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globe, but it has particularly affected them. It has swamped their traditional economy and technology. The second constellation of factors which is important here is the failure of successive governments; British, American and Canadian, to protect the rights of aboriginal peoples even when they have recognized those rights.

Those rights were recognized as long as two centuries ago. In the Royal Proclamation of 1763, King George III provided that Indian nations were not to be molested or disturbed on their traditional lands. In 1787 in the United States the Northwest Ordinance gave the same kind of protection to Indians there. Article III of that ordinance says:

The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity shall, from time to time, be made, for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

Even where there was recognition of these rights, there was not a protection of these rights flowing from that recognition. This failure to protect the rights of aboriginal peoples combined with the economic and technological changes led to the complete over-running of their lands and the swamping of their traditional economies. As an example we can consider what happened in the 19th century to the Indian peoples on the Canadian and American prairies when the railways were built and the buffalo were destroyed. The effects of the coming of settlers varied from place to place but, in the worst instances, people were reduced to being paupers in their own land and they had to depend on government handouts—the seeds of socialism!

In 1881 Helen Hunt Jackson, as part of the ongoing celebrations of the American centennial of the 1776 revolution, published her epoch-making book, *Century of Dishonour*. This book detailed the dishonourable way in which the American Government had treated American Indian people. That was 100 years ago. Today that dishonour continues to afflict both Canadian and American Indians. It continues to stain the peoples of both the United States and Canada.

In Canada there has been a deliberate and systematic attempt to subvert and supplant traditional Indian leadership. For example, the Protestant missionary, William Duncan, who in many ways was one of the greatest of the missionaries, went to Metlakatla, British Columbia, in the late 19th century. He had a view that in that so-called model village of Metlakatla there were to be no chiefs but Duncan. Potlatch laws were introduced to attempt to destroy the traditional religion as well as the whole system of government, exchange of property, validation of title and everything else. The potlatch was made illegal by the Canadian Government. In their zeal some missionaries burned potlatch items; rattles and masks. Other missionaries with a little better eye for commercial value collected some of these items and shipped them off to museums. Indian people are still trying to get some of these items back. We had an Indian Act passed which stated that Indian people had to have permission to go to Indian dances or

to rodeos. It was an Indian Act which, in the 1920s, made it illegal for Indian people to collect funds for organizations which were advocating aboriginal land claims. There was unworkable racist and sexist legislation in the Indian Act regarding band membership and Indian status. There was discrimination against Indian women. Two years ago with Bill C-31 we attempted to correct some of the worst of those abuses but it is very hard to correct history in this way. The federal Government has had a trust responsibility for managing Indian properties which has been carried out in an abominable way. Indian lands have been sold or leased at far below market value.

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We cannot be responsible for the kind of economic and technological changes which have affected Indian peoples over the last four centuries. However, we are collectively responsible for the second group of factors, including the failure of governments and of Canadian and American peoples to recognize the rights of aboriginal people. Over the last few years we have seen a growth in recognition of aboriginal rights. There has been a growth in understanding of aboriginal rights among aboriginal peoples themselves, and that is most significant. We have seen that growth among federal politicians. In the short time I have been in this House, I have seen a development in all Parties in terms of recognition of what aboriginal rights mean. We have seen a growth on the part of the Canadian population as a whole and now we have polls which indicate a majority of Canadians want to see aboriginal self-government.

The modern recognition of aboriginal rights owes a great deal to two events in our time. First, there was the 1969 White Paper which was basically an assimilationist document. At first blush, it was accepted by all Parties in the House of Commons. It followed a series of consultations which had taken place with Indian people and Indian leaders all across Canada. At those consultations the Indian peoples stated their demands to have their historic rights recognized, their hunting and fishing rights, their land claims and their treaty rights. However, the White Paper ignored these demands.

Perhaps the best statement of the way in which the Government ignored those demands came from former Prime Minister Trudeau when he spoke on August 8, 1969, in a very celebrated speech in Vancouver. Mr. Trudeau said that the Government had two choices, either retaining the traditional conventional way of administering to Indians "by adding bricks of discrimination around the ghetto in which they live", or by moving towards eliminating all special status and having Indian people the same as everyone else. He said:

We will recognize treaty rights—we will recognize forms of contract which have been made with the Indian people by the Crown. And we will try to bring justice in that area. And this will mean that perhaps the treaties shouldn't go on forever.

It's inconceivable, I think, that in a given society, one section of the society have a treaty with the other section of the society. We must all be equal under the laws and we must not sign treaties amongst ourselves and many of