy of resistance. How did CYC Indigenous volunteers negotiate autonomy that, in and of itself, represented and attempted to facilitate the wider goal of Indigenous self-determination? What were the repercussions of such actions within the organizations that they participated in? Ultimately what effects, if any, did CYC generated media have on Indigenous communities and Canada?

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[1] It is beyond the scope of this chapter to provide a detailed historical analysis of the Challenge for Change. See Thomas Waugh, Michael Brendan, and Ezra Winton, eds. *Challenge for Change: Activist Documentary at the National Film Board of Canada* (Montreal 2010) for an overview of the National Film Board's social change program.

[2] See Michelle Stewart, "The Indian Film Crews of Challenge for Change: Representation and the State," *Canadian Journal of Film Studies/Revue Canadienne D'Études Cinématographiques*, 16/2 (Fall 2007): 49-81 for an excellent discussion of Challenge for Change films and the Indian Film Crew.

NFB Challenge for Change

The Company of Young Canadians and the National Film Board, a stand-alone federal agency, were two organizations that believed in the power and transformative potential of Indigenous media in society. Handing over the technological means to produce cultural and political representations in media to the masses was in keeping with the CYC and the NFB's Challenge for Change (CC) mandates of promoting participatory democracy, social change and Indigenous self-determination. The magnificently blunt statement "enough films have been made by Whites about Indians,"[3] articulated in 1968 by the NFB's first CC director John Kemeny, epitomizes the rationale of Challenge for Change to re-imagine its role with Indigenous peoples in Canada. Kemeny's words succinctly explain the reasoning behind the creation of the CC/CYC's All-Indian-Film Crew. The words also sum up the CYC and the NFB's CC participation in a more widespread phenomenon: the proliferation of Indigenous print, radio, and television media production across Canada and the United States.

In 1967 the National Film Board of Canada designed the Challenge for Change film program in order "to improve communications, create greater understanding, and promote new ideas"[4] between dominant and marginalized communities in Canada. However, in order for the Program to become a reality, the NFB needed financial support from other government organizations. The Company of Young Canadians was one of the

[3] Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC), Company of Young Canadians fonds (hereafter CYC), RG 116, Box 130 File 615 "Report on Trainees at the National Film Board," (June 10, 1968), 1.
[4] National Film Board Archives (hereafter NFB Archives), Challenge for Change/ Société Nouvelle Program (hereafter CFC/SN), Box Company of Young Canadians (hereafter CYC) File Indian Film Crew (hereafter IFC), *Challenge for Change/ Société Nouvelle*, 1/1 (Spring 1968), Front Cover.

seventeen government departments and agencies[5] involved in forming this "innovative" film project. The CYC pledged $20,000 to the newly proposed CC program[6] and looked forward to "a period of close cooperation" with the National Film Board.[7] Rick Salter was the CYC's liaison to the NFB.[8] Both Challenge for Change and the CYC reported to the Secretary of State, via the Privy Council office. Although John Kemeny, Colin Low, Fernand Dansereau, and Robert Forget are recognized as the founding visionaries of the Challenge for Change Program, George C. Stoney was instrumental to the program's success. Frank Spiller offered American George Stoney the position as executive producer for Challenge for Change because he was 'an outsider'. Stoney was well known for his exceptional work as a documentary filmmaker, and then using film as a tool for social justice. Spiller hoped that George Stoney would come in, "make tough decisions, and take the lumps for a couple of years."[9] Stoney started work in September 1968. He was not a career civil servant, but on contract with the NFB. Stoney approached running the Challenge for Change Program with an irreverence towards government, and this attitude was what Frank Spiller said he was looking for.

Initially, the 'Fogo process' of communication, named for Colin Low's film work with the Fogo community of Newfoundland,[10] was a significant influence on the methodology of Challenge for Change. The Fogo process acknowledged that a community should control and define who they are and how they are represented, and the

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[5] The list included: Agriculture, Communications, CMHC, national Health and Welfare, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Labour, Manpower, Regional Economic Expansion and Secretary of State/Citizenship.
[6] As did the other sixteen government organizations.
[7] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Memo from Alan Clarke" (May 18, 1967).
[8] LAC CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Memo from Alan Clarke to R.A.J. Phillips Special Planning Secretariat of the Privy Council," (May 18,1967), "Correspondence: Memo from Hugo McPherson to Alan Clarke Director of the CYC," (February 21,1968).
[9] Deirdre Boyle, "O, Canada! George Stoney's Challenge," *Wide Angle* 21/2 (March 1999): 49.
[10] http://collections.mun.ca/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/extserv&CISOPTR=167&REC=1

use of film could facilitate this effort. Not only did these "dialogue films" give voice to the marginalized and under-represented, they were used to communicate community needs to government officials. Films to emerge from the initial Challenge for Change program, 'giving voice' to Indigenous peoples were: *Indian Dialogue* (1967, David Hughes); *Powwow at Duck Lake* (1967, David Hughes); *Indian Relocation: Elliot Lake* (1967 David Hughes & D'Arcy Marsh) and *Pikangikum* (1967, John Gould). These films were meant to "promote communication and debate, with a clear emphasis on expressing an Indian point of view to mainstream Canada and to the department of the Canadian government directly involved with Indian life."[11] Not wanting to simply offer "a rationalization of things as they are,"[12] the Challenge for Change program wished to move beyond the context of 'giving voice.'

From the outset, members of the CC organizing committee had loftier, more ambitious goals than merely serving as another community development tool. Adopting the videotape recorder (VTR) method of filmmaking, or even the ethos of VTR, shifted the idea of film as a tool for the purpose of social service to that of social activism.[13] As stated in the NFB's 1967 CC proposal: "The eradication of poverty demands unorthodox ideas. Support for these ideas and, for radical measures based on them, demands new concepts of communication. The intention is to provoke basic social change; anything less would be a palliative."[14] The newsletter put out by the CC is congruent with the language used in interdepartmental meetings. In the 1968 Spring CC Newsletter the

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[11] Michelle Stewart, "The Indian Film Crews of Challenge for Change," 51.
[12] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Memo from Hugo McPherson, Government Film Commissioner to Alan Clarke, Director of the CYC," (February 21, 1968).
[13] Michelle Stewart, "The Indian Film Crews of Challenge for Change," 56.
[14] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Operations 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970," National Film Board "Proposal for a Programme of Film Activities in the Area of Poverty and Change" (March 7, 1967).

editorial emphasizes that film and video activities "radically conceived and imaginatively carried out, could be powerful stimuli for social change in the hands of the poor."[15] However this 'radical' statement, proposing that film could be used as a 'powerful stimuli' for social change, was accompanied with the notion that film would also help the 'disadvantaged' and 'the poor' help themselves. Even radical ideas carried with them an underlying liberal impulse or 'help them help themselves'[16] mentality.

For the creators of Challenge for Change, the program was not, however, part of a government public relations campaign created to diffuse a growing radicalism in the country. Organizers insisted that the program strive to be genuine and transparent in its efforts: "Above all we must aim for honesty. There should be no smell of public relations in the pejorative sense."[17] Moreover, members of Challenge for Change recognized that even with the best of intentions there existed a natural tendency of participants to be optimistic about projects, to perhaps "shade reality," and "confuse hopes with results."[18] As one memo cautioned: "We must constantly beware of this tendency and resist it."[19] Members of the CC were astutely aware of the NFB's position, as a government organization, to either intentionally or unintentionally participate in the cooption of the marginalized and the poor. Despite these reservations, members of Challenge for Change believed in the radical potential of film. George Stoney, director of CC after Kemeny, responding to radicals who dismissed the CC methods as "government-sponsored

[15] *Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle*, 1/1 (Spring 1968) NFBA Newsletters, 2.
[16] *Challenge for Change/Société Nouvelle*, 1/1 (Spring 1968) NFBA Newsletters, 2.
[17] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Operations 1967, 1968, 1969, 1970." National Film Board "Proposal for a Programme of Film Activities in the Area of Poverty and Change" March 7, 1967.
[18] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "NFB Proposal," 7.
[19] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "NFB Proposal," 7.

subversion"[20] that merely "coopted the revolutionary, defeating him by absorption,"[21] rebutted: "Putting tools of change into people's hands is drastic only in a subtle way. Nobody gets killed. But it does constitute what these filmmaking social activists call 'Decentralizing the power of Propaganda.' Another way of saying that is, once the dispossessed and the powerless have access to the means of information they can no longer be misled by Establishment bullshit. And that is in itself a revolution."[22]

Joint CC and CYC Film Initiatives

Prior to the formation of the All-Indian-Film Crew, the CYC and Challenge for Change cooperated in two filmmaking initiatives. The films *Encounter with Saul Alinsky: Part I the CYC, Toronto* (1967) and, *Encounter with Saul Alinsky: Part II the Rama Indian Reserve* (1967) mark the starting point of the relationship between the two organizations.[23] The 16mm black and white films, each with a running time of approximately thirty minutes, were created as training tools, included as part of a multi-media package that examined "methods of organizing communities into effective action units based on participatory democracy."[24] Film director Peter Pearson, following CC protocol, passed along the transcripts of the "Alinsky-CYC, Indian encounters" in an effort to secure subject approval. CYC regional program director for projects, Jerry Gambill, provided Pearson with feedback. Once completed, the films were shown at CYC selection weekends, regional conferences and training sessions. Although the

[20] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Challenge for Change by Patrick Watson" reprinted from artscanada, (April 1970).
[21] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Challenge for Change by Patrick Watson" reprinted from artscanada, (April 1970).
[22] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Challenge for Change by Patrick Watson" reprinted from artscanada, (April 1970).
[23] Wilf Pelletier was a consultant on Elliot Lake, travelling with David Hughes to various communities in the region.
[24] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Organizing for Power: the Alinsky approach," (date unknown).

intended purpose of the films was quite modest, screening them for CYC applicants was meant to create controversy and promote discussion, as both of the films' dialogue tackle ideologically profound issues about the possibilities of revolutionary change and the incorporation of Indigenous worldviews.[25] According to Noel Starblanket the films proved "their worth in provoking and stimulating discussion, identification and resolution of Canada's social concerns."[26] Each film documents the dialogue between Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers and Saul Alinsky, American community activist guru of the time.

Part II of the film series, *The Rama Indian Reserve* fails to include in its title that the young 'Indian' participants in the film were also CYC volunteers.[27] Perhaps the omission can be attributed to artistic license, or quite simply oversight. However, the language chosen for each of the films' synopsis suggests more ingrained assumptions of Indigeneity. Synopsis or film summaries were included in press releases, sent out as educational packages, and displayed in promotional catalogues and brochures. The first film's synopsis frames non-Indigenous youth as active. *Part I: CYC, Toronto* asserts: "A lively confrontation between Saul Alinsky and several staff members of the Company of Young Canadians."[28] In contrast, the second film frames Indigenous CYC youth as passive. *Part II: the Rama Indian Reserve* reads: "Alinsky talks to young Indians about what they should do to wrest a better status from the white establishment."[29] Even within

[25]LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Challenge for Change" (December 6,1968).
[26] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Report on Trainees at the National Film Board" (June 10, 1968), 2.
[27] Yet, CYC member Ian Hamilton identifies CYC volunteers in terms of their occupations, religious affiliations, regional origins or age, except for volunteer Roy Daniels. Daniels is identified only as 'Indian.' (Ian Hamilton, *The Children's Crusade*, 14).
[28] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Organizing for Power: the Alinsky approach," (date unknown).
[29] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Organizing for Power: the Alinsky approach," (date unknown).

an innovative program like the Challenge for Change, 'Indians' are articulated as passive or being acted upon.

The films' transcripts reveal a different story with both CYC Indigenous and non-Indigenous volunteers engaged as active actors. Moreover, the views expressed by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers are similar. Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers disagreed with the strategies proposed by Alinsky. In the case of CYC volunteers in Toronto, when the question of participating in the system was raised, Alinsky used a mountain as a metaphor, proposing that young CYC activists work to help poor and marginalized communities "climb the mountain." A male CYC participant counters that, rather than striving to reach the summit, organizers should instead help communities "blow it up."[30] James Littleton's commentary on Alinsky's approach supports his fellow CYC member: "The question is whether pragmatism is the only philosophy which should be espoused by a radical. If one is completely pragmatic does he not end up being a reformist rather than a revolutionary?"[31] Young Indian CYC members also reject Alinsky's community activism. When Alinsky "presents his pragmatic point of view" to the Indians at the Rama reserve "there is a total breakdown in communication because the Indians cannot accept Alinskyism and Alinsky can accept no other point of view."[32]

Encounter with Alinsky: Part II takes place in a café on the Rama Reserve (Mnjikaning First Nation). Duke Redbird, Wilfred Pelletier, and an unidentified

[30] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Encounter with Saul Alinsky Part I: the CYC, Toronto Transcripts," (1968).
[31] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Administration: For the National Film Board Challenge for Change Magazine by James Littleton" (December 1968), 2.
[32] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File "Administration: For the National Film Board Challenge for Change Magazine by James Littleton" (December 1968), 2.

Indigenous youth and Saul Alinsky chain-smoke and talk about Indians of the community. The young men are at odds with Alinsky's style of 'community action projects' of organizing which sees power and control as the answer for the poor and the marginalized. Redbird argues that Alinsky's methods do not incorporate Indigenous cultural values, nor do they privilege collective rights. Moreover, he maintains that Indigenous values are fundamentally opposed to a hierarchical capitalist model that privileges accumulation of wealth and power over others. Duke Redbird states: "Well what good is it then for us to take power for ourselves if it's only going to corrupt us. If we're going to be corrupted like the people who have the power today, then I for one don't want that kind of power."[33] Both Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC youth supported the position that solutions to societal problems should be found by creating a new system. In addition, for Indigenous peoples, the answers to Indigenous 'problems' were to be found within Indigenous communities.

The Indian Film Crew

In the summer of 1968, the Challenge for Change program, in cooperation with the CYC, devoted a portion of its program to a new initiative that focused on Canada's largest 'marginalized' population - Indigenous peoples. Challenge for Change sought to recruit Indian youth and train them in filmmaking. The purpose of the first Indian Film Crew (IFC) was to stimulate awareness and promote social activism. Because of his contacts in the Indian community, Jerry Gambill, then associate director for the CYC, was assigned

[33] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Encounter with Saul Alinsky Part II: Rama Indian Reserve Transcripts," (1968).

to select the first Indian Film Crew. [34] Those chosen participated in an intensive six week training program "with some of the most experienced and skilled filmmakers" at the National Film Board. Who was permitted to be a member of the Indian Film Crew, however, was subject to certain constraints. The Indian Affairs Branch (IAB) exercised its jurisdictional rights "in matters concerning Indians" stipulating that all members of the IFC be "Indian," as defined by the Indian Act. This narrow, colonial construct denied many youth who self-identified and/or were identified within communities as "Indian" the opportunity to participate in the project. Ironically, the IAB wanted the Film Crew to also be national in scope, requiring a nationally comprehensive selection of First Nations youth. Gambill complied with the restrictions set out by the IAB, choosing Indian youth from across the country, the majority of whom were already CYC volunteers or trainees. Gambill selected Mike Mitchell[35] (Mohawk from Akwesasne), Roy Daniels (Anishnaabe from Manitoba), Noel Starblanket[36] (Cree from Alberta), Tom O'Connor (Anishnaabe Manitoulin Island), Barb Wilson/Kii'iljuus (Haida), Morris Isaac (Mik'maq from Restigouche), and Willie Dunn (Mik'maq/Métis)[37] to make up the first All-Indian-Film Crew.[38] Enlisting Indigenous youth to create film in Indigenous communities, it was hoped, would stimulate community involvement, promote discussion and inspire activism

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[34] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Evaluation of CYC Volunteers Being Trained at National Film Board –Montreal by James Littleton," (June 10, 1968).
[35] Became Chief of Akwesasne Reserve.
[36] Starblanket was chosen chief of the Starblanket reserve. See NFB film "Starblanket" for more information.
[37] Willy Dunn was Mik'maq according to the colonial definitions of the Indian Act, but self-identified as Métis.
[38] The first Indian Film Crew's term ran from 1967-1970. The second crew's term ran from 1971-1973 but was no longer funded by (or affiliated with) the CYC, but by DIAND. Its members included: Albert Canadian (Slave Lake/Yellowknife NWT), Bob Charlie (Athabaskan/Whitehorse, Yukon), Gilbert Herodier (Cree/ Fort George Québec), Glen Lazore (Mohawk/ St. Regis, Ontario), Michael Mitchell (role as producer-consultant), Buckley Petawabano (Cree/ Northern Québec), and Alex Redcrow (Cree/Northern Alberta). Willie Dunn was no longer on the IFC payroll, but still served as a consultant.

in the 'field.'[39] The following is the list of films created by the first IFC: *The North American Indian Travelling College* (1968);[40] *The Ballad of Crowfoot* (Willie Dunn, 1969); *These Are My People* (Roy Daniels, Willie Dunn, Michael Mitchell, Noel Starblanket, and Barbara Wilson, 1969);[41] and *You Are On Indian Land* (Mort Ransen, Kathleen Shannon, Michael Mitchell and Noel Starblanket, 1969).[42] Several other films listed in the pre-production stages were never distributed,[43] or, as was the case with the documentary *Loon Lake*, were removed from circulation. Completed IFC films were slated for distribution throughout Canadian society, as well as other First Nations communities, with the goal of shifting societal attitudes. Documented events of CYC projects were to be shared with volunteers in other regions, as well as community development organizations, radical indigenous activists and mainstream national media such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC).

Structurally and administratively, Mitchell and the Indian Film Crew occupied a unique place, being both paid volunteers for the Company of Young Canadians, and part of the NFB's Challenge for Change program.[44] Jerry Gambill, a strong advocate for Indian self-determination and CYC regional director of programming at the time, helped with the initial formation of the Indian Film Crew. Gambill placed members of the IFC within the CYC's North American Indian Travelling College Project, under the direction

[39] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Memo from John Kemeny to Stewart Goodings" (August 26, 1968).
[40] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence." According to the NFB's CC official film record *Travelling College* was created by "an Indian Film Crew." A report by Mike Mitchell indicates that the film was indeed the efforts of Indian Film Crew.
[41] Considered the first official film produced by the IFC.
[42] According to CC and CYC correspondence *You Are On Indian Land* was initially cited as an IFC production with the help of Ransen and Shannon. The actual film credits list Ransen and Shannon as director and editors with the help of the IFC and the community of Akwesasne. The NFB website today only lists Ransen and Shannon, and fails to acknowledge the IFC.
[43] Barbara Wilson began a film about residential schools that was never completed.
[44] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Evaluation of CYC Volunteers Being Trained at National Film Board –Montreal by James Littleton" (June 10, 1968).

of Ernie Benedict (Mohawk from St. Regis). Benedict did not, however, decide IFC policy or projects. The arrangement provided a way to get the project started with immediate funding, bypassing the usual channels needed for budget as well as project approval at the CYC Council level. Concurrently, it created an administrative distance between the Crew and CYC executives' control. Between 1967 until 1969, this financial and administrative position provided the IFC with more autonomy than other CYC programs. Gambill, and later Littleton, worked on behalf of the IFC cultivating cooperative relationships with NFB CC executive producers Kemeny and Stoney.[45] In the case of the NFB's CC program, the IFC were trained as filmmakers and supported with equipment and technical support, however they were not paid NFB staff. Without a contract, the CC's financial and training commitment to the IFC remained undetermined. On the one hand, the arrangement meant that Challenge for Change executives did not possess the authority to dictate the kinds of projects the Film Crew undertook. On the other hand, this arrangement allowed NFB and/or CC to distance itself from the IFC when they received overtly negative publicity.

Members of the Film Crew attempted to hold both the CYC and the CC accountable to their radical declarations of supporting social change and Indigenous self-determination. The IFC maintained that there was a perfect opportunity for the NFB/CC to demonstrate their radicalism, in a practical and accessible way, by handing over decision-making power as well as operational and financial control of Indigenous media projects to the Film Crew. Executive producer George Stoney was decidedly supportive. The commitment by NFB's upper management, however, was ambivalent, hedging complete support. As Stoney related: "We have just had a series of meetings involving

[45] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence."

the four present members of the Indian Film Crew, Jim Littleton and Challenge for Change, yesterday Noel and Mike presented a demand for autonomy within the Challenge for Change program. It got unanimous backing from everyone at the meeting except Frank Spiller [Spiller being the man in charge] who, while he expressed approval of its objectives, was not in position to commit management without further study and consultation. My own feeling is that what they were asking for is right and should be granted."[46]

CYC regional director of programs James Littleton, who succeeded Jerry Gambill, attempted to push for the IFC's demands by shaming CYC policymakers. In his report to the CYC's Interim Program Committee, Littleton reminded members that the "worst platitudes are those uttered by people who want to 'help' the Indians and practice this through such agencies as the Indian Affairs Branch whose real attitudes are paternalistic and dehumanizing."[47] Stoney, Littleton and the IAFC played to the desire of both CYC and NFB executives to be recognized as catalysts and animators of change in their own right by pushing them to incorporate praxis.

Despite administrative constraints, belonging to the IFC gave the young members access to communications resources and the means to travel throughout the country. IFC members believed that film was a tool that could facilitate a dialogue between Indigenous peoples locally, nationally and transnationally, and was, perhaps, the "alternative" Redbird was suggesting, Alinsky dismissing this as wishful thinking. As IFC member Noel Starblanket articulated: "Just as I am unsure that Red Power in terms of violence and militancy will achieve unity I am unsure that Saul Alinsky's organizational political

[46] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "IFC: Letter from George Stoney to Roy Daniels" (July 17, 1969).
[47] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130, File 615 "Correspondence."

power-grabbing will achieve our end."[48] Members of the All-Indian-Film Crew were particularly interested in opening a dialogue between Indigenous peoples across Canada in the hopes of creating a unified front. Tom O'Connor explained in a NFB press release that the IFC "wanted to get the reserves to talk to each other for the first time, to get a sense of unity."[49] The aforementioned statement, on the one hand, demonstrates the IFC's commitment to a clear purpose of incorporating pan-Indianism as a unifying force. On the other hand, the comment illustrates a certain naïveté. The sixties were not "the first time" that Indigenous communities had attempted to unify. Historical precedents abound that illustrate to the contrary. However media production, distribution and, in particular, the strategy of activist filmmaking, presented a unique opportunity under the auspices of the IFC and the Challenge for Change to effectively promote pan-Indianism. From an Indigenous activist perspective, "film [could] develop communication among Indian peoples by emphasizing constancy of thought, of Indianness, rather than common dissent against the IAB [Indian Affairs Branch]." [50] There existed no doubt as to where the Film Crew's allegiance lay, as Noel Starblanket articulated: "It is our intention to continue to work to further the cause of the Indian people above all other priorities, to do our utmost to preserve the integrity of our work, and to continue to co-operate together toward the realization of these ends."[51]

From 1967 until 1969 both the CYC and the CC touted their support for Indigenous self-determination and social change as cutting edge. Moreover, they insisted that their promotion of such ideas set them apart from other government organizations, in

[48] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130, File 615 "Correspondence."
[49] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "IFC: News Featurette" (May 15, 1968).
[50] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130, File 615 "Correspondence."
[51] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130, File 615 "Correspondence."

particular the Department of Indian Affairs. Though the CC accommodated the dictates of the Indian Affairs Branch concerning the IFC's membership, the two departments did not necessarily enjoy a relationship of cooperation. Once the Film Crew was selected, CC executive producers, first John Kemeny then George Stoney, blocked IAB attempts to dictate CC policy. Battle attempted to have *Indian Relocation: Elliot Lake* (1967) withdrawn from distribution. Two years later there was talk of confiscating *You Are On Indian Land* (1969). Filmmaking, as the CC reminded Indian Affairs, was not part of the department's jurisdiction. Assistant deputy minister of Indian Affairs R.F. Battle seemed undeterred. Battle regularly sent correspondence to Kemeny and Stoney, suggesting, or rather insisting, that Indian Affairs be given the authority to screen, edit, revise or pull from public distribution, all films concerning Indians. The NFB's CC producers responded by consistently and repeatedly refusing: "We appreciate your department's interest in reviewing further films on Indians. It perhaps should be stated clearly that it is normally not part of NFB policy to show films to individuals or groups, prior to their completion unless of course the film is made on a direct sponsorship basis. The films being made for the Challenge for Change do not fall into this category."[52] Kemeny and Stoney deflected Indian Affairs attempts to interfere with the CC's autonomy. Non-cooperation with Indian Affairs, however, did not signify that the CC Program was blindly territorial. In early April of 1968 a letter from CYC's Jerry Gambill arrived on John Kemeny's desk. Gambill requested that the NFB's distribution of the film *Because They Are Different* get "minimal play" or ideally be withdrawn, as it aroused "a lot of

[52] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Elliot Lake: Letter to R.F. Battle, Assistant Deputy Minister Indian Affairs Branch, DIAND," (date unknown).

unfavourable comment from Indian people."[53] Gambill explained that, not only did the film offer a simplistic solution to the problems faced by Indigenous peoples, but the film's theme song "One Little Indian" was used as "the Indian extermination song in the 1800s."[54] In less than a month, Kemeny replied to CYC Executive Director Alan Clarke: "I wish to inform you that after taking into consideration the various arguments Gerry presented in his letter, the appropriate Distribution-Production Committee has decided to withdraw this film from distribution."[55] The CC's adversarial attitude towards the IAB also stemmed from the belief that not only was the IAB reactionary but they did not speak for, nor did they represent, Indigenous peoples in Canada. More generally, these examples reveal that divisions and competing agendas between government departments sometimes erupted in power struggles. Yet they also illustrate times of alliance and cooperation between agencies. The interactions between the CC, the CYC and the IAB also remind us of how the State and its policies were not monolithic.

Loon Lake

Sometimes, however, supporting IFC and CYC efforts proved too controversial for the NFB's CC. Challenging other government agencies had limits. The filming of *Loon Lake* is a case in point. CYC field supervisor Marilyn Assheton-Smith, on behalf of the Métis community of Loon Lake, invited the Indian Film Crew to film in the area. The impetus, according to the IFC's mission statement, appeared uncomplicated and straightforward: "A group of native CYC volunteers made this film so that the people of Loon Lake could

[53] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Alinsky: Correspondence" (April 5, 1968).
[54] NFB Archives, CYC "Alinsky file" correspondence dated April 5, 1968. The song was written in the late 1800s, however I was unable to confirm that the song was indeed sung as an 'extermination' song.
[55] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Alinsky: Correspondence" (May 22, 1968).

tell others who speak Cree about their life in northern Alberta."[56] What occurred was anything but simple. Members of the IFC became embroiled in political wrangling with which they had limited experience.

Members of the Indian Film Crew, along with NFB film supervisor Bill Nemtin, arrived in the Métis community of Loon Lake on October 12, 1968 only to find deplorable living conditions. The road into the community, located 300 miles north of Edmonton was accessible only via poorly maintained roads. According to community members, the welfare worker for the community came infrequently, and when he did visit left money in the form of food vouchers, which he gave to the proprietor of the sole store in Loon Lake. Nemtin recounts his visit to the community: "When we were there many people were without food (we had to share our food with the people we worked with and in fact left whatever remained.)" Six inches of snow was on the ground at the time of the filming. The film crew witnessed "children walking without shoes" and a "clothing situation [that was] desperate." No medical facilities existed in the community; nor did any doctor or nurse visit the community or hold clinics. The nearest medical facility was 150 miles away in Grand Prairie. The land surrounding the community had never been surveyed for the community but was "gradually being enclosed by oil wells." Repeated community requests to have the federal government survey the land, through the Forestry Department, were ignored. At the time, the "American oil companies were employing one of the three hundred inhabitants of Loon Lake" [57] as the oil companies continued to survey and parcel off the land. There had been no consultation process with the Métis community.

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[56] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Loon Lake: report by Bill Nemtin." (Date unknown).
[57] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Loon Lake: report by Bill Nemtin." (date unknown).

On October 18, 1968 the IFC attended a CYC conference in Edmonton during which time the situation in Loon Lake was discussed and PANE (Protest Alliance Against Native Extermination) was formed.[58] PANE was an all-native organization headed by IFC member Willie Dunn. Who, in the community of Loon Lake, was a member of PANE was kept secret, for fear of repercussions. The following excerpt, taken from an NFB report on Loon Lake and the IFC, explains: "The reason for the secret membership can be expressed by the method of operation of welfare workers. It is common practice for the welfare worker to cut off welfare benefits for any troublemaker. The worker usually cuts off welfare from four other families in the community and suggests to them that these benefits will be reinstated when the troublemaker in their midst has been taken care of."

Wanting desperately for action and change to happen, the Film Crew contacted the national media CBC, as well as provincial Métis leaders Stan Daniels and Eugene Steinhauer, in the hopes of alerting the world and mobilizing the province. PANE arranged interviews that aired on the local *CBC* news. Several articles were published in the *Edmonton Journal.* The IFC also contacted the provincial government, urging officials to take action. IFC members attempted to interview the director of Welfare for the province, and with cameras running, questioned Peter Morris about the starvation happening in the community. Morris threw the IFC out of his office. News of the community gained momentum in the media, and the story of Loon Lake made the *CBC* National Radio News on October 22, 1968. Media was but one tool used to raise awareness. PANE also met with Indigenous leaders in order to mobilize support in the

[58] Three different definitions of the acronym PANE circulated: Peoples Alliance Against Native Extermination; Provincial Alliance Against Native Extermination; and the Protest Alliance Against Native Extermination.

province. Meetings were held with Stan Daniels, Harold Cardinal, and Eugene Steinhauer in an effort to gain support of the Alberta Indian Association and the Alberta Métis Association. PANE members also met with four members of the provincial cabinet to discuss the situation. Provincial officials agreed to look into the matter and send relief immediately to the community.

The same day that PANE met with government officials, the footage from the Welfare office was processed, passed along to the *CBC* and included in a one-half hour programme on PANE and Loon Lake on local Edmonton *CBC*. The footage showed government officials as incompetent. Provincial and federal officials quickly set up a counter media campaign to diffuse the growing attention and accusations of negligence. Government public relations first discredited the IFC and the reliability of their account, and then minimized the severity of the situation in Loon Lake. Minister of Indian Affairs and Welfare, Mr. Colborne expressed that "he thought harassment of civil servants may be a good thing if it's related to some issue, but not if it is harassment for the sake of harassment."[59] The real conditions in Loon Lake, officials related, were not as dire as the exaggerated accounts proposed. Officials explained the IFC's actions as the impulsiveness of youth and labeled the Film Crew as misguided outside agitators.

PANE's actions precipitated a backlash from the local government, as well as municipal and provincial institutions. Some Indigenous community leaders, such as Ed Lavallee, launched a counter media campaign, discrediting PANE members as ill-informed outsiders whose claims were unfounded. Provincial powers threatened to cut off financially any person who supported the Film crew. Community members withdrew

[59] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Memo and Telex" (October 23, 1968).

their support. Stewart Goodings, in a memorandum documenting a telephone conversation with Stan Daniels about the IFC's involvement in Loon Lake, wrote:

> Stan has some serious reservations about their involvement in the Loon Lake situation. He says they are poorly organized, inexperienced, haven't got all the facts, have not planned their intervention, and are probably the wrong ones to take the initiative. He says the government and the public opinion seems to be winning in this particular incident, and that the volunteers have been out-strategized by the government.[60]

The public was only too willing to deny the existence of such abysmal conditions, perhaps more so given the accusation that public officials were aware that such conditions existed but did nothing. As stated in the original Challenge for Change proposal, "an affluent society does not like to be reminded of its sores."[61] The IFC garnered the disapproval of dominant Canadian society, and both the provincial and federal governments.

Loon Lake also illustrated that one's indigeneity did not necessarily assure one's acceptance among Indigenous communities. Membership, band affiliation, legitimacy and power, were all mitigating factors in the incident at Loon Lake. Although the IFC were Indigenous youth, they were nevertheless viewed as outsiders. The appeal of a pan-Indian unity, it appears, did not trump community/band membership, existing Indian power structures, or local politics. In the end the IFC was out manoeuvered.

Twenty government departments and agencies funded the Challenge for Change initiative; these same departments and agencies sat on the Challenge for Change Committee. Within two days of PANE's visit to Morris' office a meeting was called by the Challenge for Change Committee, as it "[felt] that the two-year experiment need[ed] assessment and would like to consult with the Deputy Ministers and the departments

[60] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615 "Memo to file by Stewart Goodings," (October 23, 1968).
[61] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "NFB Proposal," 2.

most directly concerned."[62] The purpose of the meeting did not state explicitly that it was concerned with the incident at Loon Lake. However an internal memo sent by the CC committee documents the committee's relief that, the NFB could minimize its involvement, and divorce itself from any responsibility regarding PANE's or the IFC's actions, as the members of the IFC were technically CYC volunteers.[63]

Despite controversy, and delays due to lack of Challenge for Change financial support for the project, the film *Loon Lake* was finally edited by Noel Starblanket in early 1969 with the help of Cree translator Gordon Willier.[64] NFB film production files credit Tom O'Connor as director of the black and white 16mm film short. Willie Dunn referred to *Loon Lake* as a Challenge for Change accomplishment. Challenge for Change executives calculated that *Loon Lake* was too high of a political risk at the time. The film was not actively promoted nor was it held up as a shining example of the CC's good work. What is of interest is that the film was, at some point, withdrawn from circulation, disappearing from CC film listings. In 2011 no surviving record exists linking the film *Loon Lake* to the Challenge for Change or the Indian Film Crew.[65] Despite the project's

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[62] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Letter from R.G. Robertson Privy Council Office to Acting CYC Executive Director Stewart Goodings," (October 24, 1968).
[63] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Memo: W.G. Lee to J. Lysyshyn," (October 21, 1968).
[64] Jim Littleton arranged for Willier to work on the project.
[65] I could find no record of why, or when, the film was withdrawn. *Loon Lake* is not identified as part of the "complete filmography" of the 2010 publication *Challenge for Change: Activist Documentary at the National Film Board of Canada*; nor is it listed on the NFB's online website, or the CC's digital CD provided by the NFB's Archival Services. The film has not however disappeared or been destroyed. *Loon Lake* is hidden, listed as stock footage in the NFB images department. The NFB images collection is described as providing "spectacular footage and archival treasures from the vaults." According to stock footage number #31312 the film title is simply "Indian Training." The NFB Images shot ID # 31312 at 23:21 in length is described as: "Several shots of Indians and Metis women, men, being interviewed. Shot of man sitting by fire, talking. Interior shot of teepee, Indian family relaxing at Loon Lake, Saskatchewan (sic). Shots of conference involving young Indians, man talking to them. Shots of large conference, people sitting in circle, white men present. Shots of Indians meeting, talking, Willie Dunn speaking now and then. Shots of Indians meeting with cabinet minister in conference room. Various shots of Father Lamonde (sic) speaking to large assembly in hall, including shots of people. Shots of two other speakers, of Willie Dunn speaking."

failure, Loon Lake revealed an important loophole that contributed to the success of many future CYC projects, in particular with the IFC. CYC executive director Stewart Goodings expressed his concern "about the fact that the NFB volunteers are not responsible to any staff person when they are in the field, and this can lead to them taking certain actions which may not be subject to any checks at all."[66] The volunteers had launched a public awareness campaign without having it approved by CYC headquarters in Ottawa. This lack of accountability, or one could say this autonomy, provided a space in between for more radical actions to occur.

You Are On Indian Land

Challenge for Change had not, however, given up supporting radical initiatives through film, at least not yet. On December 17th, 1968, two months after Loon Lake, the Indian Film Crew called upon the Challenge for Change to make good on its promise of supporting social change and Indigenous self-determination. After a failed attempt to reach a diplomatic solution with Ottawa, a group of Mohawk activists, including IFC member Mike Mitchell, planned a blockade. For the Mohawk delegation, what was at issue was the Canadian federal government failure to recognize Indigenous rights to transport goods across the international bridge that divided the St. Regis/Akwesasne Reserve without having to pay customs as guaranteed by the Jay Treaty of 1794. Mike Mitchell had forewarned CC executive producer George Stoney of the consequences of being ignored by the mandarins on Parliament Hill: "If we don't get satisfaction, which I doubt, we're coming back and we're going to block the international bridge. If we block

[66] LAC, CYC, RG116, Box 130, File 615 "Memo to file by Stewart Goodings," (October 23, 1968).

the bridge I want a film crew down there."[67] Stoney was awaiting Mitchell's call, though time was running out to mobilize a crew before the Christmas holidays. In many ways, the film *You Are On Indian Land* happened by chance, in large part attributable to Stoney's use of discretionary power, sending an NFB film crew to St. Regis without following proper NFB procedures. According to unconfirmed accounts, George Stoney walked into the NFB lunchroom, stood on one of the dining tables, made his appeal, and then cobbled together a film crew to drive to Akwesasne that evening.[68] Mort Ransen's[69] first reaction when called upon to participate was an emphatic "NO." Ransen reasoned that the CC had Indian people trained in filmmaking; therefore his participation was unnecessary.[70] It was not until Stoney clarified that "the Indians wanted a director assigned to it, there wasn't anybody available from their crew at the time"[71] that Ransen agreed, with the proviso that his role would be an advisory one, assisting Mike Mitchell as director.[72] Within eighteen hours, on the morning of December 18th, 1968, Mort Ransen (director on location) and Tony Ianzelo (camera operator) were set to record the events of the Cornwall-Massena international bridge blockade.

The crew served as a witness, documenting the interactions between the RCMP and the Mohawk protestors. In relaying his experience that day Ransen states:

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[67] Faye Ginsburg, "The After-Life of Documentary: The Impact of You Are On Indian Land," *Wide Angle*, 21/ 2 (March 1999): 64.
[68] A local family from the St. Regis reserve billeted the five-person crew.
[69] According to the NFB's website the Ransen is credited as director for *You Are On Indian Land.*
[70] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: From a conversation with Mort Ransen on *The Transition & You Are On Indian Land*," (October 21, 1974). Ransen's resistance stemmed from an unfavourable experience as the director for the film *The Transition*, an Indian Affairs sponsored film. When Ransen took the assignment he was not "very radically conscious in any way" and the film was professionally beneficial. The experience, however, left him resolved that, "people should make their own films rather than have strangers come around and try to understand something that they're no part of."
[71] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: From a conversation with Mort Ransen on *The Transition & You Are On Indian Land*," (October 21, 1974). The rest of the IFC were on location with CC's Bill Nemtin filming in the Métis community of Loon Lake.
[72] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: From a conversation with Mort Ransen on *The Transition & You Are On Indian Land*," (October 21, 1974).

> When I got out there Mike was very involved in what was going on – it was a very busy, rushed, crisis kind of atmosphere and the furthest thing away from everybody's mind was the film. So I ended up directing. I don't think that I was directing in the usual sense; I was following it – it was like riding on a horse – I was just going where it was going. Tony Ianzelo was the cameraman. He's the kind of cameraman who follows the action. If you follow the action it's not a good policy to try to direct too much. So I left him alone and made sure he didn't get lost.[73]

The original footage was over two hours long. Ianzelo documented long stretches of peaceful protest, the process of negotiation culminating in the mass arrests. As an exercise in counter-discursive work, the footage offered proof of the inaccurate reporting from journalists who "managed to communicate to the world that there had been a lot of violence and that Kahn-Tineta Horn had been responsible for the demonstration."[74] It provided a powerful counter point to mass media's sound bite coverage that privileged a narrative of Indian violence.

The footage was also circulated locally back into the community as a means of promoting collective self-evaluation and self-reflection.[75] The rushes[76] of *You Are On Indian Land* gave the community of Akwesasne a way to examine and reflect upon "their stands, their actions, and their images."[77] Time, however, was of the essence. Public screenings of the raw footage were arranged within 28 hours of being shot, in an effort to relieve the building tensions between those arrested in the protest and the rest of the community. At one screening the two hours of rushes were shown to approximately 150

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[73] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: From a conversation with Mort Ransen on *The Transition & You Are On Indian Land*," (October 21, 1974).
[74] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Ballad of Crowfoot: CC newsletter by Patrick Watson" (1970).
[75] Ginsburg, "The After-Life of Documentary: The Impact of You Are On Indian Land," *Wide Angle*, 21/ 2 (March 1999): 7.
[76] The term rushes or 'dailies' is the lengths of footage taken during the course of filming and processed as the shooting of a film proceeds.
[77] Alan Rosenthal, *The Documentary Conscience: A Casebook in Film Making*, (Berkeley 1980), 347.

people in the community Recreation Hall, they watched with "rapt attention."[78] The footage showed 'Chief' Angus Mitchell threatening to get his jack and smash the "damn camera" of the NFB film crew. The crew was documenting the conversation between the police and the Chief. The Chief was exhorting the police to do their jobs and clear the bridge as he wished to go home. The police, thinking that the elected band chief had the support of the community, attempted to persuade the chief to go and talk to the protestors. Mitchell demanded a permit to carry a gun before he would talk to the protestors. When the police, puzzled, denied his request, the woman with him in the car plaintively stated, "they might jump on him – he's our 'Chief.'" The audience, viewing this sequence of the film, exploded into uproarious laughter.[79] Bringing the film back to the community proved a unifying force for the people of Akwesasne. It united diverse factions, "building confidence in those leaders who had advised the show of mass protest over clandestine acts of violence being advocated by others against customs personnel and the bridge itself," and served as a basis for building community consensus.[80]

With only minimal funding support from the NFB or the CYC, the film's rushes managed to tour regionally in Six Nations communities on both sides of the borders.[81] Noel Starblanket and Kathleen Shannon[82] ran screenings of the Cornwall rushes in Ohsweken Six Nations, and the Grand Council of the Six Nations Chiefs Onondaga.

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[78] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Excerpts from Kathleen Shannon's report on the Screenings at the St. Regis Reservation Last Week," (January 2, 1969).
[79] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Excerpts from Kathleen Shannon's report on the Screenings at the St. Regis Reservation Last Week," (January 2, 1969).
[80] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Comments from V. Stikeman" (date unknown). The attempt to unite the community of Akwesasne through the screenings did not succeed in uniting all of the protestors. Kahn-Tineta Horn attended most of the local screenings, following the film screenings throughout the region. However, Horn promoted her own political agenda of continuing the bridge blockade. Horn eventually presented an ultimatum to the Six Nations chiefs "Support me or I'll do it without you." Horn was supported by Standing Arrow, but not by Mike Mitchell or Ernest Benedict.
[81] Kathleen Shannon repeatedly notes the lack of funding.
[82] According to the NFB website Kathleen Shannon is credited as editor. However according to Ransen and Shannon, herself, Mike Mitchell and in particular Noel Starblanket were co-editors on the film.

Screenings were also set up in urban and rural communities for organizations in support of Indigenous rights, in particular, at university institutions, in nascent Native Studies programs, and other university departments across Canada and the United States. Not all of the screenings were decidedly successful. For example, when Shannon, Benedict and Mitchell, along with former CYC member, Jerry Gambill, screened the two hours of rushes at an Indian Defense League meeting in Niagara Falls, the overall response was boredom and inattentiveness.[83] Benedict's assessment of the evening and the organization was that unfortunately they were dealing with "hobbyists about Indians."[84] When the film's rushes were shown in the community of Ohsweken, members in the audience were very attentive, their attentiveness however carried with it apprehension. Unlike previous screenings in other Indigenous communities, there was no levity witnessed by the screening organizers, no outbursts of laughter and no applause during the film. The 'revolution' of 1960 was still fresh in peoples' minds. Only eight years had passed since Ohsweken traditional chiefs attempted to reinstate Traditional Governance and oust Indian Affairs from the community by taking over the Council hall.[85] After occupying the hall for three days, the RCMP moved in with billy clubs, beat people then arrested those involved. The audience, comprised of approximately 200 people seemed to be "bracing themselves for the worst."[86]

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[83] The Indian Defense League was a 'sympathetic' organization whose membership included mainly whites. At the meeting in question however, about "10 Indians" attended. It is uncertain whether this is indicative of regular membership, or an exception for the screening.
[84] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Screenings of the Cornwall rushes January 10-12" (1969), 3.
[85] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Screenings of the Cornwall rushes January 10-12" (1969), 3.
[86] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Screenings of the Cornwall rushes January 10-12" (1969), 3.

Perhaps proof of the effectiveness of *You Are On Indian Land* is illuminated by the state's opposition to the film's very existence. The film made Ottawa nervous. There was some effort on the part of Indian Affairs to suppress the film, as well as an attempt by the RCMP to confiscate the rushes as evidence.[87] Ransen and Stoney refused to have rushes for *You Are On Indian Land* subpoenaed for the pending court case against the protestors. Ransen believed that an ethical obligation existed to those in the film. He would not provide evidence that would incriminate them.[88] As well, if the CC handed over the film it would be contributing to its own demise, rendering its primary objective of promoting social change impotent. This resistance did not mean excluding government. The film's rushes were screened in a public forum, shown within a controlled non-punitive context. Viewings of the film's rushes included municipal people, welfare, police, fire, and city of Cornwall administrators along with the RCMP, Customs officers and other government officials.[89] This tactic was in keeping with the belief that film could generate dialogue and promote discussion, thereby changing political positions.

The purpose of filming the blockade went beyond resolving the internal conflict between local inhabitants, serving as a counter point to commercial media, or enlightening government officials. The filming of the bridge blockade took place within a much larger context. The film resonated with people, and worked as a "stimulus for Indian pride, Indian rights and Indian political action among young Natives

[87] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "Ballad of Crowfoot: CC newsletter by Patrick Watson" (1970).
[88] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: From a conversation with Mort Ransen on *The Transition & You Are On Indian Land*" (October 21, 1974).
[89] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Screening Cornwall rushes in Cornwall by Noel Starblanket" (January 17, 1969), 1.

themselves."[90] As Mike Mitchell declared during the blockade: "If other Indians can see this film, they will know they don't have to sit around and rot." Chumash elder Semu Huaute, from San Diego, who was teaching in Rochester New York at the time of the bridge blockade, attended the screening at the Akwesasne Recreation Hall as a way to demonstrate his solidarity with the Mohawk People. Visiting Mike Mitchell the following morning Huaute twice said, "We've known it was going to start but we didn't know where. It seems it may be here."[91] In the fall of 1969, the CYC sponsored North American Indian Travelling College and the newly formed White Roots of Peace left Akwesasne for a two-month tour across North America. Inspired by the tradition of the Unity Caravan's of the 1950s,[92] Benedict, Mitchell, Tom Porter and Gerry Gambill visited West Coast communities screening the film *You Are On Indian Land* in an effort to educate, generate discussion as well as action. According to Professor Luis S. Kemnitzer, the Travelling College appeared in his class at San Francisco State, as well as at the University of California Berkeley and "their influence on the American Indian students at UC Santa Cruz and San Francisco State was electrifying."[93] The words of the Travelling College inspired one student in particular - Richard Oakes. Not two months later, the Indians of All Tribes, with Richard Oakes serving as of one of the main organizers, took over the Island of Alcatraz.[94] In hindsight, Semu Huaute's words to Mitchell are prophetic, foretelling a decade of intense Indigenous activism and a pan-

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[90] Michelle Stewart, "The Indian Film Crew," 63.
[91] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File "You Are On Indian Land: Excerpts from Kathleen Shannon's Report on the Screenings at Cornwall Island of Cornwall Bridge Rushes and related things: memo to George Stoney" (January 2, 1969), 2.
[92] Mad Bear Anderson a Tuscarora activist was one of the Unity Caravan's founders. The purpose of the caravans was to educate and raise awareness.
[93] Luis S. Kemnitzer, "Personal Memories of Alcatraz, 1969," in *American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, ed., Johnson, Nagel, and Champagne (Illinois 1997), 116.
[94] Johnson Champagne and Nagel, "American Indian Activism and Transformation," in *American Indian Activism: Alcatraz to the Longest Walk*, ed., Johnson, Nagel, and Champagne (Illinois 1997), 28.

Indian unity movement that indeed gained momentum across the North American continent.

Yet the epilogue to the IFC's *You Are On Indian Land* illustrates how history is constructed, with the narrative easily rewritten. According to the present day NFB website, the director of *You Are On Indian Land* is listed simply as Mort Ransen. The film's producer is listed as George C. Stoney and the editorial credit is given to Kathleen Shannon.[95] Yet according to Ransen, Shannon and Mitchell edited the final version of the film together.[96] Ransen also declared and maintained that the film was the work of the IFC, and in particular of Mike Mitchell and Noel Starblanket. As Ransen stated in a 1974 interview, the "main creative forces" behind *You Are On Indian Land* were Mitchell and the IFC.[97] From their perspective, the IFC listed the film as one of their accomplishments. Furthermore, in a CC newsletter, the IFC is credited with having "played a large role in the making of a near perfect Cinéma Verité document called *You Are On Indian Land.*"[98] This fact is supported in numerous memos: "The entire Indian Film Crew was closely involved in the shooting and assembling and playback of materials, with Noel Starblanket directing some additional scenes. Mort Ransen was the film's director on location."[99]

The Ballad of Crowfoot

Another IFC effort had a different target audience in mind. Young film director Willie Dunn hoped that *The Ballad of Crowfoot* would enlighten and educate the dominant Canadian society, inspiring an ethical compunction to honour past commitments made to

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[95] Kathleen Shannon founded, and served as executive producer of the NFB's 'women's studio' Studio D.
[96] Farbod Honarpisheh, "You Are On Indian Land: Mike Mitchell/Mort Ransen," *Cinema of Canada* ed. Jerry White (2006), 82.
[97] Farbod Honarpisheh, "You Are On Indian Land: Mike Mitchell/Mort Ransen," *Cinema of Canada* ed. Jerry White (2006), 82.
[98] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File Ballad of Crowfoot, "CC newsletter by Patrick Watson" (1970).
[99] NFB Archives, File "You Are On Indian Land" Comments from Virginia Stikeman.

Indigenous peoples. The protagonist in the film is Crowfoot, the legendary 19th-century Blackfoot leader of the Plains. Archival photos, newspaper clippings and visual art arranged in a montage are supported by words and music of "an impassioned ballad" written by Mik'maq/Métis singer, songwriter and member of the IFC Willie Dunn. The plaintive chorus asks: "Crowfoot, Crowfoot, why the tears? You've been a brave man for many years, Why the sadness? Why the sorrow? Maybe there will be a better tomorrow."[100] The images accompanied by Dunn's ballad recount the rapid changes experienced by Indigenous peoples on the North American continent. Through this device, the deception of 'whites' around treaties and the devastation incurred with the invasion of 'white' settlers are exposed in a palatable way. The short is emotionally charged and compelling, leading the audience to the inevitable conclusion of political, social and human injustice. At the closing of the film short text scrolls across the screen: "This production was created by a film crew composed of Canadian Indians who wish to reflect the traditions, attitudes and problems of their people." Aimed at a non-Indigenous audience, the NFB distributed the film internationally showcasing *Crowfoot* as an example of the success of the CC program. The film was well received. The 1968 short film with a running time of 10 min 18 seconds, won several international awards including the Gold Hugo for best short film at the 1969 Chicago International Film Festival.

Domestically the IFC toured the film across Canada, with screenings in Winnipeg (Barbara Wilson); in Faust, Alberta (Willie Dunn); and in Slave Lake Alberta (Tom O'Connor). In at least one instance the reaction from Indigenous audiences was less than

[100] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File Ballad of Crowfoot, *The Ballad of Crowfoot* written by Willie Dunn.

enthusiastic. The following account illustrates a more complex or ambivalent reception to the film when shown to an Indigenous audience. Wilson toured *The Ballad of Crowfoot* to several northern Manitoban communities such as The Pas, and Cranberry Portage through an alliance with Frontier College.[101] The film was also screened to inmates at the Stoney Mountain Penitentiary. These screenings did not generate any noteworthy accounts from Wilson. However, when shown to "a mainly Indian" student audience at the Teulon residential school, located just north of Winnipeg, Wilson's report recounts a complex reaction from the mainly student audience. Wilson relays that the film did not receive the same accolades granted by non-native audiences. Screened to a "mixed" group of students in Winnipeg, the film got "very little reaction" from the Indigenous students: "Most of the Indian students felt there was nothing to be proud of [what] was shown – they failed to think of the technical aspects."[102] Wilson explained the reactions articulated by the Indigenous students in terms of internalized racism. Moreover, the fact that the film did not resonate with Indian students seemed to be less of a concern for Wilson than if they appreciated the cinematographic significance of the piece. The report, also indicates that [t] he "other" students and the teachers "liked" Crowfoot very much. The non-Indigenous students responded on an emotional level stating that the film "moved them immensely."[103] Non-Indigenous teachers determined that the film should "be used in high school to make the students start to think about Canadian History."[104]

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[101] Frontier College is a Canadian literacy organization that worked in Indigenous communities in the 1960s, as part of non-formal community education programs.
[102] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Administration: Report on Manitoba Trip by Barbara Wilson," (April 24, 1969), 2.
[103] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Administration: Report on Manitoba Trip by Barbara Wilson," (April 24, 1969), 2.
[104] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Administration: Report on Manitoba Trip by Barbara Wilson," (April 24, 1969), 2.

The Ballad of Crowfoot continued to be used as a teaching tool, shown in classrooms across Canada into the mid 1970s. At Simon Fraser University the film was used as part of the course curriculum for what was then the "new" Communication Studies department. The module analyzed films from the Challenge for Change program. The fourth film shown in the three-week section was *The Ballad of Crowfoot.*[105] According to course instructor Lynn Vardeman, the overwhelming response expressed by students was that of guilt and shame. According to Vardeman's letter, students taking the course were given an assignment, and encouraged to write a "pure emotional response in any form the student chose."[106] Some of the students' essays, poems, and projects were passed along to the NFB executive. The following are but a few samples of the responses submitted. One student related how "the film was an emotional and an enlightening experience."[107] Another student commenting on the section of the film that depicts the trial of Louis Riel, observed that, "Louis Riel was a textbook 'fact' before viewing the film. I can now relate to the Métis revolution. The atrocities were never mentioned in those textbooks from which high school students memorize 'facts.'"[108] *The Ballad of Crowfoot* was also screened in small-town southwestern Ontario high schools. A student from Listowel District Secondary requested Willie Dunn's music, which provided the soundtrack for the film. Although the film was a re-imagining of historical events, from

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[105] The other five films were: *Citizen Harold, The Things I Cannot Change, Up Against the System, Nel and Fred, and VTR St. Jacques.*

[106] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File IFC, "The Ballad of Crowfoot: Letter from Lynn Vardeman, department of Communication Studies at Simon Fraser University to executive producer of CC Len Chatwin," (January 1973), 1.

[107] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Ballad of Crowfoot: Sample of Simon Fraser University Student Assignments," (1973).

[108] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Ballad of Crowfoot: Sample of Simon Fraser University Student Assignments," (1973).

an Indian viewpoint, and challenged the national myth that characterized Canadian history, it did not move Indigenous communities to activism.

The Audio Taping Sessions in the NWT

The initial purpose of the Great Slave Lake recordings appears modest, if one compares it to the motivating factors that created *Loon Lake* (starvation), *You Are On Indian Land* (treaty rights and transnational Indigenous unity), and *The Ballad of Crowfoot* (human rights and treaty rights violations). In December 1968, IFC member Roy Daniels "took a tape recorder into Fort Rae, Northwest Territories" and began recording people in the area who spoke "chiefly in the native languages."[109] Daniels, a CYC volunteer trained and equipped by the National Film Board to use communications media in community development work started recording stories in Indigenous languages in the district of Treaty #11 in Fort Rae in an effort to open a dialogue between Indigenous communities in the area.[110]

One of the major stumbling blocks that Daniels encountered was that Indian communities throughout the North West Territories were not unified. Within many communities, such as the community of Hay River a further division existed between Treaty Indians and Métis.[111] The IFC/CYC project was designed "to stimulate local Indian groups to take more interest in both their traditions and the challenges of modern life," as well as promoting communication between communities.[112] Daniels interviewed

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[109] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "Great Slave Lake Project: Memo from Marilyn Assheton-Smith to Stewart Goodings" (December 1968).
[110] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Memorandum" by George Stoney, (February 25, 1969). According to the memo, over 35 roles of transcripts were forwarded to the Museum of Man in Ottawa.
[111] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "Great Slave Lake Project: Letter from Roy Daniels addressed to George Stoney" (June 5, 1969).
[112] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "Great Slave Lake Project: Memo from George Stoney to J.G.E. Smith at the Museum of Man" (February 25, 1969).

women and men, leaders and elders on the subjects of folklore, daily life and changes due to the influx of technology. Daniels contacted many organizations[113] in the area, and noted that they "had a good response about the sound work in conjunction with NFB, Challenge for Change program and CYC work."[114] The project's itinerary included interviews in Slavey communities of Ft. Providence area and Ft. Simpson; the Hare speaking community of Ft. Good Hope; the Loucheau speaking communities of Ft. McPherson, Inuvik, and Aklavik; and the Chiweyan communities of Snowdrift and Resolution.[115]

Daniels' strategy was to locate in a community and collaborate with someone local who assisted as interpreter. The interpreter was also trained to take over the taping and was then hired on as the CYC volunteer for the area. Because of his technical expertise gained through the NFB, Roy Daniels headed the groups. Although Daniels was a young Aboriginal man, he was an outsider from the south who spoke neither Slavey nor Dogrib. Therefore Indigenous people from the area, fluent in the local language, were hired as translators. A group composed primarily of young Indigenous CYC volunteers, organized taping sessions with elders who had been present during the Treaty signing in 1921.[116] Louis Rabesca and James Washee were among those who took part in the taping sessions. Both men already worked as CYC volunteers, and spoke Dogrib.

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[113] The list of organizations included: Indian community organizations, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), Frontier College, the Indian Eskimo Association, religious groups, and schools.
[114] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Report by Roy Daniels," (date unknown), 1.
[115] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Report by Marilyn Assheton-Smith," (March 26, 1969), 2.
[116] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Report on Greater Slave Lake Research Work about Treaty #11" (February 7, 1969), 1.

While conducting interviews with community elders on a variety of topics, Daniels encountered a reoccurring topic that stressed the importance of Treaty rights. As CYC regional supervisor Marilyn Assheton-Smith reported to Ottawa: "For Treaty Indians, especially those under Treaty #11, there [was] only one major problem and that [was] the treaty."[117] The goal of gathering recordings in order to share the information and increase communication was expanded to include Treaty #8 people.[118] Daniels began amassing stories from people who were present at the treaty signing in 1921, and their stories contradicted government records and accounts of the events. Elders repeatedly articulated that the signing of the 1921 Treaty in no way involved the surrender of Aboriginal title to the land. The taping group began "the work of documenting the Dene version of Treaties 8 and 11, a version [that] said nothing of giving up title to traditional lands."[119] The treaty, covering the Mackenzie District of about 372,000 square miles, was the last major treaty signed between Indigenous peoples and the Canadian government.[120] As James Littleton pointed out "the sound tapes [were] in effect a permanent record of the oral treaty."[121] At the time of the treaty signing the Dogrib (Dene) signatories did not speak English, let alone read it. The people Daniels interviewed remembered the significance of the treaty very differently than government accounts, in particular questions of land ownership, and fishing and hunting rights. Daniels noted: "Treaty 11, having unfulfilled promises made by the government, on the

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[117] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Great Slave Lake Project" by Marilyn Assheton-Smith, (March 26, 1969), 2.
[118] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels, "Report on Greater Slave Lake Research Work about Treaty #11" (February 7, 1969), 1.
[119] Peter Puxley, *A Model for Engagement: Reflections on the 25th Anniversary of the Berger Report (The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1977)* (Ottawa 2002), 4.
[120] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "Boyce Richardson: Title unknown *Montreal Star*, 14 June 1969, page unknown."
[121] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 181 File W "Report to Executive Director on Visit to Western and Northern Projects by James Littleton," (date unknown), 5.

land issue in which one party which is the government, saying land was ceded to the Crown and the other party stating the fact that land was never discussed, that the land was never ceded to the Crown but rather a land boundary was given to the Dog-rib Band."[122] This position was re-iterated by Alex Charleaux, then the chief tribal councilor under Chief Bruneau for Hay River. Charleaux spoke of the absurdity of the government assertion that the Treaty meant surrendering Aboriginal Title to the land: "We cannot give away the very thing that our existence depends upon. Therefore how could we give up this land to the Crown, which will benefit the Crown but destroy what makes the Indian character or culture. If anything had been said about giving away land, no Dogrib would have taken the treaty money."[123] Taping of elders' accounts throughout Treaty 11 expanded to include elders involved in the signing of Treaty 8 and offered a way for communities to compare stories and communicate with each other. The purpose of the taping sessions was also to educate and communicate Indian Peoples' positions to dominant society in the NWT. Daniels distributed the information gathered by collaborating with the local radio station in Yellowknife, Radio CFYK, using the taping sessions to set up programs on treaties and on native languages of the area.[124]

Not only did Daniels wish to facilitate better communication and unity between northern communities, he also wished to raise awareness and support in the south through radio broadcasts such as the CBC's "Assignment North."[125] The first step was to set up alliances with mainstream media. Using the media of the dominant culture, forming

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[122] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Company of Young Canadians & National Film Board Report by Roy Daniels," (date unknown), 4.
[123] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "Boyce Richardson: Title unknown *Montreal Star*, 14 June 1969, page unknown."
[124] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Report by Roy Daniels," (date unknown), 2.
[125] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, CYC, IFC, File Roy Daniels "Canadian Broadcast Corporation memorandum Charles Greenwell to Roy Daniels" (May 26, 1969).

alliances with journalists in mainstream publications was a strategy employed by CYC Native volunteers. It was presumed that if the media could be used to promote activist agenda and raise awareness of Native issues in a sympathetic and informed way. CC's George Stoney assisted Daniels in making contacts with sympathetic journalists such as associate editor of the *Montreal Star*, Boyce Richardson. In a letter to Richardson, Daniels states: "I am sending copies of all the research papers on the Treaty Issues in the Northwest Territories, Treaty 8 and 11. A lot of the material has repetitions but this only points out that the oral treaty has just as much validity as opposed to the Treaty document that the government has."[126] Less than two weeks later, June 14, 1969, a feature article on the community of Hay River, and the significance surrounding Treaty 11, ran in the *Montreal Star*.

The audiotapes were important works on a linguistic and cultural level, but more than that, the interviews became invaluable oral testimony. The audiotapes and the raw film footage collected by Daniels and other Indigenous CYC members[127] served as invaluable evidence. The CYC's research, of compiling an audio record of testimony from elders' understandings of treaty rights, and mapping traditional land use, in "itself constituted a political act" that changed "relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal and, as such, involve [d] a redistribution of political power."[128] The information amassed by CYC field researchers from communities was instrumental in inspiring sixteen Indian chiefs of the NWT who presented a caveat for registration under the Land Titles Act, claiming large tracts of land by virtue of aboriginal title. The

[126] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Letter from Roy Daniels addressed to George Stoney," (June 5, 1969).
[127] The majority of whom went on to form the NWT Indian Brotherhood and became leaders and activists in their communities.
[128] Peter Puxley, *A Model for Engagement*, 5.

conclusions reached by Justice William Morrow in the 1973 *Paulette* case,[129] as well as Justice Thomas Berger's findings in the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, hinged on the oral testimony given by elders.[130] Rene Fumoleau, priest, activist and supporter of the Dene's Treaty rights, in the preface of *As Long as this Land shall Last* acknowledges and thanks the CYC for its unfailing and important contributions to the formation of the Indian Brotherhood, and the subsequent legal battle for Dene treaty rights.[131]

Daniels wished to expand the taping project to include a documentary film about the elders and the story of Treaty 8 & 11. As the sixties ended, so too did the chapter in CYC financial support for the Indian Film Crew. Daniels attempted to raise money through other sources. He appealed to artists such as Indigenous musician activist Buffy Ste-Marie as well as Johnny Cash. Daniels also turned to the president of the newly formed National Indian Brotherhood, Walter Dieter, requesting financial support. Daniels even sent a letter to DIAND. According to the archival records it appears that the only pledge of financial assistance came from Mr. R. W. Nablo – Head of the Long Range Planning department of Indian Affairs Branch.[132] The DIAND's support seems absurd given the proposed project aimed to expose the duplicity of the Canadian government and

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[129] See Re Paulette et al. and Registrar of Land Titles [1973] 42 DLR (3d) 8 (N.W.T.S.C.), and Paulette et al. v. The Queen [1977] 2 S.C.R. 628. Whether or not Treaties 8 and 11 ended Aboriginal title in the NWT is a question that came to a head in the *Paulette* case in 1973. This case arose from a Dene attempt to file a caveat on certain Crown lands. The Dene argued in court that the written version of the treaties did not reflect the understanding of the Dene who signed them. In the Supreme Court of the NWT, Justice Morrow found that, "...notwithstanding the language of the two treaties, there [is] a sufficient doubt on the facts that aboriginal title was extinguished..." to justify the filing of a caveat until the issue of Aboriginal title was settled. The Supreme Court of Canada later ruled that the caveat could not be filed on Crown lands but the courts did not rule on the basic issue of whether or not Aboriginal title was in fact given up by signing the treaties.

[130] See Justice Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland; the Report of the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry, 1974-1977* (Canada 1977) for a discussion Justice Berger's decision that called for a ten year moratorium on pipeline construction pending resolution of land claims.

[131] Rene Fumoleau, *As Long as This Land Shall Last*, (Toronto 1973), preface ii.

[132] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC File IFC "The Great Slave Lake Project: Letter from George Stoney addressed to R.W. Nablo," (September 2, 1969).

the Department of Indian Affairs during Treaty negotiations. The documentary was never completed. Although the film did not become a reality, work around the taping sessions continued, taken up by young Indigenous peoples in the north. Daniels left the CYC and the IFC in the fall of 1969 to fulfill his responsibilities as newly elected first president of the nascent NWT Indian Brotherhood. Daniels experience was not unique.

One of the major stumbling blocks that chronically impeded the Film Crew's work was lack of financial control. Funds from CYC headquarters were less than forthcoming and NFB technical requests were usually subject to bureaucratic delays. The IFC's ill-defined position worked as both a blessing and a curse: "The fact that the film crew was amalgamated into other budgets made them responsible to no-one and vaguely responsible to everyone."[133] The ambivalence frustrated the young filmmakers "as sometimes it seemed that the film crew had all the restrictions of both organizations without any of the advantages."[134] As early as 1968 IFC member Noel Starblanket bemoaned that, "probably the most discouraging limitation to the Indian crew is our dissatisfaction about the present set-up – the CYC-NFB arrangement."[135] Glen Brown, an accountant hired in 1968 to get the CYC's budget under control, rejected many of the IFC incurred debts, consistently refusing to pay out many of the invoices. Littleton consistently went 'over his head.' Because James Littleton firmly believed that the IFC should maintain "freedom and flexibility" in project operations,[136] he felt no compunction to act as a watchdog for the CYC privileging its budget concerns. Littleton's priority was

[133] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Letter from Willie Dunn, Mike Mitchell, and Noel Starblanket."
[134] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Letter from Willie Dunn, Mike Mitchell, and Noel Starblanket."
[135] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Administration: A Voice for Canadian Indians: An Indian Film Crew by Noel Starblanket in *Challenge for Change Magazine* Fall 1968," 11.
[136] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence: Evaluation of CYC Volunteers Being Trained at National Film Board –Montreal by James Littleton," (June 10, 1968), 6.

to act on behalf of the IFC. Armed with signing authority, Littleton approved IFC expenditures usually without question, sometimes stretching the parameters of what, for the executive, constituted 'legitimate' expenses. For example, in 1969 Littleton attempted to write off IFC member Roy Daniels' wedding.[137] In another instance Littleton signed off on travel expense reimbursements incurred by Mike Mitchell and Noel Starblanket. The two IFC members had not, however, obtained prior approval from CYC head office for their trips. What constituted the manifestation of 'Indigenous self-determination' may not always have been obvious to CYC executive directors Alan Clarke and Stewart Goodings, but despite reservations, both supported the majority of Littleton's decisions around the IFC's invoice payments. CYC executive support ended with the arrival of Claude Vidal. When Vidal took over as executive director in 1969, James Littleton was one of the few radicals left within the CYC. The organization was also $90,000 in debt. Vidal did not come from a student activist background or even a community development background; he was an administrator. Dissent, in Vidal eyes, simply made running the CYC as an organization more difficult.[138] Not only did Littleton challenge Vidal's authority, he insulted his character. Littleton suggested that Vidal's intelligence was "subnormal," acidly requesting that the executive director, "please authorize immediately the purchase of a return ticket from Yellowknife for Mr. Daniels so that he can confer with his colleagues regarding the fate of the Indian Film Crew and the way attempts are being made to determine it by you and your henchman Brown."[139] The 'request' was refused because the nature of the meeting was "unclear" and therefore "unnecessary." Vidal used balancing the CYC budget to justify moving the IFC to NFB headquarters on

[137] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Memos and Telex" (February 7, 1969).
[138] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence" (July 30, 1969).
[139] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Memo and Telex" (July 28, 1969).

Côte de Liesse in Montreal, making Littleton's position in Ottawa obsolete. In a letter to the IFC, Vidal rationalized that with Littleton's position eliminated, the money saved would go to the IFC's budget: "The decisions I am taking are purely in the interest of investing more money in our projects and in our field work and limiting expenses in our Ottawa Office. Austerity has to be shared and borne by everyone."[140] George Stoney clearly stated his opposition to both the move and Littleton's dismissal: "I was deeply disturbed to receive your letter. Surely the small advantage that might acrue [sic] from the geographical proximity we share with the Montreal CYC office are outweighed by the obvious amount of time and effort required to begin this process of education all over again. Perhaps equally important, members of the crew will be working all over Canada. In the past we have injoyed [sic] the assistance of CYC regional people in the areas involved with a minimum of red tape because we did have a direct access through Mr. Littleton."[141] The IFC vehemently opposed Vidal's decision, likening his actions to Jean Chretien's consultation process around the White Paper: "Suffice it to say, Mr. Vidal that we object to this kind of 'consultation' and top-level decision making – whether arbitrarily, single-handedly or in consultation with your bureaucratic colleagues."[142] Roy Daniels' letter was a particularly scathing attack on Vidal: "Again a Frenchman is making a mockery of Indian leadership and participation in terms of decision making and involvement in things that are affecting Indian people in general. Mr. C. Vidal is just as guilty as Hon. J. Chretien for trying to undermine Indian leadership and participation."[143] Racial tensions between 'Indians' and French surfaced around the issue of moving the IFC

[140] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence" (July 30, 1969).
[141] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence" (July 16, 1969).
[142] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence" (July 21, 1969).
[143] LAC, CYC, RG 116 Box 130 File 615 "Correspondence" (July 28, 1969).

project to Montreal without consultation. The letters opposing Vidal's decision were to no avail. Vidal gave Brown control over financial decisions that previous CYC executive directors had withheld. On August 1, 1969 after receiving another harsh letter from Littleton, Brown stripped Littleton of any signing authority for the IFC. Vidal effectively fired Littleton without following procedure and/or protocol.

Attempting to overcome institutional obstacles forced both Indigenous and non-Indigenous CC and CYC members, at times, to work against their administrations. In hindsight, the muddied administrative situation of the IFC, though not ideal, provided allies like Stoney and Littleton a degree of latitude that enabled their support of the Film Crew's efforts towards self-determination, if only briefly. However, forwarding an agenda that bypassed or undermined both institutions required a fine balancing act. The IFC, as well as other CYC and CC members employed a variety of strategies, from the manipulation of discretionary powers, to double-speak and subterfuge in an effort to achieve their desired ends. Gambill, and then Littleton repeatedly demonstrated their loyalty, radicalism, as well as their lack of diplomatic subtlety, which in the end cost them their jobs. The political tides turned. The federal government implemented a policy of fiscal restraint, and renounced activism. The events of the October 1970 sealed the IFC's fate. In a memo to Roy Daniels on August 29, 1969 George Stoney stated: "We're still here, clinging to the tattered flag of Challenge for Change."[144] The budget cuts to the Challenge for Change, and a backlash against 'too many films made about Indians' effectively shut down the activist element of the IFC films.

[144] NFB Archives, CFC/SN, Box CYC, File The Ballad of Crowfoot "Memo to Drew Gillies" (August 29, 1969).

Chapter 6: Conclusion

As the sixties ended, so too closed a chapter on government-sponsored programming that overtly proposed social change through youth activism as a political goal, while also trying to shape youth radicalism – a contradiction at the heart of the CYC. In the wake of the October Crisis, a financial period of austerity, coupled with a political shift to a more conservative era, the Company of Young Canadians was stripped of its political autonomy and the NFB's Challenge for Change program suffered severe budget cuts.[1]

Assessing the impact of the CYC's Indigenous projects and the intersections between Indigenous and non-Indigenous activists entails looking at both its limitations and its successes. Numerous projects failed because of lack of Indigenous community support. If the majority of a community determined a CYC member to be an outsider, irrespective of Indigeneity, the community would not participate in the project. A project and its members had to garner the respect and participation of the people. This realization acknowledged that the impetus of Indigenous projects had to come from Indigenous people. Another opposing force was pressure exerted by Canadian society. This pressure was manifested as the ugly face of racism, fueled by institutionalized colonialism. CYC members who worked on Indigenous projects exposed the undercurrent of racism that existed in towns, and cities throughout the country. Many non-Indigenous individuals, local townsfolk, businesspeople and otherwise 'fine upstanding citizens,' fought to maintain the status quo – where Indigenous people in Canada remained marginalized,

[1] In May 1971 the Indian Film Crew re-emerged, now funded exclusively by the DIAND. The IFC continued to create films about and for Indigenous peoples, such as the *Other Side of the Ledger* and *Who Were the Ones*. Although IFC members took on new roles, participating as apprentices, or junior filmmakers, they no longer worked as activists using film as a tool for activism. In addition the CC was no longer dedicated to having Native concerns brought to the fore through self-representation. Nonetheless, the Challenge for Change program continued to produce films on Indigenous peoples, some, award winning, reaching a wide national audience, but they returned to 'giving voice' through sympathetic NFB/CC filmmakers.

disengaged from the political process and poor. This refusal to give up power and control, anchored in a colonial/settler mentality, was in many cases supported by the Canadian courts, the police, and government institutions and agencies on the municipal, provincial and federal levels. That said, wanting to maintain power and control was not the exclusive purview of whites. Numerous instances in this study, such as Loon Lake and the Mohawk community of Akwesasne, illustrate that opposing forces also emerged from within. Indigenous leaders, who held positions of power through the imposed system of band councils, when threatened, worked to undermine and discredit CYC volunteers.

Despite opposition some CYC projects nevertheless managed to achieve remarkable results. The scope and nature of achievement varied with each individual project. Factors that contributed to some of the successes included, Indigenous community support, strong project leaders, a project's structural ambivalence, and operational distance from the power structure in Ottawa. For instance, the ambivalence of the CYC/NFB's Indian Film Crew agreement, though frustrating for the crewmembers, largely contributed to the successes they achieved. The young men and women of the Indian Film Crew navigated difficult terrain. They were on the Company of Young Canadians' payroll, under the guidance and technical support of the National Film Board, operating within native communities as well as the dominant culture. Challenge for Change executive producers, as well as allies within the CYC, supported the IFC's efforts for self-determination. This support was imagined in a very pragmatic way, giving the Film Crew creative autonomy and more broadly, believing politically in Indigenous self-determination.

In almost all of the researched cases that managed to create significant changes, Indigenous media played a key role. CYC created and supported Indigenous media functioned as an essential tool in the distribution of information throughout 'Indian country,' and contributed to an Indigenous networking system across the North American continent. Successful Indigenous CYC projects were not achieved through social participation alone, but through multi-tactical efforts. This study suggests the importance of an integrated analysis of politics and culture. One must remember that the primary function and aim of the CYC newspapers, radio station, and the IFC films was to support the political efforts of Indigenous self-determination and the promotion of Indigenous identity. Protests, lobbying efforts, land claims battles, the reclaiming of language and education were channeled through Indigenous media projects. The issues raised and the actions taken by CYC volunteers and Indigenous activists were to inspire readers to, in turn, take action, and join in the efforts to unify Indians.

The Company of Young Canadians may have well been a project of accommodation, an effort to 'incorporate' youth into the state's agenda, but the outcome of some of its Native work was to make whites aware of the deep-seated nature of colonialism and to assert Indigenous control over Indigenous communities. Non-Indigenous participants and organizations served as integral supporters of many Indigenous CYC projects and learned that not everyone of the sixties generation was "bred in at least modest comfort."[2] Moreover, that for marginalized people, in particular, Indigenous people, the chance of "inheriting" anything, let alone "the world," was slim to none.[3] In addition, some non-Indigenous volunteers experienced first hand how the

[2] Tom Hayden. *The Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society*. 1962, 1.
[3] Tom Hayden. *The Port Huron Statement of the Students for a Democratic Society*. 1962, 1.

consequences of supporting the mobilization of Indigenous communities could be harsh and sometimes dangerous, resulting in state repression in the form of threats, violence, and/or illegal incarceration.

More important, Native youth in the CYC wrested some power from the state to create important and lasting contributions to their communities. The CYC served as an efficient locus for Indigenous communities to communicate with each other, operating as a site that networked the message of pan-Indianism. Native CYC volunteers used CYC-funded media as tools for activism and as strategies to promote self-representation. Archival sources illustrate that the efforts of Indigenous CYC volunteers effected change politically, legally, educationally and culturally throughout Indian country. The actions of Indigenous CYC volunteers in the NWT, British Columbia, northern Alberta, northwestern and southern Ontario point to the fact that Indigenous volunteers could, and did, mobilize communities for social change. Their successes and failures as activists and animators of change contribute to a larger understanding of the competing powers between the collective/individual and the state.

Scholarship on the CYC, however, has not imagined Indigenous youth as community organizers, social animators or catalysts for change. Aside from Ian Hamilton's mention of Harold 'Buddy' Sault as an 'agitator', interpretations of the CYC have been limited to conceptualizations of whiteness. "Shit disturbers," and "children's crusaders," were neither poor, nor were they Indigenous. Historical accounts have debated whether (or not) CYC volunteers were middle-class or radical youth. None have placed Indigenous volunteers as equal and active participants in the CYC's quest for social change. It is my hope that the research and analysis in the preceding pages

complicates our understanding of Indigenous activism in the long sixties, altering the prevailing picture of 'youth activists' all too often imagined as white and middle-class. My work also alters the historiography on the CYC and youth activism more generally, by placing Indigenous history at the centre of our discussion.

This study did not tackle the role of women within the CYC or how gender shaped the organization. Many women, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous participated in the CYC, yet their roles as historical actors are imagined as serving merely in a supportive capacity. This topic warrants further research. Moreover, the difficult yet rewarding task of compiling an oral account of the experiences of Indigenous and non-Indigenous CYC volunteers would contribute greatly to our understanding of the Company of Young Canadians and to the kinds of relationships that existed within the organization.

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