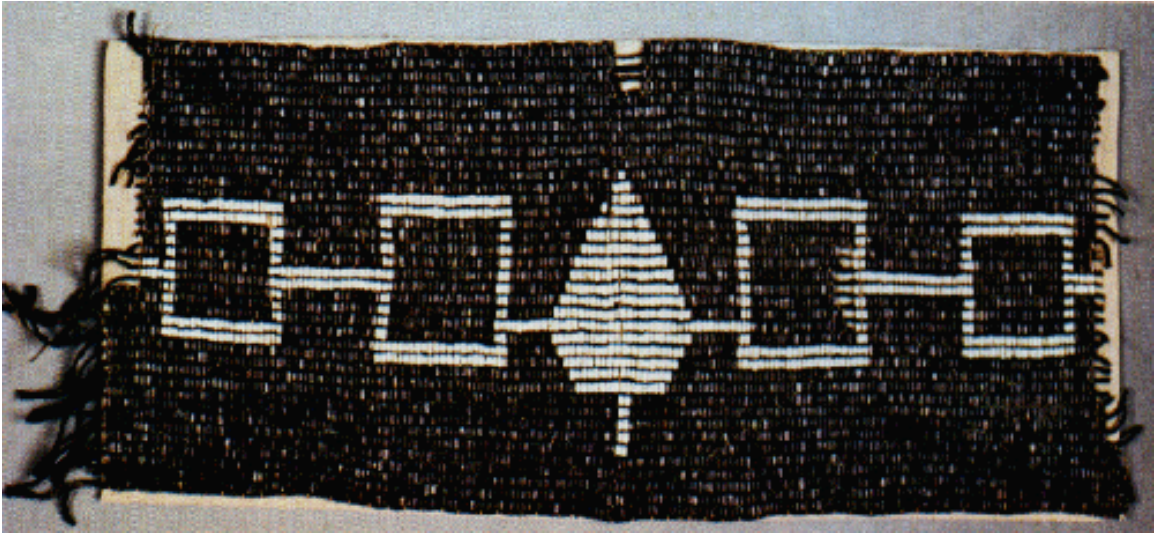


Are First Nations “imagined” within the construction of Canada?



Symbol of Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederacy, which the Mohawk (Kanien:keha'ka) are one First Nation within this group.

By

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Final Paper

Introduction

Investigation into the “imagined community” of Canadian national identity to find the First Nations or Native American place within this construction is the basis for my study. By looking at newspaper discourse, I am going to investigate how Natives are constructed, and whether they are included in this imagined community of Canada and its’ media construction. The research questions that will guide this study are:

What does the Toronto Star’s coverage of the Akwesane/Mohawk and Oka land dispute indicate about the hierarchy of First Nations and ‘others’ within Canadian national identity? Is there improved awareness in Canadian newspaper discourse after the crisis of First Nations/Aboriginal issues?

Background

The globally covered, Native resistance standoff in Canada in 1990 brought Native issues to the forefront of mainstream Canadian media. As the standoff progressed, the global media informed the world of Canada’s Aboriginal dealings, or lack there of with all First Nations. There is debate about what ignited the start of the uprising in the Mohawk community and when the first spark lit the fire of conflict, however the military and police got involved July 11, 1990, and the Akwesasne (Mohawk) of the tribal community Kanesatake held out against the Canadian Army and Provincial police (SQ) for 78 days before the activists, Mohawk Warriors, as a group decided to surrender to “authorities.”

"For those of us who stayed, there was a real sense of community. People weren't afraid to show each other that they cared. We needed each other, and there was a sense of belonging. I know it helped us because tension was always high in spite of the

occasional comic relief. I think for those who stayed in Kaneshatà:ke, there was always this underlying feeling that we might not live to see the next day. That's why we hung on so hard. So that the little ones and their children wouldn't have to go through that again.

There came a time when I had to consider the very real possibility that I might die for this land and these people. I guess we all did. It was a very private moment for me, but once I made my decision, I felt very free and peaceful. It didn't matter that there was thousands of police and soldiers just outside the razor wire. My spirit was free and they could never change that" - anonymous (Gabriel-Doxtater & Van den Hende, 1995)

The people (Akwesasne of Kanesatake) eventually initiated a land governance agreement with the Canadian government that included the disputed land in the crisis. It took ten years of deliberation to accomplish this part of the goals reignited at the standoff.

Almost any lands claim issue from a Native/Aboriginal/First Nations perspective is tied back to hundreds of years of broken promises (treaties) from the government, territorial infringement, forced values upon traditional Native cultures, and continued efforts to explore peaceful means of settling differences with the European settlers without much success. This continued disrespect and deaf ear of the Canadian and U.S. governments has pushed Bands/Tribes of people to go to extremes to be heard. When a "crisis" or forceful resistance occurs it almost always is the last straw. The media make it out to be something new or an isolated incident, but that is almost never the case. The igniting cinder was the proposed expansion of a golf course by the municipality/city of Oka into a stand of pines that contains an ancient burial ground of the Mohawks of Kanesatake. This proposed expansion of the golf course over the cemetery with luxury homes was the last straw. They had to stop it before the ancient ones

were desecrated. The people of Kanesatake have a long history of disputes with the French settlers in the area. They have tried to go through the proper channels many times, even before Canada became a Crown of England territory. They have been resisting assimilation and violations upon their sovereignty for 380 years. (Pertusati, 1997, p. 26) The first official protest by the Mohawks to reclaim their land was in 1781. The request came in the form of a wampum, which served as their contract of ownership of the land in the Seigneurie du Lac des Deux Montagnes (Lake of Two Mountains). The Wampum was later returned and judged not valid by the British conqueror of Canada. (www.Kanesatake.com)

The implications of this event involve further lands claim issues, self-government for the band, delayed housing and social programs monies, and strained dealings with the French Canadian people and police force (SQ) in the neighboring community of Oka. The bad feelings from the (SQ) and the French Canadians go back to the Meech Lake Accord that would have modified the Canadian constitution. The Accord was initiated in 1987, and was defeated by one vote by an Aboriginal parliamentary representative, Elijah Harper, from Manitoba in June 1990. Originally three provinces opposed the Meech Lake Accord, but under pressure right before it was to be ratified, one vote kept it from passing. The three provinces were opposed to it because it would have given the French Canadians special status as a distinct cultural group, yet had no provisions for the Aboriginal peoples of Canada. Ironically the British crown delayed letting go of all power to Canada to become its own country because of their concern for the Aboriginal people's rights. (Pertusati, 1997, p. 82-83) There

have been many theories and questions about why a violent conflict would occur in the “peaceful north” of Canada and how thrown off guard the people of Canada were by the intense military involvement in the incident.

H-1: News coverage of the Akwesasne/Mohawk in the Toronto Star will be less negative after the “crisis” compared to coverage before and during the “crisis.”

Theoretical Context

Why this “Crisis?”

Until this drastic scene of inferred violence, the Native people of Canada were not taken very seriously when it came to sovereignty issues or lands claims. They were placated and given a great deal of lip service, but little or no action toward solutions. As Mackey explains the U.S. and Canada have always had a paradoxical relationship with Native/Aboriginal peoples.

“...both US and Canadian methods of expansion and the treatment of Aboriginal people reflect similar Enlightenment assumptions about the inevitable march of progress and civilization, and the inevitable passing away of the ‘Indian’ way of life...Native people became institutionalized in the Indian Act of 1876. The Indian Act encouraged agricultural labour and Christianity and discouraged Aboriginal cultural practices...governments attempted to ban the making of Totem poles, potlatch, dancing and other ceremonies. (Mackey, 1999, 35-36)

While taking up arms was not the best solution, the Mohawks felt like they were running out of options. This “crisis” was the event that caught the province, country, and world by surprise. In the “peaceful north” no part of the government ever thought the Native people would consider violence as a way to catch their attention.

The “crisis” has been interpreted as a case study of political communication break down. Morris (1995) infers that examples of power, influence, and authority or lack there of are how this political communication break down occurs. The power structure’s deaf ear and blatant refusal to recognize Aboriginal self-determination, and each individual Nation’s tribal identity as significant allowed for a new widespread attitude toward direct action. “failures prompted Native leaders to lose faith in the political process...endorsed the concept of direct action to assert their land rights and sovereignty.” (Morris, 1995, p. 76)

The feelings of powerlessness and lack of influence upon the government after many negotiations and meetings about policy left many Native people with a bitter taste in their mouths because participating in governmental discourse was losing meaning. To add insult to injury Prime Minister Mulroney responding to questions on a televised speech referred to the crisis as a “situation where a band of terrorists takes over the leadership of a peaceful people.” (Morris, 1995, p. 77) He undermines his own credibility where authority was concerned, and Canadian media began to make a crack of space where the Native voice would be heard throughout the country and the world. The threat of a very bloody scene was always real, however the Native people ended it before it would come to that. Morris infers that the Natives submitted to authority in the end with the walk out, but I disagree. In spite of the Canadian Army troops and the SQ Provincial police, the small group of Natives ended the standoff on their own terms, preventing mass blood shed. As Morris points out this rather calm ending to a

very tense situation was not the norm. In the past “Aboriginal dissents” have been violently disciplined. (Morris, 1995, p. 79)

Imagined community, Othering, and Exclusion

We must first establish the connection of nation forming, nation, and nationalism and how that informs the “imagined Community” within Canada in order to address othering. Benedict Anderson (1991, p. 6) defines a nation as a limited sovereign “imagined political community.” It is imagined because it remains in the minds of those who belong to it, and although, these participants may never meet or barely know each other, they keep this mental construction together by idea. The Canadian national identity has constructed the social imagined community through print-capitalism, and the elite voice of white English and French middle class Canadians. This print-capitalism in the form of newspapers “plays an integral role in shaping public opinion about Native culture, and how the issues that affect Natives daily also influence non-Native Canadians.” (Belanger, 2002, p. 400) The “imagined community” is then a construction of this community and is reconfigured and constantly changing, as both Anderson (1991) and Schlesinger (1991, pp. 172-174) suggest. It keeps being redefined by change over time through a continuous “project” that is never finished. In turn this continuous “project” should not be looked at as stagnate or still, like past events that have been established. Rather this “collective identity” should flex, expanding or contracting, in meaning and concept. The changing form of “collective identity” is nation and nationalism. The “collective identity” or “imagined community” is informed or defined by designating itself from a

“significant other” that poses a threat to the defined “imagined community.” (Trindafylidou, 1988, pp. 594-600) This “significant other” is left outside of the shared memories, media, and public culture of the “imagined” nation. The threat of the “significant other” can be deemed as either an internal or external threat. The internal is a lesser threat to the construction of the “imagined community” that functions outside the established norms and ideals of the imagi-nation. The external threat or “other” is so different or taboo that it is rejected outright from the “imagined community.” In this study, the “visual minorities” of Canadian multicultural policy are excluded at some level. To better understand how this works within the “imagined community,” we need to look at the hegemonic tendencies of the nation.

Hegemony reinforced

In order for the “external other” to be evaluated and placed outside of the hierarchy of the Canadian national “imagined community,” we need to look at how the power structure is maintained and how this relates to daily newspapers in Canada. To reinforce the hegemony of the power structure, we need to see how multicultural policy is forced upon new immigrants of color to Canada. This forced “visual minority” label is defined by policy as Bannerji (2000) states,

“There were advisory bodies, positions, and even arts funding created on the basis of ethnicity and community. A problem of naming arose, and hyphenated cultural and political identities proliferated. Officially constructed identities came into being and we had new names – immigrant, visible minority, new Canadian and ethnic...As the state came deeper into our lives – extending its political, economic and moral regulation, its police violence and surveillance – we simultaneously officialized ourselves.” (p. 104)

This forced a relationship with the state, “manufacturing consent” to the government. Making the middle class and above powerful. As Hall (1982, p. 87) states, giving one group a feeling of power over the other. This in turn creates cultural hegemony, which is maintained by the “manufactured consent” of the subjugated and the silencing of contrary discourses that may not support the hegemonic view of the nation.

Media representation and Stereotypes

Belanger (2002) informs us that Hall’s argument about the newspaper industry and the flow back and forth from the general public is concerned with social class, driving the economy, and the portrayal of specific cultural groups that traditionally are not within the middle class. Belanger states, “Native people in Canada represent one such culture group that has limited influence upon news production and the corresponding perpetuation of Native imagery that may not be wholly accurate.” (2002, p. 396) His research helps us understand that Natives are then in turn depicted as stereotypes or manufactured images of the “imagined community,” and become the marginalized “internal or external other,” but never a full citizen of the “imagined community.” Belanger explains, “The use of imagery impacts how society views diverse cultures. In turn, these images or stereotypes aid the dominant culture in how it chooses to situate those cultures in contemporary society.” (2002, p. 396) In my study, I looked at newspaper articles to see if this theory was correct, and to investigate if there have been any changes over the last nineteen years in depictions of how Native issues are reported, the Mohawk, or the Oka crisis.

Methodology

Selection of Sources. When I was considering the impact of the Oka crisis on Canadian national identity and First Nation's identity I chose a national newspaper that would cover this crisis event very thoroughly to get as much relevant data as possible. I searched for newspaper articles from the *Toronto Star* beginning five years before the crisis until the present. The time span of news articles begins July 22, 1986 before the occupation of the pines to get a feel for the news coverage of Native issues before this cathartic event, and ends after the crisis August 16, 2004. This specific newspaper was chosen for many different criteria: English language representation of the conflict, its geographical location, wide readership, national integrity, and detailed news coverage. It is located in one of the provinces that the Akwesane/Mohawk people live in, and since it is in the English language instead of French may influence its tone of coverage on Native issues. The reserve that contained the conflict is located on two provincial borders, Ontario and Quebec, and on the state border of New York, US. The newspaper is located in Toronto, Ontario and is one of the closest metropolitan daily newspapers to the conflict. The Saturday edition covers stories or events in more detail giving the readership a better understanding of the event. Its affiliate papers ran stories that were more relevant to the local area of the conflict. In my searches these affiliate sources came up as well as the metro editions of the newspaper. This wide circulation and readership gave me more articles to choose from and different versions of the same story written by a variety of authors that included various details and aspects of the story

sometimes different from each other. The affiliate paper, *The Hamilton Spectator*, of the Toronto Star tended to give the White English or French Canadian version of the story, while *The Record*, gave a more sympathetic view of the Native side of the story. The *Metro Edition* of the Toronto Star tried to stay in the neutral opinion area, or be more factual presenting both sides of the story equally. This paper is also available on-line, and covered the complete span of my study.

I used a keyword search on Lexis-Nexis Academic to get a general list of all the articles within the time span that had relevance to my study, searching from 1985 to 2004. My key words were searched for in the entire body of the text to ensure that I would not miss a key article that may have only had one small relevant piece of discourse contained within it. My key words were searched with the functions (and/full text) with all of the key words listed: Oka, Mohawk*, dispute, crisis, and land. I chose these specific key words to illustrate the place, lands claim, the specific band of people, other related relevant Native issues, and the crisis that was underway.

Emergent design. To analyze the texts, I used my tacit knowledge of the lands claims in Canada, the fact that I am a First Nation band member, and how this crisis affected the general attitudes within the pan-Native community across the nation and North America. I let the background knowledge of my literature guide my selection of texts; letting things that seemed related and distinctly different within this group jump out at me. I kept my mind open to discover if there were implied tones in the discourse reported, what kinds of attitudes from

the Canadian national newspaper were disclosed within the editorials, and if the exposure to this crisis worked as a catalyst of awareness within the general reporting of Native issues after the crisis. The continuous involvement with my texts made it clear to me that the best way to apply my tacit knowledge and theoretical base to this discourse would be through the qualitative method of critical discourse analysis combined with a t test (quantitative method) of the three narrowed categories to compare my findings in as many ways as possible. This comparative exploratory method gave me a good way to check and balance my findings.

Coding Categories. I initially skimmed all of the 238 articles that were found by my key word search for complete relevance to my research question, eliminating any repetitious texts. This narrowed the text number to 144 articles where I again double checked for versions of the same story, and found that I needed to eliminate another 33 articles. The final count of articles for the time span, 1985 to 2004, was 112. I then compiled these texts by open coding into seven initial categories: *Canadian media voice, worldview, government policy, stereotypes, Native voice, internal othering, and external othering.* Then I used axial coding to collapse these seven categories into three final categories: *internal othering, external othering, and Canadian media voice.* To check coding reliability, I went back through my initial coding process two more times and adjusted some articles that I later found fit better within one of my other categories. I then went over my axial coded categories again and completed my codebook to keep examples of these categories I found within the discourse. I

also did a pre-test employing a colleague to code approximately 13% of the total articles, which provided 93% agreement. I will now go over the findings.

Discussion –Implications of Exclusion

The categories that emerged from the text initially were distinct in the lack of inclusion within the “imagined community” of different racial/ethnic groups within the “mosaic” of “visual minorities,” and First Nations people within Canada. The newspaper media’s entrenched views within the construction of Whiteness, and western European culture and structure of organizations left little room for a variation of popular opinion. As Bannerji (2000) states, “...whiteness underwrites whatever may be called Englishness, Frenchness, and finally Europeanness.... Thus whiteness extends into moral qualities of masculinity, possessive individualism and an ideology of capital and market.” (p. 116) The label for minorities that are non-white implicitly gets its distinction from being different in color, thus reinforcing the construction of Whiteness. The national Multicultural Policy, enacted in 1971, specifically labels any non-white minorities as “visual minorities” and excludes them from the national “imagined community” by excluding their voice in media of all types. (Mahtani, 2001, p. 101) “Visual minorities” become externally othered and excluded from the national media representation unless their voice supports some construction of a specific show, magazine article, or news article topic that the media is already projecting. A good example of this I found was in the description of the “damned savages” and their continued “disobedience” with a Chinese proverb that states, “Crises may be the opportunities for new beginnings, but they also stir up the worst meanness

in man.” (Martin, July 19, 1990) The media appropriates something from another culture but does not ask their opinion about the Oka crisis. This injection of culture is disorienting and creates muddled mixed messages that are not understandable. The media representations within most of my news articles did not include any viewpoint from another ethnic or cultural group. The only internal other that can speak their opinion about the crisis besides the English Canadian, is the French Canadian. So the final categories had to be constructed as *External othering, Internal othering, and Canadian media voice of the “imagined community.”*

These three narrowed categories had the potential to provide more positive newspaper coverage after the crisis, but seemed to go in a negative direction. The largest number of articles were reported after the Oka incident, 79/112. Out of the 79 articles that were reported after the crisis there were 49 articles with a negative tone, and 30 articles with a positive tone. It is interesting that most of the articles occurred after this cathartic event. Out of these three narrowed categories *Canadian media voice of the “imagined community”* was the only one that had more positive articles (18) than negative articles (6) after the crisis. Some of the reporters seemed to become more aware of Native issues, and how to report these issues in a more balanced way. The Native voice reported as well as the “visual minority” voice was provided within the 18 articles along side the English and French Canadian voice. A few times the Native voice was not pushed outside the “imagined community” and actually was referred to as “Native/Aboriginal Canadian.”

“I believe there is an opportunity for aboriginal Canadians and their leadership to express their concerns and their hopes and aspirations for their place within the future of Canada at the Spicer commission,” Siddon said. (Ottawa Staff, May 13, 1999)

However, most of the time they were still internally othered by only referring to their First Nation identity, and partially appropriating their voice. Although this is a small number within the total number of articles, it is a start toward more positive coverage of Native/Aboriginal issues.

The First Nations are excluded from this “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) mostly by being externally othered. The First Nations are allowed to speak for themselves, but the writer of the news article compromises their voice, continues stereotypes, or treats them as completely outside mainstream society. For example after the crisis there was a story about a Warrior Society on a reserve in New Brunswick. The reporter weaved in stereotypes of Natives as drug addicts, drunks, criminals, or recovered addicts. The Natives emphasized that they were recovered and in order to be part of this group you have to be clean, but these negative labels was still in the article. The whole purpose of these groups is to protect their communities from outside threats. They feel they can’t trust the “authorities” so they take it upon themselves to keep peace. They are also there to help maintain traditional beliefs and support the whole community by followings strict traditions that would never allow any type of substance abuse or use of any kind. (Toughill, Aug. 30, 1998) In this same article the writer specifically talks about an educated Native woman to infer that even educated “Indians” are part of these groups.

Toughill states, "It is the weapons and the military image that grab the most attention, but the Warriors themselves insist that their true role is a "peace keeper."...There is Tina Nicholas, a Maliseet Indian from the Tobique reserve who recently finished her B.A. in sociology and is considering whether to go to law school or do a master's degree."

This kind of depiction seems absurd and is an insult to the intelligence of all people in Canada. Throughout all of the articles there is a continual placement of the Native voice in a negative context. The implications of exclusion within this Canadian "imagined community" is that no matter how "visual minorities" and First Nations people are portrayed, they are still reinforcing the hegemonic construction of the imagined nation. As Bannerji (2000) states, "In the case of the others, the First Nations, have been there from the very inception, modulating the very formation of its state and official culture, constantly presenting them with doubts about (English/French Canadians) their legitimacy. Subsequently, indentured workers, immigrants, refugees and other "others" have only deepened this legitimating crisis, though they also helped to forge the course of the state and the "nation." (p. 111) First Nations people are placed in the hierarchy of the Canadian "imagined community" below English and French Canadians, and on the same plane as any other "visual minorities" within the society only if they are not "being combative" with mainstream society (Belanger, 2002, p. 400).

In light of the media coverage and the slap to attention the crisis gave the Canadian media I did think there would be more mutual understanding between different cultures within this "multicultural" society. However, a continued importance was placed on Native issues throughout the 1990's. Now when ever any reporting is done on a Native issue there is a small reference to what

happened in 1990, and that the general public does not need that again. A few examples of this sentiment are:

“Where is the next Oka? The next Ipperwash? The next Gustafson Lake? The next Burnt Church?” (Staff, 2001, November 11)

“Others might suggest Oka was more than just civil disobedience. In 1990, armed Mohawks squared off against police and Canadian soldiers at Oka, Que., in a dispute over a land claim.”
(Canadian Press, 2003, March 20)

“Even if this job doesn’t lead to more TV work for Horn-Miller, the experience won’t be a total loss for the 28 year-old activist, who still carries bayonet scars from the 1990 Oka crisis.”
(Zelkovich, 2004, August 16)

It does not seem to matter what issue, weather positive or negative there is a small mention of the “crisis” in 1990 with the date or a small summery about the burial ground and the golf course. The first reference was from an article about a ski resort controversy in British Columbia, which is on the opposite side of Canada from Oka. The second reference is from an article on government policy about Native governance. The third is from an article on a Native Canadian Olympic water polo player, who was 14 years old during the Oka crisis, and was bayoneted in the chest by a Canadian army soldier when they were leaving the standoff on the last night with no weapons.

Although this critical discourse analysis is powerful with examples, when I tried to test my hypothesis with two t tests the results were not significant in either test. The dependant variable of a positive media attitude grouping before/during the crisis has the values: $t(33) = .28$, $p = .14$, $M = 1.27$, and $SD = .45$. The $p > .05$ so there is no relationship. The dependant variable of a negative media attitude grouping after the crisis has the values: $t(79) = .28$, $p = .14$,

$M=1.38$, and $SD= .49$. The $p > .05$ so there is no relationship. In the second t test the type or category of the articles were paired with the dependent variables of before/during the crisis, or after the crisis. The internal group before/during the crisis has the values: $t(33)= .89$, $p= .45$, $M= 2.03$, and $SD= .73$. The $p > .05$ so there is no relationship. The external group after the crisis has the values $t(79)= .89$, $p= .45$, $M= 2.05$, and $SD= .45$. The $p > .05$ so there is no relationship. I found that there was no difference in terms of ordering the coverage before/during or after the crisis when doing the t tests. There was also no relationship between attitude grouping before/during or after the crisis. My hypothesis News coverage of the Akwasane/Mohawk in the Toronto Star will be less negative after the “crisis” compared to coverage before and during the “crisis” was not supported. Maybe partialing out some groups would help the statistical data, but it is doubtful to show significance. There is something to the overwhelming negative attitudes in the press coverage about Native issues in spite of the better inclusion of factual information and partial internal othering of Native voices after the crisis. However, it does seem slightly better, but there is great room for improvement.

Some issues for further study for First Nations issues could be how these perpetual media representations are being combated in ethnic publications, radio stations, and television. There is a national Indigenous TV network that is broadcast on cable, but a study about how other populations in Canada receive the content on the station would be insightful. There could also be further study on how much of the rest of Canada watch this programming, and if any of their

perceptions of Native people have changed for the better because of they're watching Aboriginal programming.

Appendix

1. The Toronto Star, August 16, 2004 Monday, SPORTS; Pg. D02, 665 words, Horn-Miller will be under scrutiny, by Chris Zelkovich
2. The Toronto Star, January 17, 2004 Saturday, Ontario Edition, NATIONAL REPORT; Pg. H02, 822 words, When violence wins the day, by Miro Cernetig.
3. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), March 20, 2003 Thursday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A6, 423 words, First Nations will fight governance act: chief, WINNIPEG
4. Toronto Star, November 11, 2001 Sunday, Ontario Edition, NEWS; Pg. A01, 4449 words, Hurling down a slippery slope
5. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), August 11, 2001 Saturday Final Edition, MAGAZINE; Pg. M02, 2760 words, Dance of Turtle Island; The growing popularity of powwows forms a trail from Northern Canada to New Mexico
6. Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada), August 18, 2000 Friday, NEWS; Pg. A10, 150 words, Algonquin roadblock still in place on Quebec highway, KOKOMVILLE, QUE.
7. Guelph Mercury (Ontario, Canada), August 13, 2000 Sunday, NEWS; Pg. A3, 191 words, Natives warn of barricades in clear-cutting dispute, KOKOMVILLE, QUE.
8. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), July 12, 2000 Wednesday Final Edition, CANADA & WORLD; Pg. D05, 269 words, Chief says Oka brought issues into mainstream media, OTTAWA
9. The Toronto Star, July 12, 2000, Wednesday, Edition 1, NEWS, 471 words, WORTH REPEATING KANESATAKE: 10 YEARS AFTER THE CRISIS
10. The Toronto Star, June 22, 2000, Thursday, Edition 1, NEWS, 388 words, MOHAWKS, OTTAWA REACH LAND DEAL, Michelle MacAfee
11. The Toronto Star, September 12, 1999, Sunday, Edition 1, CONTEXT, 1457 words, UNREPENTANT, Peter Edwards
12. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), March 1, 1999 Monday Final Edition, CANADA & WORLD; Pg. A12, 634 words, Aboriginal leaders slam RCMP report: Say arsenal buildup claim is 'gross exaggeration', OTTAWA
13. The Toronto Star, August 30, 1998, Sunday, Edition 1, NEWS, 1596 words, WARRIOR SOCIETY STEPS TO THE FRONT, Kelly Toughill
14. The Toronto Star, August 10, 1998, Monday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A6, 557 words, Indians refuse to back down despite deal on logging rights Gaspé blockade to stay in place, protesters say, By Jack Branwell Canadian Press, POINTE-A-LA-CROIX, Que.
15. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), August 7, 1998 Friday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A4, 585 words, Native barricades still up after government

deadline passes, Jack Branswell, POINTE-A-LA-CROIX, QUE.

16. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), August 19, 1997 Tuesday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. B8, 646 words, Sale of land closes book on Oka saga, Jeff Heinrich

17. The Toronto Star, February 27, 1997, Thursday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A12, 622 words, Rocky start to inquiry into Quebec police Union demands commissioner be removed for bias, By Sandro Contenta

18. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), August 24, 1996 Saturday Final Edition, BOOKS; Pg. C5, 597 words, Tale of suspense explores native crime, Arthur Boers

19. The Toronto Star, August 19, 1995, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. B5, 1280 words, Oka a case of police unchecked Stand-off blamed on Quebec's failure to control its Surete, By Sandro Contenta

20. The Toronto Star, August 17, 1995, Thursday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A15, 293 words, Ottawa ups Oka payout \$45 million, By Tim Harper Toronto Star, OTTAWA

21. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), July 27, 1995 Thursday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A10, 507 words, Marijuana on the reserve: The law rules

22. The Toronto Star, July 12, 1995, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A3, OKA CRISIS REMEMBERED

23. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), July 11, 1995 Tuesday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A7, 711 words, Nothing settled five years later: Conflict still deeply rooted in the landscape where natives took a stand against a golf course, By Nelson Wyatt, OKA, QUE.

24. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), July 11, 1995 Tuesday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A7, 872 words, Key players in crisis: Where are they now?, By Jennifer Ditchburn

25. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), May 19, 1995 Friday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A6, 373 words, Mohawks bury pair on disputed land, Sue Montgomery, OKA, QUEBEC

26. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), January 7, 1995 Saturday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A18, 392 words, Auditor General checks Oka claim; Quebec insists Ottawa owes \$79m for police costs, OTTAWA

27. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), December 19, 1994 Monday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 449 words, Natives refuse to leave revenue building, LuAnn LaSalle, TORONTO

28. The Toronto Star, December 17, 1994, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, ARTS; Pg. J20, 841 words, Noble savage image self-serving and naive, by Darcy Henton

29. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), December 16, 1994 Friday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. E10, 198 words, Oka shooting inquiry cost nears \$1 million, QUEBEC

30. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), November 19, 1994 Saturday Final Edition,

NEWS; Pg. E14, 328 words, Mohawk chiefs vow to set up own police, OKA, QUE.

31. The Toronto Star, November 19, 1994, Saturday, SATURDAY FIRST EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A10, 289 words, Mohawks defy Quebec police, (CP), OKA, Que.

32. The Toronto Star, June 14, 1994, Tuesday, METRO EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. A15, 1235 words, Street fighter Irwin comes out swinging The Indian Affairs Minister says what he thinks, does what he thinks is right and is trying to put himself out of business, By Derek Ferguson

33. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), June 11, 1994 Saturday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 395 words, Oka natives march for peace

34. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), June 2, 1994 Thursday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A5, 527 words, Natives halt work to talk, MONTREAL

35. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), June 2, 1994 Thursday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A7, 512 words, New players are on stage for Oka: Act II, By DANIEL SANGER, MONTREAL

36. The Toronto Star, June 1, 1994, Wednesday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 590 words, Mohawks want room for the dead Tensions ease as Quebec holds off sending in police, By Sandro Contenta TORONTO STAR, KANESATAKE, Que.

37. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), May 27, 1994 Friday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A6, 352 words, Mohawks rebuff bid to mediate Oka land dispute, MONTREAL

38. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), May 27, 1994 Friday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A10, 345 words, Mohawks tear up golf course road, MONTREAL

39. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), May 20, 1994 Friday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A13, 459 words, Mohawks seize road to Oka golf course, OKA, QUE.

40. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), April 28, 1994 Thursday Final Edition, METRO; Pg. C7, 458 words, Police killer 'doesn't matter'; Blame for Oka lies with government, says chief, MONTREAL

41. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), February 12, 1994 Saturday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A16, 385 words, Police raids on reserves would spark violence, native says, By Priti Yelaja

42. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), January 31, 1994 Monday Final Edition, BUSINESS; Pg. D2, 752 words, KANEHSATAKE OFFERS PROVOCATIVE VIEW OF OKA CRISIS;TV/What's on, by Eric Kohanik

43. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), October 26, 1993 Tuesday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. C13, 296 words, Roadblock at Oka site continues, OKA, QUE.

44. The Toronto Star, October 26, 1993, Tuesday, AM, NEWS; Pg. A11, 223 words, Oka roadblock mood 'cheerful' grand chief says, (CP), OKA, Que.

45. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), April 29, 1993 Thursday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A10, 272 words, Mohawks had legal right to halt expansion: lawyer, Montreal

46. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), January 20, 1993 Wednesday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A10, 426 words, Mohawks miffed at police report's timing; Contraband smokes worth '\$75 million', MONTREAL
47. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), November 24, 1992 Tuesday First Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 360 words, 10 non-native homeowners will be paid for Oka losses, MONTREAL
48. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), August 21, 1992 Friday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A1/ FRONT, 738 words, Oka quiet again after Mohawk-police standoff, OKA, QUE.
49. The Toronto Star, July 5, 1992, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 413 words, Oka verdict angers some whites, By Nelson Wyatt
50. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), July 4, 1992 Saturday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A5, 546 words, Jury acquits 34 Mohawks charged after 1990 Oka crisis, MONTREAL
51. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), July 4, 1992 Saturday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A1, 759 words, Mohawks cheer acquittals : 34 natives cleared of all Oka-related charges, By Nelson Wyatt
52. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), June 27, 1992 Saturday Final Edition, NEWS; Pg. A9, 349 words, Jurors urged to convict 34 Natives in Oka standoff, MONTREAL
53. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), June 27, 1992 Saturday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A11, 570 words, Disputes not settled at gunpoint, Oka trial told, MONTREAL
54. The Toronto Star, May 12, 1992, Tuesday, AM, NEWS; Pg. A11, 418 words, Trial of 39 in Oka standoff under way, CP, MONTREAL
55. The Toronto Star, May 1, 1992, Friday, AM, NEWS; Pg. A18, 350 words, B.C. doctors shut doors in dispute over pay cap
56. The Toronto Star, April 30, 1992, Thursday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A14, 395 words, Oka photographer granted probe, BY SANDRO CONTENTA
57. The Toronto Star, April 20, 1992, Monday, AM, NEWS; Pg. A17, 1413 words, Commission on natives plans blueprint for a new Canada, By Darcy Henton
58. The Toronto Star, March 7, 1992, Saturday, SATURDAY EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D4, 1457 words, Anti-native backlash feared in Quebec, BY ANTONIA ZERBIAS TORONTO STAR, MONTREAL
59. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), March 6, 1992 Friday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 548 words, Mohawks march through Oka : Federal office sparks protest, OKA, QUE.
60. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), February 20, 1992 Thursday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 720 words, Warriors jailed for Oka actions : Native 'frustration' recognized by judge, ST-JEROME, QUE.
61. Hamilton Spectator (Ontario, Canada), January 24, 1992 Friday Final Edition,

NEWS; Pg. A5, 578 words, Acquittals stun angry Oka residents; Houses ransacked during crisis, OKA, QUE.

62. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), January 23, 1992 Thursday Final Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 695 words, Two Oka warriors found guilty, ST-JEROME, QUE.

63. The Toronto Star, November 27, 1991, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A26, 387 words, Photographer acquitted in Oka trial, By Sandro Contenta

64. The Toronto Star, November 4, 1991, Monday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 523 words, Voters stick with mayor at heart of Mohawk crisis, By Sandro Contenta

65. The Toronto Star, August 28, 1991, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION, ENTERTAINMENT;Pg. B5, 637 words, Two views of the Oka crisis, By Philip Marchand

66. The Toronto Star, August 16, 1991, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 423 words, Report cites rights abuses in Canada

67. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), July 31, 1991 Wednesday City Edition, NEWS; Pg. E6, 338 words, Police refuse to leave Mohawk reserves.

68. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), July 23, 1991 Tuesday City Edition, OPINION; Pg. A6, 689 words, An amnesty would heal wounds of Oka, Jean-Claude Leclerc

69. The Toronto Star, July 13, 1991, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A13, 722 words, Prayer, songs replace guns as Mohawks heal wounds, By Darcy Henton

70. The Toronto Star, July 12, 1991, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A13, 826 words, Natives see little change since Oka, By Darcy Henton

71. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), July 11, 1991 Thursday City Edition, INSIGHT; Pg. A5, 773 words, Negligible progress : Mohawks gained little from crisis, By Eric Siblin

72. The Toronto Star, July 10, 1991, Wednesday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A1, 812 words, Quebec hydro project faces full federal probe, By William Walker

73. The Toronto Star, July 7, 1991, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A12, 445 words, Native anger smoulders across the country, By Darcy Henton

74. The Toronto Star, July 7, 1991, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1,1505 words, One year after Oka crisis hot summer looms again, By Darcy Henton

75. The Toronto Star, June 24, 1991, Monday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A13, 396 words, Akwesasne grand chief returned for fourth term, By Darcy Henton

76. The Toronto Star, June 22, 1991, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A11, 484 words, Akwesasne fears violence over crucial ballot today, By Darcy Henton

77. The Toronto Star, June 1, 1991, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A3, 645 words, Mohawks vote overwhelmingly in favor of elections, By Darcy Henton

78. The Toronto Star, May 31, 1991, Friday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A14, 303 words, Mohawks vote on plebiscite, By Darcy Henton

79. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), May 13, 1991 Monday City Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 506 words, Native struggle not over, Cree woman vows : More confrontation expected this summer, LONDON, ONT.
80. The Toronto Star, May 9, 1991, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, EDITORIAL; Pg. A26, 388 words, Quebec's role in Oka aftermath
81. The Toronto Star, May 8, 1991, Wednesday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A1, 417 words, Natives praise report on Oka but worry over role of Quebec, By Patrick Doyle
82. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), May 3, 1991 Friday City Edition, NEWS; Pg. A5, 547 words, Siddon denies Oka crisis could have been averted, By Joan Bryden
83. The Toronto Star, May 3, 1991, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A13, 524 words, Siddon rejects blame over standoff at Oka, By Joan Bryden
84. The Toronto Star, April 16, 1991, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A22, 356 words, French allowed at trial of Mohawks, CP, ST. JEROME, Que.
85. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), March 16, 1991 Saturday City Edition, NEWS; Pg. G10, 249 words, Oka Mohawks freed on bail, ST-JEROME, QUE.
86. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), March 13, 1991 Wednesday City Edition, FRONT; Pg. A3, 433 words, Quebec wanted army to attack during Oka standoff, natives say, OTTAWA
87. The Toronto Star, March 8, 1991, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A11, 529 words, Native problems need inquiry human rights boss tells MPs, (STAFF), OTTAWA
88. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), March 7, 1991 Thursday City Edition, NEWS; Pg. E6, 449 words, Native group storms out of Oka hearing, By Jack Aubry
89. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), February 21, 1991 Thursday City Edition, SPORTS; Pg. F10, 564 words, Buck-passing Ottawa, Quebec avoided Oka negotiations, chief asserts, By Bob Cox
90. The Toronto Star, February 20, 1991, Wednesday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A11, 416 words, Mohawk squabbles led to standoff, Siddon says, By Patrick Doyle
91. The Toronto Star, February 19, 1991, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 187 words, Mohawk leaders largely to blame for Oka violence, Siddon tells MPs, (CP), OTTAWA
92. The Toronto Star, February 3, 1991, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. B3, 2222 words, Can you imagine her as PM? McLaughlin is running hard to convince Canadians the answer should be YES, By Judy Steed Toronto Star, DAUPHIN, Man.
93. The Toronto Star, January 9, 1991, Wednesday, METRO EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1/ FRONT, 342 words, Chief to demand police leave after violent brawl on reserve, By Sandro Contenta Toronto Star, KAHNAWAKE, QUE.
94. The Toronto Star, December 29, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D1, 2312 words, CANADA IN 1990 HOPE TAKES A BATTERING, By Carol Goar TorontoStar

95. The Toronto Star, December 20, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, OPINION; Pg. A25, 847 words, Common ground eludes Siddon, Erasmus, By Carol Goar Toronto Star, OTTAWA
96. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), November 30, 1990 Friday City Edition, LIFESTYLES; Pg. D10, 182 words, Amnesty envoy completes probe on Mohawk charge
97. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), November 2, 1990 Friday City Edition, LIFESTYLES; Pg. D7, 395 words, Chiefs criticized Native MP raps inflammatory language during standoff
98. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), October 25, 1990 Thursday City Edition, FRONT; Pg. A7, 648 words, Indian recrimination: Kanesatake factions are fighting over who should do the talking for them, By Peggy Curran
99. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), October 25, 1990 Thursday City Edition, LIFESTYLES; Pg. D9, 528 words, Canadian natives tell world about Oka, By Peter Lowrey, The Canadian Press
100. The Toronto Star, October 21, 1990, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. B4, 1335 words, Ryan's 'one-man show' under fire Quebec minister takes charge of investigating Mohawk siege, By Robert McKenzie Toronto Star, QUEBEC
101. The Record (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), October 16, 1990 Tuesday City Edition, LIFESTYLES; Pg. D5, 555 words, Army exits Kahnawake but police now moving in, By Peter Lowrey, The Canadian Press
102. The Toronto Star, October 6, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, STARWEEK; Pg. S92, 726 words, Oka and Gulf crises were a real gift to TV news ratings, By Peter Trueman
103. The Toronto Star, September 28, 1990, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A12, 480 words, Warrior leader flees from Oka, escapes to U.S., By Elizabeth Thompson and Ann McLaughlin Special to The Star (Montreal Gazette), MONTREAL
104. The Toronto Star, September 27, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, EDITORIAL; Pg. A16, 973 words, End of Oka crisis only a beginning
105. The Toronto Star, September 27, 1990, Thursday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A1, 544 words, 'Rule of law prevails' PM says as crisis ends, By Edison Stewart and Patrick Doyle Toronto Star, with files from Bruce DeMara and Canadian Press, OTTAWA
106. The Toronto Star, September 22, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A8, 584 words, Quebec rejects Oka peace plan struck by own minister, By Sandro Contenta Toronto Star, MONTREAL
107. The Toronto Star, September 22, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A8, 595 words, Quebec rejects Oka peace plan struck by own minister, By Sandro Contenta Toronto Star, MONTREAL
108. The Toronto Star, September 20, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A11, 365 words, Opposition attacks Bourassa for vacation in midst of crisis, By Robert McKenzie Toronto Star, QUEBEC CITY

109. The Toronto Star, September 20, 1990, Thursday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A11, 890 words, Army showed 'restraint,' Mulroney says, By Edison Stewart Toronto Star, MEECH LAKE, Que.
110. The Toronto Star, September 18, 1990, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A17, 569 words, Mohawk memory reaches past present dispute, By Bruce McLeod Toronto Star
111. The Toronto Star, September 11, 1990, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A8, 690 words, Who's who in native fort, (CP), OKA, QUE.
112. The Toronto Star, September 6, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 641 words, Mercier Bridge reopens, (CP-STAFF), MONTREAL
113. The Toronto Star, September 3, 1990, Monday, HOME DELIVERY TWO, NEWS; Pg.A4, 570 words, Indian leaders denounce army move on barricades, FROM CANADIANPRESS
114. The Toronto Star, September 1, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A12, 1297 words, Mohawk crisis a classic case of might not making right, By Carol Goar Toronto Star, OTTAWA
115. The Toronto Star, August 29, 1990, Wednesday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A1, 707 words, PM warns of bloodshed if Mohawks resist army Mulroney aims to stop crimes of 'extremists', By Rosemary Speirs Toronto Star, OTTAWA
116. The Toronto Star, August 26, 1990, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT;Pg. B1, 989 words, Native blockades darken our image abroad, by Jack Cahill Toronto Star
117. The Toronto Star, August 21, 1990, Tuesday, ME2, NEWS; Pg. A11, 698 words, Army in place at Mohawk barricades, By Jonathan Ferguson Toronto Star, CHATEAUGUAY Que.
118. The Toronto Star, August 5, 1990, Sunday, SUNDAY FIRST EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A6, 563 words, Protesters block seaway over native dispute, (CP), MONTREAL
119. The Toronto Star, July 28, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D1, 2170 words, Oka crisis: It all started with a hut, By Darcy Henton Toronto Star, OKA, QUE.
120. The Toronto Star, July 26, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A27, 932 words, McLaughlin's wise mission of mercy The NDP leader's abortive visit to Oka was a moral victory, by Carol Goar TORONTO STAR
121. The Toronto Star, July 25, 1990, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A3, 800 words, Indians resolute as Ottawa dithers, By Tim Harper Toronto Star
122. The Toronto Star, July 21, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D1, 1533 words, How guns of Oka wrecked PM's plans, By Carol Goar Toronto Star, OTTAWA
123. The Toronto Star, July 21, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D4, 986 words, Standoff is a 'national crisis' It's time for Ottawa to wake up, Mohawk says in open letter to PM, By Brian Maracle
124. The Toronto Star, July 21, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS;Pg. A1, 804 words, Make plans to defend native lands, chiefs told, By Patrick

Doyle Toronto Star, KAHNAWAKE, QUE.

125. The Toronto Star, July 21, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A12, 455 words, Let police cut forces Chretien suggests, By Patrick Doyle Toronto Star, KAHNAWAKE, Que.

126. The Toronto Star, July 20, 1990, Friday, FINAL EDITION, EDITORIAL; Pg. A18, 485 words, Only good faith will end impasse

127. The Toronto Star, July 19, 1990, Thursday, ONT, NEWS; Pg. A11, 358 words, Mohawks set their demands to solve crisis, By Jane Armstrong Toronto Star, OKA, QUE.

128. The Toronto Star, July 19, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 769 words, 100 chiefs call for peaceful end to crisis, By Patrick Doyle Toronto Star, KAHNAWAKE, QUE.

129. The Toronto Star, July 19, 1990, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A11, 335 words, Quebec media deplore 'racist' white behavior, By Eloise Morin Special to The Star, MONTREAL

130. The Toronto Star, July 14, 1990, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D1, 1969 words, Days of Rage The New Face of the Indian Movement, By Tim Harper Toronto Star

131. The Toronto Star, October 29, 1989, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. C11, 784 words. Cree's 'attorney general' a passionate advocate

132. The Toronto Star, October 17, 1989, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 641 words. 'Proud Mohawk' Roberta Jamieson gets rave reviews as new ombudsman, By John Deverell

133. The Toronto Star, September 8, 1989, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. H16, 334 words. Anti-casino natives want to impeach of two chiefs, (CP), HOGANSBURG, N.Y.

134. The Toronto Star, September 3, 1989, Sunday, SUNDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A14, 1823 words. 'All-out war' looms over reserve gambling, By Darcy Henton

135. The Toronto Star, October 24, 1988, Monday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A21, 890 words, 3 groups fight federal government for justice Lubicon Indians, Chinese- and Ukrainian-Canadians press for rights in unrelated incidents, By Marvin Lipton

136. The Toronto Star, October 22, 1988, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, INSIGHT; Pg. D1, 1431 words. Angry natives find new way to fight, By Lindsay Scotton

137. The Toronto Star, October 17, 1988, Monday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 739 words. Toronto oilman denounces 'genocide' of Lubicon tribe, CP-Staff, LITTLE BUFFALO, Alt.

138. The Toronto Star, June 11, 1988, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 1113 words. Smugglers' haven a zone of fear, By Darcy Henton

139. The Toronto Star, June 3, 1988, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A1, 946 words. Uprisings by natives are isolated -- so far, By Dan Smith

140. The Toronto Star, June 2, 1988, Thursday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A8, 382 words. Indian band blockades logging road to back up claims near Temagami, TEMAGAMI, Ontario

141. The Toronto Star, January 16, 1988, Saturday, SATURDAY SECOND EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A14, 292 words, 'Shame the flame', 50 jeer at torch rally, (CP), WINNIPEG, Manitoba
142. The Toronto Star, January 15, 1988, Friday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A10, 414 words. Indian band launches suit over Olympic arts festival, By Derek Ferguson
143. The Toronto Star, November 25, 1986, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. B10, 236 words, Indian band returns truck in dispute over cigarettes, (CP), ST. REGIS, New York
144. The Toronto Star, July 22, 1986, Tuesday, FINAL EDITION, NEWS; Pg. A2, 668 words. Bingo man sought as OPP raid reserve and seize equipment, By Sue Montgomery

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