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injunction, claiming that "the project was being carried out in the best interests of Quebec, and that these interests outweigh the interests of the natives." The decision may set a dangerous precedent for the judgement of any aboriginal rights case.

One must consider the population of southern Quebec as well as the native people. Will the effects of the development be as beneficial to them as some have claimed? It is becoming increasingly obvious to many people, experts and laymen alike, that this could be the political Nemesis of Premier Bourassa. Le Comité pour la Défense de la Baie James states that "the project fails as a development scheme because it does not offer much hope of affecting the real social problems of Quebecers." They see large profits going into a few pockets while the unemployment, poverty, sub-standard housing and depressed manufacturing industries of the south are neglected. The La Grande complex will produce the same amount of power as Churchill Falls, but cost nearly six times as much. Since the majority of the jobs created will be temporary, the committee feels the money would be better used to establish secondary manufacturing industry offering permanent jobs.

Even more dangerous ramifications of this development have been foreseen. The view taken by several economists, and by the former federal Resources Minister J. J. Greene, is that of large inflows of United States capital, used to help finance the project, inflating the dollar, disrupting the overall national balance of payments and undermining the financial position of Quebec in the lending markets of the world.

Such action also serves the dubious purpose of encouraging continued American investment in the natural resources sector, rather than in secondary industry. Nationalists are quick to point out that such investment trends in the past have led to Canada's close dependence on the American economy.

In 1973, the Hon. Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs announced the intention of federal government to consider compensation to Indians and Eskimos who had never ceded their lands by treaty. He intimated that settlements would be satisfactory only if the provincial government concerned participated with the federal government in the negotiations. In the light of the James Bay situation, this could mean that if the province did not negotiate, the federal government would abandon both their intentions and the native people. When the Indians' lawyers asked for leave to appeal the Quebec ruling, the Supreme Court of Canada rejected the motion. Ottawa's reluctance to intervene on behalf of the natives has been soundly condemned by many people, including Flora MacDonald, who feel that the federal government has the authority to take action.

Le Comité pour la Défense de la Baie James suggests that such action be taken

under the Canada Water Act, which allows the federal government to provide for the quality management of waters that are a matter of national concern. Since only the federal government can enact laws pertaining to natives and their rights, this law could protect their interests in the water systems of the area.

If enforced, the Canada Water Act would require federal-provincial consultation and agreement for comprehensive water basin planning, and the establishment of commissions to conduct multipurpose water resource management programs. Such action may save the rest of the James Bay region, but the La Grande project is far beyond that kind of planning now.

Negotiations which had ceased in 1972 began again after the temporary injunction was ordered, since the native peoples had been granted a basis from which to work. To quote Andrew Delisle, president of the Indians of Quebec Association, "The very denial of aboriginal and treaty rights is what frustrates the Indians most keenly for without this recognition there can be little meaningful dialogue with the government." Yet once again they are at a disadvantage in the negotiations, for once again their rights have been denied.

What do the Indians and Eskimos hope to gain from these negotiations? It is apparent that any hope for major change in the project is futile at this point, since construction has reached a "no turning back now" stage. Yet some changes can still be made, and fair compensation can still be bargained for. The native people have indicated that they will cede the land in exchange for full health services, good schools and guarantees that they can continue trapping, fishing and hunting. Chief Billy Diamond, interviewed by CBC, said it was not money they were after, since they have a lot more than money to lose. Many people are scornful of the claim for fishing and hunting rights, feeling that "all natives are on welfare anyway, and why can't they work like the rest of us?"

McGill professor of anthropology John Spence has said, "Existing levels of cash earnings and transfer payments are tolerable while costs for food can be kept to a minimum and diet kept to a high quality through hunting..." but that "...once subsistence hunting is let go, the northern people are involved in the downward spiral of dependency, with wages in the north never catching up with the built-in inflation of prices in the area." One aspect of this controversy is the never-ending debate on the ability of welfare to keep up with inflation, and I will not delve into it here. Its implications are just as political as they are economic, and for the time being it is clearly a rhetorical question.

The other aspect, that of the working Indian or Eskimo, can perhaps be treated more objectively. Two questions arise: 1) What are employment opportunities in this area for native people? 2) Is this kind of life at all compatible with their culture and their way of thinking?

Question one: Cree Indians in northern and central Quebec work mainly as labourers for the mining and pulp and paper companies. They have found discrimination in both their jobs and their social status within a white community. When Indians complained of getting inferior stands to cut over from the pulp companies, the foremen explained that the French Canadian worker had a larger family, needed a bigger income, didn't get everything handed to him from the government like Indians did, and so forth. An even more surprising view — the myth of the wonderful savage has so permeated the white man's thinking that it is automatically assumed the Indian will know everything there is to know about working in the woods. For this strange reason the Indian is never trained — he is simply assigned to a cutting crew. The untrained Indian would be doing the same

job twenty years later as he was doing when he first signed on, if he stayed with the company. As it stands now, a large percentage of Indians over 18 continue to live by hunting and trapping. Those Indians who are employed usually work for several months, hunt and trap for several months, then find another job. They are a source of casual, short-term, unskilled labour and it seems they are being kept that way.

Cree Indians of Fort George fish and whitefish of La Grande, hunt geese and ducks during their migrations, trap rabbit, beaver, otter and fox for additional revenue, and hunt caribou, bear and seal to supplement their diet. The use of trapping as a revenue source seems to be increasing recently. Albeit only a half dozen families from Fort George went to their winter trapping grounds this year, a trend towards returning to the old ways has been noted among the natives who have gone through white schools, especially the younger people who have rejected their jobs in the industrial south and have returned to the land. About two-thirds of the band at Mistasini for example were at their trapping grounds this year. Yet as flooding drives off the otter, beaver and rabbit, more families will be forced to look for casual low-paying jobs, or go on welfare. And as the migration patterns of caribou and bear are altered by roads and railways, and the flight of ducks and geese altered by increased air traffic, and diet of the natives will correspondingly decrease in quantity and quality. The fate of the whitefish fishery is even more drastic, since the first of the La Grande dams is to be built over the spawning grounds.

The benefits of the La Grande complex and Bourassa's 100,000 jobs do not seem to have reached Fort George. About 200 Cree are registered at the local Canada Manpower Centre, while only 3 to 35 Cree were working on construction gangs over the past year. The Indian in charge of the manpower centre has travelled throughout the project, trying to get the foremen to hire native workers. But all of the hiring is done in southern Quebec at the employment offices of the firms holding contracts on the project. The Indians have also shown a reluctance to participate in the JBDC's small industries; and are hostile to the people trying to promote job opportunities for them. This is understandable, since Fort George has come a typical catalogue of the ills inflicted on a native community in direct and clashing contact with white society. Alcoholism, rape and illegal use of drugs, seen as a result of work gangs in the area, have become problems of such major proportions that Fort George has been declared off-limits to all employees of the JBDC. No water services are available to the people, garbage litters the roadsides, and raw effluent from upstream construction sites floats down the La Grande past the town. This will be a miserable contrast to the modern town planned for the permanent employees, technicians and scientists of the complex.

Perhaps it would be wise to look at other areas where the lure of large-scale development has brought white into contact with native. The Mackenzie Delta Research Group studied the effects of such contact among the Eskimos of Inuvik, and their findings are by no means pleasant. Most whites revealed not only a lack of knowledge concerning the Eskimo culture, but an indifference towards the Eskimos' attempts to adapt. Attitudes ranged from "sympathy and respect" to "bigotry and contempt", with the more educated whites not necessarily being the more understanding.

This study revealed that the attitude and behaviour of the Eskimo women were major forces in the disintegration of their society. Under the old way, the female was the property of the male, completely

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