

Several public meetings followed. Local environmentalists also organized themselves in opposition to the proposed expansion. Meetings between the two camps—those for development of “The Pines” and those against—did not go well. On the 24th of May 1989, the Regional Municipality requested the federal government to take, without delay, measures towards resolving the crisis between municipal authorities and the local Mohawk population. The provincial native affairs minister was also consulted.

In June, 1989 the Oka Golf Club and the Municipality of Oka reached an agreement in principle on the rental and expansion of the golf course lands. The Municipality viewed the development as beneficial to the region and the Municipality. The Department of Indian Affairs invited the Municipality to participate in tripartite negotiations (provincial-municipal, Mohawk, federal) on a land unification project for Kanesatake. A press conference was announced by the Oka Golf Club for August 1, 1989 to “celebrate” the cutting of the first tree, but was not held.

In a meeting on the 3rd of August on the matter of land unification, the Municipality agreed to a fifteen day moratorium on the golf course project to allow negotiations to proceed on various legal matters between the Municipality of Oka, the Parish of Oka and the native people. The Municipality undertook to seek the agreement of Mr. Rousseau and the Oka Golf Club to a moratorium.

In September 1989, a tripartite negotiating committee began work on a framework agreement to govern a negotiation process on the issues of land unification for Kanesatake and resolution of jurisdictional issues between the communities of Oka and Kanesatake. There is no evidence such an agreement was at any point actually signed by all three parties. It is clear that Mohawk consent to the framework agreement was to be contingent upon community approval through a process of consultation. From September to December 1989, the moratorium on development was renewed by the Municipality, the Oka Golf Club and Mr. Rousseau.

In September 1989, public notices were posted by the Six Nations Traditional Hereditary Chiefs to announce that community consultations would take place on the proposed framework for negotiations. In October, Band Council representatives and the federal government discussed how community consultations should proceed. A letter dated 11 October 1989 from the Director of DIAND's, Lands, Revenues & Trusts Branch to the Band Council suggests there was agreement that eighteen years would be the minimum age for participation in the consultation process and that “for the consultation to be concluding, half plus one of your population should participate in the process and that half plus one of those who participated should pronounce themselves one way or another”. By November it appears the Band Council had changed its original consultation plans and that these changes would require additional time. Eventually, the federal and municipal governments believed they had an undertaking from the Band Council to complete and report on the results of the community consultations by March 1990.