

Love of the Earth:

An examination of the importance of the environment
to Canadian Natives, mainly during the 1970s.

Hendrik (Gus) van Haarten

Gus van Haarten was a student in The 5000 Days course at Guelph in 1993. He is currently working towards a Masters degree in Environmental Studies at York University, Toronto, with particular emphasis on issues in law and bioregionalism. The essay was written in 1993 while the Author was finishing his B.A. at the University of Guelph, with a Major in History and Minor in International Development.

Introduction

Environmental issues are vital to the struggle of Canadian Natives to establish control over their land and their lives in modern society. The concept of "the land" is sacred to North American Native societies because it is recognized in their traditional beliefs as being the basis of all life. As a result, Canadian Natives commonly resist the expansion of modern economic activity in the vicinity of their lands because they object to the environmental risks of "development." In fact, there is much that modern society can learn from traditional Native teachings about the need for humans to live in harmony with the natural world. An overall understanding of environmental issues is central to the meaning of Native society, and thus a vital element of efforts to incorporate Native peoples into modern society, as well as the struggle to create a Modern World that is ecologically sustainable.

A large number of Canadian Native communities have suffered greatly as a result of environmental deterioration caused by modern economic development on or near their lands. This essay will examine two cases that demonstrate the interaction between Native concerns about the threat of environmental degradation and their struggle to live in an economically and socially viable manner that is in tune with their traditional, Nature-oriented beliefs.

The first example is that of the Ojibwa people of the Grassy Narrows reserve in northern Ontario during the 1970s. Members of this reserve were "after the fact" victims of mercury pollution in the local river system because they were not alerted to the threat of environmental degradation until well after the damage had been done. The second example revolves around Native resistance to the construction of a Mackenzie Valley oil pipeline, also during the 1970s. This resistance is expressed very clearly in Mackenzie Oil Pipeline Inquiry report of Mr. Justice Thomas Berger, which held public hearings across the North from 1975 to 1977. Both of these cases demonstrate a growing awareness among Canadian Native peoples during the 1970s of the importance of environmental issues in their struggle for

economic survival and social justice. The commitment on the part of Natives to the protection of the land as the giver of life has been a key factor in their resistance to "business as usual" economic development in the vicinity of Native lands.

The Importance of Nature in Traditional Native Beliefs

A core belief of North American Indian societies is that the land is central to all aspects of existence. In this sense, "the land" is a holistic concept that refers to the soil, the water, the air, and wildlife. Essentially, the land is Nature and Nature is life. The spiritual and religious nature of this principle is demonstrated in a 1971 essay by Wilfred Pelletier, in which he states as an Indian that "we see ourselves as part of nature; we relate to it spiritually...

We had a great deal of reverence towards nature, but we also felt intimate with it: we looked into the water and it was like blood in our veins."¹ Hugh and Karmel McCullum further describe Native beliefs about the role of land as the life-giver in their book *This Land Is Not For Sale*, stating that, according to this concept, the land is like a Mother. It is a breadbasket, protector, and friend. It is something you live with easily, you don't fight. It is something you cherish and return to when you are sick, frightened, or lonely... And out of it comes your being, the reason for your existence, the only power you have in a white man's world.²

Due to their traditional belief that humans are neither separate from nor superior to the rest of the natural world, Native peoples have a deeper and more long-standing understanding than modern Western society of the need for humanity to respect Nature so that its activities do not destroy the capacity of the land to support life.

¹ Pelletier, "For Every North Wilfred American Indian that Begins to Disappear I Also Begin to Disappear" in *Canada's Indians* (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1974) 105

² Hugh McCullum and Karmel McCullum, *This Land Is Not For Sale* (Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975) 2.

Many elements of Western attitudes towards the environment, such as the concept of private land ownership, are alien to traditional Native beliefs. In contrast to Native values, for instance, Wilfred Pelletier states that:

*The white man... always sees himself apart from nature, above it in some ways, but also threatened by it. His impulse is always to try to master it, never to flow with it.*³

Because of their direct reliance on the land for subsistence (through fishing, hunting, foraging, etc.), traditional Native societies also tend to view the land as a common resource for all to share in their mutual dependence. To care for and respect the environment is thus synonymous with caring for and respecting the tribe, the family, and oneself.

As a result, Native groups emphasize the incompatibility of Western values, like private land ownership, with their traditional beliefs as a reason for greater Native control over their lands. This is demonstrated by a 1973 publication of the National Indian Brotherhood, entitled *Aboriginal People of Canada and Their Environment*, which declares that:

*The aboriginal people of Canada... have always believed that the land and its resources are to be shared for the same common good of all people, not for the exclusive pleasure of a few... We do not accept the proposition that anyone is as well qualified to make decisions affecting our environment as we are ourselves.*⁴

Native groups are thus resistant to the continuing attempts of Western society to appropriate and "develop" their lands. They distrust the motives of modern development because of the serious damage it has caused to Nature in the past, and because of the consequent destruction of Native societies that depended on the land for their cultural and economic survival.

The Environmental and Social Disaster of Grassy Narrows

A telling example of how the environmental degradation of Native lands can cause the destruction of a local community is that of the Grassy Narrows reserve, located roughly 90 kilometres north of Kenora, and home to close

to one thousand Ojibwa people.⁵ Along with the nearby Whitedog reserve, the people of Grassy Narrows suffered tremendously from the pollution of the English-Wabigoon River system during the 1960s and 1970s, for the river was the basis of their economic and social viability as a community. Over 20,000 pounds of methyl mercury were released into the river by Dryden Chemicals, a subsidiary of Reed Paper Limited, from 1962 until 1970 when the Ontario Ministry of Energy and Resources ordered a stop to the discharge of mercury into the environment.⁶ As a result of the mercury contamination of fish and other wildlife that inhabited the river system, the government placed a ban on commercial fishing in the Grassy Narrows region. Natives were also warned not to eat fish taken from the river for fear that this would cause mercury-related human health disorders.⁷

The economic effects of the ban on commercial fishing at Grassy Narrows were devastating for the reserve. Hundreds of people lost their jobs because employment on the reserve had largely depended on commercial fishing and tour guiding.⁸ In addition, fish caught from the river had been a major part of the Ojibwa diet since they were moved to their reserve beside the English-Wabigoon river by the government in 1962.⁹ Experts from Japan eventually diagnosed inhabitants of the Grassy Narrows and Whitedog reserves with a human nerve disorder called Minamata disease, which had been caused by Native consumption of mercury-contaminated fish over a long period of time. The disease is named after a Japanese town that suffered terrible health problems after mercury poisoning of local coastal waters by a local petrochemical complex during the late 1950s and early 1960s.¹⁰ Although the effects of the disease were not as drastic at Grassy Narrows as they had been in Minamata, where thousands of people died as a result of the mercury poisoning, they still resulted in serious adverse health

³ Pelletier 105.

⁴ Lerner, John W. *Aboriginal People Of Canada And Their Environment* (National Indian Brotherhood: Ottawa, 1973) 1.

⁵ "Grassy Narrows band on road to recovery" *The Calgary Herald* (April 3, 1989) A5.

⁶ Anastasia M. Shkilnyk, "A Poison Stronger Than Love" (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985) 179.

⁷ T.W. Clarkson, "Exposure To Methyl Mercury In Grassy Narrows And Whitedog Reserves - An Interim Report" (Canada Department of National Health and Welfare, 1975) 43.

⁸ Information about loss of economic livelihood is cited from Shkilnyk 199-205; and "Misery stalks transplanted native reserve" in *The Winnipeg Free Press* (July 29, 1991) 2.

⁹ Shkilnyk 156-158.

¹⁰ Information about Minamata disease is cited from Shkilnyk 183-187; and Olivia Patricia Dickason, *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992) 401.

effects, mainly in the form of neurological dysfunction among many inhabitants of Grassy Narrows.¹¹

After the tragedy, government action to address growing social and health problems on the reserve was very inadequate. In 1977, Noel Starblanket (then President of the National Indian Brotherhood) criticized the government for moving too slowly with regard to the threat of mercury poisoning on the reserve. He stated that:

*They'd rather go on taking tests than confirm we've got a mercury health problem. If they keep on taking tests rather than taking action, we'll have the best documented mercury health tragedy in world history.*¹²

Federal health officials refused to recognize the existence of Minamata disease at Grassy Narrows until 1977, and the band did not win financial compensation for the disaster until 1986.¹³ Furthermore, the government did not seriously consider the extreme degree of social disintegration that was likely to result from the loss of the local fishery and traditional Native way of life. Instead, officials relied on overly simplistic, short-term solutions to the economic and social problems of the reserve, and thus failed to truly assist inhabitants of Grassy Narrows in their struggle to confront the destruction of their traditional way of life. In 1977, for example, when questioned about the problem of Native unemployment due to the ban on commercial fishing, provincial government ministers suggested that the Ojibwa should pursue jobs at the nearby Minaki Lodge resort, or in catching fish from the polluted river for use as specimen samples in government labs, for which there was "quite a great demand."¹⁴ Such quick-fix attempts to address the problems of social and economic dislocation caused by the mercury poisoning left no possibility for the long term survival of the Ojibwa community. This illustrates the failure of the government to adequately assess and acknowledge the seriousness of the disaster that had befallen the local Native society as a

result of modern economic development in the vicinity of its lands.

In truth, for the Ojibwa people of Grassy Narrows, the tragedy that occurred on their reserve due to the mercury pollution involved much more than the loss of jobs, and the long battle for financial compensation. Because the community depended on economic activities that generally adhered to traditional Native teachings about the need to respect Nature (mainly fishing), the poisoning of the local river system had deep implications for the Ojibwa's cultural and spiritual values, and led eventually to the social disintegration of their entire community. Anastasia M. Shkilnyk reveals the cultural-spiritual significance of the tragedy in *A Poison Stronger Than Love*, stating about the Ojibwa that:

*In the context of their traditional religious beliefs, the contamination of the river could only be interpreted as punishment by the Great Spirit for some serious violation of the laws governing man's [sic] relationship to nature.*¹⁵

Indeed, the pollution of the English-Wabigoon river system was doubly devastating for Grassy Narrows. It not only destroyed their traditional economic means for survival, but in so doing caused what has proven to be an irreversible social disaster. According to Shkilnyk's study, the people of Grassy Narrows:

*...speak of mercury poisoning as the event that pushed them over the edge of their ability to feel secure in nature, to relate to each other and to the world around them, and to be self-reliant in providing for their material needs.*¹⁶

This social decay that accompanied the contamination of the environment at Grassy Narrows caused feelings of confusion, helplessness, and despair among the Ojibwa people, which further worsened the already devastating economic and social problems caused by the mercury poisoning.

Since the 1970s, the proliferation of social ills like drunkenness and violence¹⁷ at Grassy Narrows have demonstrated the degree of social crisis that has resulted from the disintegration of the traditional Ojibwa society. In 1983, for example, Grassy Narrows Chief Steve Fobister brought to the attention of the Ontario legislature the fact that gang rapes were occurring with endemic

¹¹ Shkilnyk 192-199.

¹² Victor Malarek, "Federal figures on severity of mercury health problem are misleading" in *The Globe and Mail* (May 11, 1977) 3.

¹³ Financial compensation of \$16.7 million from the provincial and federal governments, and the two companies involved in the Dryden Chemicals mill, was split between the Grassy Narrows and Whitedog reserves. This is cited from John Lyons, "Compensation funds revive moribund band" in *The Winnipeg Free Press* (March 29, 1989) 2.

¹⁴ The ministers reported to have made these statements were Frank Miller, Ontario Natural Resources Minister, and deputy minister of Northern Affairs Tom Campbell. This is cited from "Indians are not co-operating on solutions to mercury-in-fish problems, Miller says" in *The Globe and Mail* (May 20, 1977) 1, 2.

¹⁵ Shkilnyk 179.

¹⁶ Shkilnyk 181.

¹⁷ These problems plagued the community throughout the 1970s. This is cited from Lyons, "Compensation funds" in *The Winnipeg Free Press*; and "Grassy Narrows band on road to recovery" in *The Calgary Herald* (April 3, 1989) A5.

frequency in the local community.¹⁸ Additionally, in 1989, three policemen were shot on the reserve, one fatally.¹⁹ In 1991, five years after compensation had been granted to the Ojibwa band, unemployment on the reserve was still running at levels of up to 90 percent.²⁰ Substance abuse has also plagued the reserve,²¹ further demonstrating the degree of social decline that its people have experienced since the mercury poisoning. Chief Raphael Fobister alluded to the fact that Grassy Narrows was still far from social recovery from the environmental disaster of the 1970s when he declared, in 1991, that:

*In terms of social problems, things are pretty much the same. There's still a lot of gas sniffing and alcohol abuse... They [the gas sniffers] have nothing else to do... The last time a student graduated from high school was two years ago and only two have graduated in the last decade.*²²

These conditions at Grassy Narrows indicate that the social devastation caused by environmental contamination has effectively destroyed Native life on the reserve, apparently beyond repair. This in turn reveals the absolutely vital role that the natural environment plays in the economic and social survival of Canadian Native societies.

Native Resistance to the Proposed Construction of the Mackenzie Valley Oil Pipeline

Northern Canada has been the focus of numerous conflicts between Native peoples seeking to protect their traditional ways of living, and the government and corporate forces planning the modern economic development of the region.

The natural resources of the North, and especially its rich oil and natural gas deposits, have become available for large-scale extraction only in recent decades. Additionally, the Native peoples who inhabit the North continue to do so in a very traditional and sustainable manner. They depend on the land for their economic subsistence and the continuation of their culture and society. As a result, these societies are in a relatively strong position to resist modern development in the North

because it has only become possible in the past few decades, and because their traditional values and lifestyles are still very much intact.²³

In 1957, the federal government of John Diefenbaker was elected with a vision of developing the "New North."²⁴ According to Olivia Patricia Dickason *Canada's First Nations*:

*His [Diefenbaker's] model was a colonial one: improved transportation to the North, so that people and industrial know-how could be brought in to exploit northern resources and ship the benefits south.*²⁵

Following this plan, new highways were built to allow the economic exploitation of the North. The contemporary view of southern Canada regarding northern development is revealed in a speech by R.G. Robertson at the 1969 Third Northern Resource Conference, held in Whitehorse.

In his speech, Robertson addresses aspects of the past failures of development to bring lasting benefit to northern peoples, and states the generally accepted southern view that:

*We all accept development as being good. Like motherhood, you don't have to argue about it. Any fool knows it is good.*²⁶

Thus, when modern forms of development came to northern Canada on a large scale during the 1960s, very little consideration was given by the government and corporations to the interests of northern Native peoples who depended on the natural environment for their social, economic, and cultural survival.

Particularly after the discovery of massive northern oil supplies in 1968, the federal government planned to extract these resources in order to fuel economic expansion in the South.²⁷ Several northern Native groups

¹⁸ "Misery stalks transplanted native reserve" in *The Winnipeg Free Press* (July 29, 1991) 2.

¹⁹ "Misery stalks" in *The Winnipeg Free Press*.

²⁰ Theresa Boyle, "Mercury pollution ruined way of life" in *The Toronto Star* (July 27, 1991) A10.

²¹ "Gas sniffing a chronic ill for Grassy Narrows band" in *The Toronto Star* (July 27, 1991) A10.

²² Boyle, "Mercury poisoning" in *The Toronto Star*.

²³ Peter Jull, "Inuit Concerns and Environmental Assessment" in *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping: Science, Environmental Assessment, and Human Values* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990) 144.

Additionally, aboriginal peoples in the Arctic region had never signed treaties to relinquish control of their traditional lands; as cited from Gordon Beanlands, "Introduction" in *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping* x.

²⁴ Dickason 400.

²⁵ Dickason 400-401.

²⁶ R.G. Robertson, "Concepts in Northern Development: An Historical Review of the Political and Economic Development of Canada's North" in *The Developing North* (Whitehorse: Third Northern Resource Conference, April 1969) 3.

²⁷ Edgar J. Dosman, *The National Interest: The Politics of Northern Development 1968-1975* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975) xi.

were created in the following years as part of a growing Native movement across Canada, and in response to the threat that the plans for resource-extraction posed to the future of northern Native societies. In 1970, for example, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories and the Committee For Original Peoples' Entitlement were formed, both shortly after the Atkinson oil discovery in the Mackenzie Delta.²⁸ After the further discoveries of natural gas deposits in the Delta, the Inuit Taprisat of Canada (ITC) was formed to represent the interests of Canadian Inuit.²⁹ As part of its subsequent land claims research, ITC commissioned a series of Renewable Resource Studies of northern Canada. In one such study, commissioned in 1975, the authors state that:

*The tundra of Arctic Canada represents one of the last relatively unaltered areas in the world... In fact the aboriginal inhabitants of this vast region, the Inuit, live in complete harmony with their environment... [They] depend on that natural environment for their livelihood and cultural pursuits.*³⁰

It is thus fundamental to the mandate of ITC to protect the land on which their societies depend. In its 1992-1993 Annual Report, the organization reported that:

*The primary goal of ITC's work in environmental assessment is to ensure that development projects do not proceed at the expense of the environment, wildlife, public health and the northern subsistence economy.*³¹

Thus, like other Native organizations formed in the early 1970s in reaction to oil and natural gas discoveries in the North, one of the primary aims of ITC is to resist modern development that may damage the northern environment, and thus endanger the traditional subsistence lifestyles of Native peoples.

Fear of environmental degradation was a key reason for Native resistance to the construction of the Mackenzie Oil Pipeline in the early 1970s. This apprehension about development was expressed at a 1972 Ottawa conference on the future of the Arctic, when Native representative Bob Charley outlined the links between the negative environmental effects of development, and the land-based

subsistence lifestyles of Native peoples. Charley states that:

*...exploration and development projects in the oil industry encouraged by government development schemes and policies bring about a decline in the capacity of the land to support hunting, fishing and trapping.*³²

The oil pipeline was proposed to transport oil discovered in 1968 over a huge distance: 3,800 kilometres down the Mackenzie Delta from Alaska to southern Canada and the United States. It would have a drastic impact on the local environment, and thus on the lives of traditional Native societies in the region.³³ Opposition to the construction of the pipeline caused the government to commission the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry of Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger, which held public hearings throughout the north-western Canada from 1975 to 1977.

The Berger Commission travelled from Yellowknife to 35 communities in the Mackenzie Valley and Western Arctic in order to gain both expert and popular opinions about the anticipated effects of the proposed pipeline³⁴. Its examination of the project had a wide scope, and included predictions about the environmental effects, as well as the cultural, economic, and social impact on Native peoples. The study concluded that the anticipated environmental effects of the pipeline were sufficient to shelve the entire project only in certain areas of its proposed development (such as the northern Yukon).³⁵ However, because of the effect the pipeline would have on the lives of Native people, Berger ordered it to be postponed for ten years to provide time for further analysis, and especially to allow the resolution of land claims in the region.³⁶

The report of the Berger Commission clearly demonstrates the close links that exist between traditional Native lifestyles and the environment, and in so doing reveals key reasons for Native resistance to the pipeline. Indeed, concern about protection for the environment pervades the testimony of many Native people who spoke at the public hearings of the Berger Commission. For example, in the community of Tuktoyaktuk, Northwest Territories, Vince Steen declared to Berger:

²⁸ Dosman 123.

²⁹ Dosman 123.

³⁰ Dennis DePape, William Phillips and Alan Cooke, "A Socioeconomic Evaluation of Inuit Livelihood and Natural Resource Utilization in the Tundra of the Northwest Territories" (University of Alberta: Inuit Taprisat of Canada, 1975) 4.

³¹ Eli Turk and Kirt Ejesiak, eds., *Annual Report of Inuit Taprisat of Canada 1992/93* (Nepcan: Inuit Taprisat of Canada, 1993) 18.

³² Bob Charley, "The Native People Reply" in *Arctic Alternatives* (Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1972) 44.

³³ Mr. Justice Thomas R. Berger, *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry Volumes One and Two* (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1977) ix-xiii; and Dickason 402.

³⁴ Berger xii.

³⁵ Berger 33-50.

³⁶ Berger 163-196.

Now they want to build a pipeline and they say they're not going to hurt the country when they do it...

If they drill out there, if they finish off what little whales are left, what little polar bears are left, with one oil spill of any size big enough to hurt those animals, we're finished. The Eskimo population and culture is finished...³⁷

Other speakers expanded on the link between the environmental risks of economic development and the survival of traditional Native societies in the North. Richard Nerysoo of Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories, states that:

Being an Indian means being able to understand and live with this world in a very special way. It means living with the land, with the animals, birds and fish as though they were your sisters and brothers. It means saying the land is an old friend and an old friend that your father knew, your grandfather knew, your people have always known.

... To the Indian people our land really is our life. Without our land we can not exist as people. If our land is destroyed, we too are destroyed. If your people ever take our land, you will be taking our life.³⁸

What is revealed in the testimony of Natives who spoke to the Berger Commission was that they understood the environmental risks of a northern pipeline, and that they viewed these risks as an unjustifiable threat to their traditional way of life. It is for these reasons that Berger suspended the project so that the government could take into account the interests of Natives in the North before it proceeded with modern economic development that threatened their social, economic, and cultural survival.

In stating his recommendations to the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, one conclusion drawn by Berger was that:

Euro-Canadian society has refused to take native culture seriously. European institutions, values and use of land were seen as the basis of culture. Native institutions, values and language were rejected, ignored or misunderstood and – given the native people's use of land – the Europeans had no difficulty in supposing that native people possessed no real culture at all.³⁹

³⁷ Testimony of Vince Steen, March 8, 1976 in Martin O'Malley, *The Past and Future Land: An account of the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley pipeline* (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976) 179.

³⁸ Testimony of Richard Nerysoo, July 10, 1975 in O'Malley 53-54.

³⁹ Berger xviii.

This insight on the part of Berger leads to the most important message of this paper: that modern Western society has a great deal to learn from traditional Native ideas about relationships between humans and Nature.

Conclusion

Traditional Native societies have a far deeper understanding of the need for humanity to act in an ecologically sustainable manner over the long term in order to survive. The centrality of this principle to Native ways of living is demonstrated by the eloquent testimony of Phillip Blake to the Berger Commission in 1975. Representing his people, Blake declares that:

For thousands of years, we have lived with our land; we have taken care of the land, and the land has taken care of us...

We have lived with the land, not tried to conquer or control it, or rob it of its riches...

We have been satisfied to see our wealth as ourselves and the land we live with. It is our greatest wish to be able to pass this on, this land, to succeeding generations in the same condition that our fathers have given it to us. We have not tried to improve the land and we have not tried to destroy it. That is not our way.⁴⁰

It is vital for Western society to recognize the wisdom of Native understanding about the land, so that they can be made a part of current efforts to restrain modern economic activities according to natural limits. As Peter Matthiessen states in his book *Indian Country*, published in 1979:

It isn't enough to admire Indian teachings; we need them. We belong to this earth, it does not belong to us; it cares for us, and we must care for it. If our time on earth is to endure, we must love the earth in the strong, unsentimental way of traditional peoples, not seeking to exploit but to live in balance with the natural world.⁴¹

Modern society faces a historical crisis of global proportions: how to accommodate its unsustainable economic activities with the need for ecological sustainability. The process of addressing this crisis will require the active participation of a wide variety of social groups, including those within Native societies that have traditionally lived in a sustainable way.

In Canada, therefore, governments and people must recognize and attempt to understand the importance that

⁴⁰ Testimony of Phillip Blake, July 9, 1975 in O'Malley 51.

⁴¹ Peter Matthiessen, *Indian Country* (New York: The Viking Press, 1979) 13.

environmental issues play in the struggle of Native peoples to maintain their traditional societies, as well as why this had led many Native communities to resist modern economic development that threatens the land. The need for a greater understanding of Native cultures among Canadians is no longer simply a matter of social justice and respect for human rights; it is now vital to the creation of a sustainable modern way of life, and the long-term survival of humanity.

Primary Sources

- Moloney, Paul. May 6, 1977. "Book probes mercury threat." *The Winnipeg Free Press*: 1, 4.
- Malarek, Victor. May 11, 1977. "Federal figures on severity of mercury health problem are misleading." *The Globe Newspaper Articles* (chronologically) and *Mail*: 3.
- Moore, Michael. May 16, 1977. "Reed should listen to the Indian people." *The Globe and Mail*: 29.
- May 19, 1977. "Miller offers help in proposed move for Indian bands." *The Globe and Mail*: 1, 2.
- May 20, 1977. "Indians are not co-operating on solutions to mercury-in-fish problems, Miller says." *The Globe and Mail*: 1, 2.
- Malarek, Victor. July 1, 1977. "Indians suing Reed for damage caused by mercury poison." *The Globe and Mail*: 1.
- Mosher, Peter. July 1, 1977. "NDP backs bid to ban fishing in river system." *The Globe and Mail*: 5.
- Lyons, John. March 29, 1989. "Compensation funds revive moribund band." *The Winnipeg Free Press*: 2.
- April 3, 1989. "Grassy Narrows band on road to recovery." *The Calgary Herald*: A5.
- Boyle, Theresa. July 27, 1991. "Mercury pollution ruined way of life." *The Toronto Star*: A10.
- July 27, 1991. "Gas sniffing a chronic ill for Grassy Narrows band." *The Toronto Star*: A10.
- July 29, 1991. "Misery stalks transplanted native reserve." *The Winnipeg Free Press*: 2.

Other Primary Sources (alphabetically)

- Berger, Mr. Justice Thomas R. *Northern Frontier, Northern Homeland: The Report of the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry Volumes One and Two*. Toronto: James Lorimer & Company, 1977.
- Charley, Bob. "The Native People Reply." Pimlott, Douglas H., Kitson M. Vincent and Christine E. McKnight, eds. *Arctic Alternatives*. Ottawa: Canadian Arctic Resources Committee, 1972.
- Clarkson, T.W. "Exposure To Methyl Mercury In Grassy Narrows And Whitedog Reserves - An Interim Report." Department of National Health and Welfare Canada, 1975.
- DePape, Dennis, William Phillips and Alan Cooke. "A Socioeconomic Evaluation of Inuit Livelihood and Natural Resource Utilization in the Tundra of the Northwest

Territories." University of Alberta: Inuit Taprisat of Canada, 1975.

Department of National Health and Welfare Canada. "Final Report - Task Force on Organic Mercury in the Environment - Grassy Narrows & White Dog Ontario."

The Indian Tribes of Manitoba. *Wahbung: Our Tomorrows*. Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, 1971.

Larner, John W. *Aboriginal People Of Canada And Their Environment*. National Indian Brotherhood: Ottawa, 1973.

Manitoba Environmental Council. *Submission To: MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry*. Winnipeg: 1976.

Native Circle on Environment and Development. *Native People's Circle on Environment and Development*. Queen's Printer for Ontario, 1992.

Reed, Maureen G. *Environmental Assessment And Aboriginal Claims: Implementation Of The Inuvialuit Final Agreement*. Canadian Environmental Assessment Research Council, 1990.

Robertson, R.G. "Concepts in Northern Development: An Historical Review of the Political and Economic Development of Canada's North." *The Developing North*. Whitehorse: Third Northern Resource Conference, April 1969.

Turk, Eli and Kirt Ejesiak, eds. *Annual Report of Inuit Taprisat of Canada 1992/93*. Nepean: Inuit Taprisat of Canada, 1993.

Secondary Sources

Beanlands, Gordon. "Introduction." *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping: Science, Environmental Assessment, and Human Values*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Dickason, Olivia Patricia. *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1992.

Dosman, Edgar J. *The National Interest: The Politics of Northern Development 1968-1975*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

Goddard, John. *Last Stand of the Lubicon Cree*. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1991.

Jull, Peter. "Inuit Concerns and Environmental Assessment." *The Challenge of Arctic Shipping: Science, Environmental Assessment, and Human Values*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990.

Matthiessen, Peter. *Indian Country*. New York: The Viking Press, 1979.

McCullum, Hugh and Karmel McCullum. *This Land Is Not For Sale*. Toronto: Anglican Book Centre, 1975.

O'Malley, Martin. *The Past and Future Land: An account of the Berger Inquiry into the Mackenzie Valley pipeline*. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1976.

Page, Robert. *Northern Development: The Canadian Dilemma*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986.

Pelletier, Wilfred "For Every North American Indian that Begins to Disappear I Also Begin to Disappear." *Canada's Indians* James S. Frideres Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1974.

Shkilnyk, Anastasia M. *A Poison Stronger Than Love*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985