

rities, trade in contraband goods, intimidation of law-abiding Mohawks, interruption of transportation, and destruction of property disqualified any claim the Warriors had to represent the grievances of law-abiding Indians.

What is taking place at Oka is not civil disobedience; it is violent activity that no community should be expected to tolerate. The ostensible reason for the conflict at Oka—and I do not in any way wish to downgrade major historic land claims by Native people, and I will get back to this later—was long ago removed when in July, the federal government acquired the disputed land, before the incidents took place, for the Mohawks of Kanésatake. This step, incidentally, is in keeping with the goals of the framework agreement concluded a year ago this month between the Mohawks of Kanésatake, the town of Oka and the federal and provincial governments, an agreement that unfortunately was repudiated in March by a number of Mohawk leaders.

[English]

What has been at issue these past weeks is not the land, rather the warriors acting against all of the peaceful and noble traditions of Canada's Mohawks. The warriors, advised by foreign legal counsel, have been seeking recognition that their communities are independent and that the laws of Canada do not apply to their lands and to their activities which in the past have included smuggling and gambling on a very large scale. They have sought by various means to circumvent the Canadian justice system.

The warriors' demands are not simply ideas on which reasonable people can agree or simply agree to disagree. They strike at the very heart of what Canada is all about.

The warriors have been acting as if the concept of native self-government means national independence. I want to be very clear on this point. Native self-government is something that can bring great honour, great accomplishment, and great justice to native peoples and, indeed, it shall. But it does not and cannot ever mean sovereign independence within Canadian territory. Mohawk lands are part of Canadian territory and Canadian law must and does apply to us all. Everyone in Canada—members of this House, members of every house, war-

Government Orders

riors included—is subject to the Criminal Code of Canada. If exceptions to the Criminal Code were made on the basis of colour, race, or creed, where could the line be drawn in a country as diverse and as complex as Canada? What could be more repugnant in a democracy than a legal system based on birth rather than equality?

There are many non-violent avenues, political and judicial, open to people in the country to promote change. In fact, the traditions of Canada's native peoples have been peaceful and noble down through the decades, often under great assault and under great personal challenge. Any student of history, I am sure, would have wondered at the forbearance and the generosity of native peoples given some of the matters to which I will come very shortly. But the warriors opted for firearms and violence, concepts that are fundamentally alien to Canada and to the interests of all native peoples.

• (1630)

[Translation]

Two Mohawks were killed in a dispute over gambling at the Akwesasne reserve last Spring. Corporal Marcel Lemay of the *Sûreté du Québec* was killed in the police assault on the barricades last July. These are the consequences when people decide that the law does not apply to them.

Conferring on the claims of the Warriors the legitimacy of the grievances of Canada's aboriginal peoples does the latter's cause an enormous disservice. And glorifying violence and romanticising those who have recourse to it does democracy, itself, a terrible wrong. Masks and guns make compelling pictures and raise ratings and circulation. But they don't equate to noble purpose.

The armed forces have brought the barricades down and are gradually turning their responsibilities over to the *Sûreté du Québec*. As this phase-out begins, I think all members would agree that perhaps the most edifying aspect of this whole tragic episode has been the professionalism of the Canadian Armed Forces.

The Canadian Forces, from General de Chastelain to Lieutenant-General Foster to Brigadier-General Roy are to be commended for the level of professionalism that has been evident throughout.