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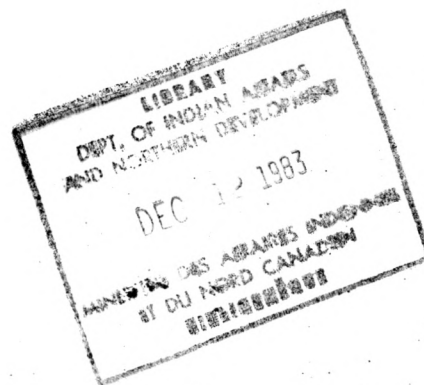
National indigenous policies : Canada
and Mexico

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NATIONAL INDIGENOUS POLICIES :

CANADA AND MEXICO



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NATIONAL INDIGENOUS POLICIES: CANADA AND MEXICO

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GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

NATIONAL INDIGENOUS
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INTRODUCTION

I. BACKGROUND

Several years ago a small task force was assigned the duty of preparing a paper for senior officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on "Comparative Policies of Five Nations in Native Affairs Administration". Nations examined were the United States, Canada, Mexico, Australia and New Zealand. Areas isolated for treatment were Constitutional Background, Legislation, Administrative Organization, Lands and Programs and Services. The rationale for selection of nations and areas of study was not specified, but it seems obvious that geographic location and historico-cultural background were prime ingredients in the former,

and that the bias was towards administration of policy, following its foundation within a legal framework.

When it was decided about two years ago that the original study should be expanded, the same nations were included and the same general areas, to be revised if thought necessary, constituted the framework. To the original five nations several others, mostly Latin American, were added, to a final total of twelve:

Guatemala
Colombia
Ecuador
Guyana

Bolivia
Peru
Malaysia

The selection resulted from a somewhat complicated series of cross-tabular comparisons, based upon geography, demography and culture and, except for Malaysia, no nations outside of the Western Hemisphere were considered. The continents of Europe, Africa and Asia were purposely excluded. A detailed exposition of the bases for selection does not concern us here.

It soon became apparent that no one person, or even a small group such as that which had undertaken the original project, would be able to handle a study of such dimensions within any manageable period of time. Accordingly, after short, descriptive summaries of the history and most obvious elements of indigenous policy had been prepared for each of the twelve nations (including a section on theory and methodology employed), the decision was reached to limit the initial study to two nations, only,

and Canada and Mexico were settled upon as presenting an array of similarities and differences easily detailed and understood.

During the last eight months an additional researcher, bilingual in English and Spanish, has been added to the project and given responsibility for preparation of the Mexican portion of the study. The resulting total paper is to be seen as a "pilot", intended to set forth a pattern for future work in respect to other nations. Tentative plans to date envisage development according to the following schedule:

STUDY II Guatemala. (As a "bridge" to South America.)

STUDY III Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela. (The so-called "Amazon Basin Nations", where crucial events are occurring or are in the making.)

STUDY IV Guyana. (As a "bridge" to English-speaking nations.)

STUDY V United States, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia.

It will be noted that the two nations added to the original list of twelve (Brazil and Venezuela), are specifically located in the Amazon Basin.

While the areas within which the present study is developed correspond roughly to the five originally used, the emphasis has shifted from an administrative-and-legal base to one that may be called "social-scientific". That is, the problems inherent in formulation and application of indigenous policy have been regarded as not only explicitly national but as generic, in the sense that they are first of all problems of

human relations and social change. Except in a very few of the nations selected for study, indigenous people are demographically minority groups; they are so to be defined culturally and socially, as well, as a result of differences in language, religion, total world-view, and their relative positions at the bottom of the socio-economic heap within the society of which each is a part.

Within this context, the original five areas are amended to read, Geography and Demography, History and Culture, Constitution and Law, Implementation and Programs/Services and Interpretation/Implication, granted that the last-named category is awkward and somewhat obscure.

II. PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

A few of the most immediate problems faced in preparing the paper might be noted.

A. The Fundamental Dilemma

A paradox that permeates the whole subject-matter of indigenous relations is apparent, once the point of view is shifted from an administrative-legal to a social-scientific one.

First of all, if indigenous people are to be "helped" (an aim usually explicit and professed, and always implicit, in legislative enactments), they must be isolated from the general population -- first, conceptually and then, if policy is to be more than an ideal formulation,

physically and in practice. But this means segregation, which results in the practice of a sort of "apartheid", which is a condition within the present ideological climate abhorrent to those professing a democratic bias. Yet without such isolation, whether called segregation or not, neither social justice nor economic reality can be served.

Second, and perhaps even more serious in its implication, if indigenous people are assisted as justice seems to demand, at what point does a kind of law of diminishing returns set in, and the aid given become self-destructive and destructive of the very people it is intended to serve -- destructive, furthermore, of the people who devise and administer it? Even the most intelligent and "liberated" among us tend to fall victim to a drive towards super-humanity; we become super-powerful in our own eyes, petty dictators in reality and the dispensers of largesse; father-figures, all too often feeling ourselves above error.

One of the students quoted in the latter portion of this paper refers to these phenomena as the "encogido syndrome". The process he describes may be rationalized, and the author of that section of our study attempts to do so, with what success the reader will have to judge. (Unfortunately, similar rationalization of the first part of this paradox, having to do with segregation, is less easy, and may not be possible at all).

B. The Social-Scientific Bias

Aside from the basic problem inherent in attempts to assist indigenous people within a democratic context, justification for the shift from administrative-legal to a broader approach presents difficulties that are not merely semantic. If this more generic approach is to be maintained, it becomes necessary to regard aboriginals as first of all simply human beings, with human capabilities and human strengths and weaknesses, rather than as integers or as symbols of oppression. This is not as easy as we should like to believe, as anyone who has been plopped down for the first time within a community untouched by the pleasant amenities of "civilization" will be able to testify. It requires a far-reaching and extraordinarily subtle shifting and reshuffling of values, especially when the application of aid is involved. The importance of cultural backgrounds, and of social change as continuous and to all intents and purposes an inevitable process, is underlined; it becomes essential that judgement be withheld, that objectivity, tolerance and a large amount of empathy become basic ingredients among those who make and those who implement indigenous policy -- and it is discovered that such reactions are for perhaps a majority of human beings difficult to achieve. This is a challenge, also, and one that has to be met if those of us (mostly "White"), who happen to enjoy reasonable

affluence and some of the trappings of power, are to retain our fortunate positions within a world which is overwhelmingly not "White".

C. Clogged Communications

It is suggested in the study that the much talked-about "Indian Problem" in Canada is first and foremost, and most simply stated, one of communications-breakdown among Indians, among Whites, and between Indians and Whites. The immediate genesis of the statement lies in the absence of clear information by the two writers of this paper regarding plans and programs within the Department in the planning and application of policy. Yet this clogging of lines of information, for whatever reason, obtains in most other areas: within and between Indian groups and associations; within and between other areas of this and other departments and agencies, whether governmental or other; and between Indian and non-Indian individuals and groups at almost any level surveyed. Such failures to communicate are not matters of lack of good will. They are not necessarily intentional. The reasons lie, most probably, within the area of social-scientific concern alluded to under "B" above. In the paper certain suggestions are made as to means by which this blurring of emphasis and its complementary clogging of lines of communication may be attacked.

D. Consultation and Indian Involvement

One of the methods of attack upon both the "Fundamental Dilemma" and "Clogged Communications" problem, it is suggested, could be found in the planning and development of programs with the indigenous people for whom they are supposed to be designed. But it is pointed out that such programs, whether or not indigenous people are involved, leave administration open to charges (on the one hand) of paternalism and (on the other) of attempts to evade legal responsibility by government.

Therefore, it is suggested further, an attempt should be made to provide specialized, professional training for those who will be involved, particularly Indians and Eskimos, whereby policy-makers and administrators, and operative personnel, might be adequately and systematically prepared for their respective roles.

Reference is made to the training program that has been developed in Mexico, and subsequently in other Latin American countries, which has over the years produced specialists known in those countries as "Indigenists". These are "applied anthropologists", "social engineers", at least aware of and, hopefully, committed to the theories of cultural diversity and social change outlined above. In this country we might find it satisfactory to refer to such specialists as "Indianists". Assistance in preparing a curriculum for such training might be sought from persons and agencies both within and outside

government, with costs funded by the latter.

III. APPLICATION

The history of indigenous policy in Canada, as in most nations in the Western Hemisphere which are Northern European in cultural background (this applies, also, to Australia and New Zealand), appears to present a record of unplanned or poorly planned development in both concept and application. It cannot be a matter of great pride to us that even most recent efforts in this field have resulted all too often from a growing awareness of our minority position as Whites in a coloured world and the realization that non-Whites are becoming more and more conscious of their potential power and are tending to use that power for their own practical and spiritual advancement.

It is possible to over-emphasize this point, of course, and to create bogeymen as do children in their beds at night. It is fruitless to charge that men of good will are products solely of self-interest and fear. Yet the history of human relations and social change does not offer particularly encouraging examples for us to follow. In this paper the authors suggest that a radical alteration in the White Man's Weltanschauung is essential if the "Indian Problem" is to be resolved -- perhaps even if the White man is to survive for more than a few generations longer. In specific terms, somehow we must bring ourselves to accept a philosophy of social change

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that sees such change as resulting from human action, susceptible to human control and direction, and not as a result of blind and often random operation of "natural" forces in the category of earthquake, typhoon, drought or flood. Despite our protestations, now becoming more frequent, it is suggested that the vast majority of human beings still refuse to countenance such an outrageous hypothesis.

NATIONAL INDIGENOUS POLICIES IN
CANADA

I. STATEMENTS OF POLICY

Official policies are established by Constitutional and legislative enactments by government, whether they relate to fiscal, juridical or any other area. In the nature of things, however, policies are expressions of intent; their implementation often tends to involve compromises of one sort or another between what is ^{apparent} ^{goal} ostensibly sought and what proves possible of attainment.

A. Sources and Content

1. Background

In examining the history of Indian policy in Canada, the above generalizations have striking application. Traditions of both British and French law emphasize not only the sanctity of institutions, but the freedom of the individual to certain "fundamental" rights, although these rights may vary in detail and in interpretation from nation to nation. Within this philosophical context the equality of all people is asserted; when a government is faced with the problem

of supporting and protecting a group that has been neglected and exploited by the majority -- even though such treatment may not have occurred because of deliberate ill-will -- their efforts may involve a greater degree of compromise to other men and to events than is necessary in other cases.

Canadian Indian policy has evolved during the last 300 years through at least three discernible phases. Writers on the subject generally agree on a broad definition of these.^{1/}

The first extends from the earliest days of British Imperial rule in North America, from about 1740 to 1830, and was military in form. As Scott puts it: "The year 1830 may be fixed as the limit of the first regime in Indian Affairs. Before that date a purely military administration prevailed, the duty of the government being restricted to maintaining the loyalty of the Indian nations to the crown, with almost the sole object of preventing their hostility and conserving their assistance as allies". As Hodgetts pointed out, as far as Indians were concerned, "From highly useful military assistants they had become expensive impediments to the White man's search for Lebensraum."

In passing, it is ironic that both the initial decision of dump responsibility for Indian affairs upon civilian administrators and the decision to institute

1/ For example see Duncan Campbell Scott: "Indian Affairs, 1763-1841", in Shortt and Doughty: Canada and Its Provinces, Vol.IV, particularly pp. 695-696. (Toronto, 1913); J.E. Hodgetts: Pioneer Public Service...1841-1867, Chapter XIII. (Toronto, 1955.): and others.

a policy of reserve-settlement for Indians, were apparently "reached by the military personnel still in command of Indian affairs in the 1820s...strongly supported by the colonial governors -- in both Upper and Lower Canada -- and the Imperial authorities gave approval of it...in the dying days of 1829." Thus it may be said that the skeleton and core of present-day Canadian Indian policy was in fact a result of military-political accident -- "a policy", Hodgetts adds in justification of this assertion, "which once begun has been followed unswervingly to this day by the Department."

Scott continues his description of the second and third phases of Indian policy: "About 1830 the government...began to perceive the larger human duties which had arisen with the gradual settlement and pacification of the country..."; while, after 1867, "a great expansion in the current occurred, and the development of the new western territories largely increased the burden." Further, reflecting what is now in increasing measure beginning to mark a revised approach to Indian history, Scott notes that while "treatment of the relations of the government to the Indians cannot naturally be broken up into the same periods as the political history...it has been thought convenient to deal in the first period, from 1763 to 1841, with those subjects which are germane

to the military superintendence of the Indians; in the second period, from 1841 to 1867, with the first attempts to protect, civilize and educate them; and in the third period, from 1867 to the present time, with the advancement that has taken place."

The second phase of development was marked by the emergence of Sir William Johnson as first Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York, which at that time included both the Canadas. According to Augustus C. Buell,^{2/} Sir William "discovered that the management of Indian affairs, then conducted by a Board of Colonial Commissioners, was rotten to the core", even while it had "become the most important element of Executive responsibility in the Colony." Thus, five years later, "the Governor abolished the Indian Board and appointed Sir William sole Superintendent of Indian Affairs."

*in Chapter XIII
of his monograph*

Hodgetts presents a thumbnail history of the Department during this time:

The Immigration Office and the Indian Department were two of the last Imperial agencies to be transferred to the province....

The Indian Department...started as an Imperial agency, remaining for most of the period under the superintendence of the Governor's Secretary. In 1860, after protracted negotiations, Indian affairs were thrust into the hands of reluctant

2/ Sir William Johnson. New York: 1903.

Canadian authorities to be placed in a special branch of the Crown Lands Department. Historically, the chief duty of the Indian Department had been to disburse the annual 'presents' to the Indians. During the period of Union the Department, pledged to the principle of 'civilizing' its wards, continued an earlier policy of segregating the Indians on reserves and provided each 'Indian Superintendency' with its complement of missionaries, teachers, agents, and the like. Through various treaty arrangements, each tribe had funds or assets which had to be administered for them by the Department. This agency was an excellent example of what would today be called a 'clientele' department -- that is, an administrative agency which had the responsibility of serving all the needs of one particular section of the public. How this programme was implemented and the difficulties attending the clientele organization are matters for extended comment....

(This is reproduced in APPENDIX I of the present paper.)

As Scott remarks, first British dealings with the Indians in Canada, as in North America generally, involved systematic attempts to pacify them and to ensure their good will. Hodgetts describes this effort as "a judicious distribution of presents and an accompanying glittering display of military pomp...At the same time", he adds, "as settlement progressed, various tracts of land were surrendered by the Indians in return for annuities. The annuities were normally paid out in the same form as the presents: clothing, blankets, guns, anything that would help the natives survive."

By the latter half of the 19th century the results of this policy, assisted as it had been by a heavy recourse to religious teaching and by attempts to turn the Indian into a farmer (both measures defined according to the spirit of the times as "civilizing" influences) -- by the time the West had been settled as far as Manitoba, the situation of the Indians is described thus by Douglas Hill: 3/

The Indians were simply facing death as a direct result of federal policy. Not that Ottawa had adopted the unofficial American tendency to wage wars of extermination, but in the fullness of its ignorance the government of Canada had initiated policies that could, if continued, have had that effect.

The sufferings of the Indians had begun much earlier...tribal treaties...drawn up through the patient persuasion of the N.W.M.P. But agreement was one thing, obedience another. The treaties allowed the Indians to roam over unsettled areas off the reserves; and since most of the land remained unsettled during the 1870s, the Indian's nomadic lives were not in the least curtailed. It was as if there had been no treaty, no decisions about Indian reserves. But then -- for some Indians -- there had been none. Some lesser chiefs, notably the Cree Big Bear, had refused to sign a treaty. They, too, roamed freely in search of the buffalo.

Then a day came when the roaming had to stop. The buffalo had vanished from the plains.

Knowledgeable westerners had been predicting its extinction for years. The vast slaughter during the days of the whiskey trade -- when buffalo hides and tongues drew top prices -- had begun the process. Another cause had been the effect of America's great transcontinental railway, the Union Pacific, which (because the

herds would not cross the tracks) divided the overall buffalo population into two sections, north and south. In the U.S.A., buffalo hunting had become massacre. Settlers slaughtered the animals to keep them off the fields; professional hunters (like Buffalo Bill Cody) vied with each other for record killings; Indians continued killing them for their trading; and the prairies were carpeted with corpses, usually intact save for skins and tongues. North of the railway, the U.S. Army pitched in as well -- because someone had realized that buffalo slaughter was a way to control (or exterminate) the hostile Plains Indians, who depended on the animals for almost all their needs.

The northern herd migrated regularly to Canada, and there, too, the slaughter had reached incredible proportions. Ottawa finally awoke to some of the warnings, but passed the buck to the Northwest Territories Council. In 1877 the Council created a clumsy ordinance forbidding various forms of buffalo hunting, setting up a hunting season, and so on. It was so complicated that Indians and métis ignored it; complaints arose and it was shortly repealed (not amended or replaced).

Then the Sioux crossed into Canada, and the U.S. Army had to find a long-range means of getting at them. The buffalo provided the means. Reports at the time, quoted by G.F.G. Stanley, note that a series of prairie fires began -- coincidentally -- along the border at about the same time that the U.S. Army had stationed itself there ostensibly to keep the Canadian Indians on their own side of the line. (The Blackfoot, it was said, had been hunting too often on U.S. territory.) The move worked, of course, both ways. Soldiers and fires kept the buffalo in the U.S. away from the Sioux and Canada's Indians, where the efficient mass-slaughter arrangements continued and eventually concluded the depletion of the herds.

So by about 1880 the buffalo had gone except for a few scattered handfuls. And the Indians had begun to starve.

They reacted in two ways. They demanded assistance and provisions from the government; and

what they were not given, they took. They raided cattle herds, they ran up unpayable debts at kindly trading posts, they even broke into Fort Qu'Appelle in 1879 and stole provisions. Like the métis, the Indians also ran into government inaction and delay. They had hoped for ready assistance: disillusioned, increasingly desperate, they sank into bewildered bitterness. The white man had proved untrustworthy. As their resentment increased, the danger signals became more obvious. Even the N.W.M.P., whose reputation had been assured among the Indians, became guilty by association....

Under pressure from the police and Indian agents, the government finally acted. Stop-gap provisions were sent to the west (100,000 pounds of beef, 500 head of cattle, and more). At the same time Ottawa took the administration of Indian matters away from the Ministry of the Interior and set up a separate Department of Indian Affairs. The department devoted itself to reinforcing the Mounties' and missionaries' heart-breaking exertions to calm the Indians, to settle them on the reserves, to start them cultivating the land -- where they could learn to support themselves not by hunting but by agriculture.

Some Indians resigned themselves to learning to be farmers. Others -- more than half of the Plains Indians -- refused to try farming, or gave up too soon in the face of farming failures....

These free bands raided across the border, stole cattle, and lived on the edge of starvation. The N.W.M.P., however, displayed enormous patience, and eventually managed to coax and bribe many of them to return to the reserves, where the government had now established farm instructors to help the Indians adjust to their new life.

Flaws soon appeared in that idea. The instructors were rarely devoted to their charges; the reserve schools were often badly run; and the government built up more resentment by trying to suppress other traditional tribal ways -- including the religious dances and ceremonies. In fairness, the reserve system was not wholly vicious. At least most tribes were allotted

reserves in regions that had traditionally been their territory, not hustled off to useless land out of the way of settlers (which, for a long time, was U.S. policy). Yet, however tactfully handled, the treaties were at best a mess of pottage offered in exchange for the Indian's ancestral lands, undermining in the process his ancient way of life, restricting his freedom, and permanently destroying his self-possession and self-respect. He became what he is today: a ward of the state, barely tolerated if he adapts to white ways and persecuted if he does not. Because he is totally dependent, and mostly inarticulate politically, his viewpoint is rarely taken into account by government policy-makers -- even when government takes steps that affect his welfare directly.

Some very serious measures concerning the Indians were taken in the early 1880s. The strength of the economy, restored when Macdonald returned to power in 1878, had dwindled again and the new recession required a reduction in spending, including the government's. "Non-essential" expenditure was cut back; and the Department of Indian Affairs fell under this heading...The Indians' rations were suddenly cut. An official of the Department ...believed that most of the Indian agents had been lining their pockets, on the side, by means of the provisions.

The Indians suffered the depths of famine....Deaths became more and more frequent. The agents, who were mostly as fair-minded and honest as could be expected, remonstrated, complained, resigned in protest. The Mounties issued stern warnings;Other agencies -- missionaries, the western newspapers -- added to the clamor. Ottawa paid no heed; the reductions continued in force.

Famine due to the disappearance of the buffalo could be accepted, if not understood, by the Indians. Famine due to the inaction of the whites -- who themselves were not starving -- was not acceptable. The Indians' resentment soon showed signs of reaching that pitch of hatred which had existed between the races in the U.S.A. And, to add to the danger, as in the U.S.A. many of the new settlers in the Territories proved to be prejudiced, ignorant people, contemptuous of the Indians, unable or unwilling to give an inch, or to understand the Indian's problems. For

generations the land had been open to anyone; now if he walked or rode across a field he was liable (as frequently happened) to be sworn at, struck, or even shot at by a white man who claimed to "own" it.

Soon, as was to be expected, the Indians turned defiant; their resentment boiled over. They deserted their farms and many took to theft and raiding. And all the time, ominously, the old charisma of the Mounties diminished in power.... No more peaceful, single-handed restorations of the peace would be possible for the police now: the constables rode in groups, watchfully.

2. Legal and Constitutional Frameworks

Reference has been made above to the treaties arranged with Indians on the initiative of government. There are, in all, at least 12 such treaties, the earliest in 1850, the last in 1921. Not all Indians are covered by treaty, however, a circumstances which has at times exacerbated Indian-government relations.

The first of these having direct bearing upon present-day indigenous policy in Canada were the two "Robinson Treaties", between the Province of Canada and Ojibway Indians of the Lakes Superior and Huron regions. These represented two of the earliest efforts to acquire, by means of legal cession of Indian territory, certain lands considered to be of importance to the infant nation. Provisions included cash payments, annuities and the establishment of reserved lands, in return for which Indians agreed not to sell, lease or dispose of in other ways minerals or other reserve products without consent of the Superintendent of Indian

Affairs and not to hinder white exploration or prospecting.

These provisions were a pattern for all other treaties, and rather than describe, or even enumerate, each in turn, it may be of interest to quote from a summary report of the activities of the foremost negotiator involved in discussions with the Indians.

Morris ^{4/} seems to have been a dedicated and sincere man, convinced of the necessity and value of the work he had been assigned to do. That his point of view reflected that of the times in which he lived is understandable, no matter how myopic it may seem to the modern critic. He expounds this viewpoint in a concluding section of his report, under the heading.

"The Future of the Indians":

And now I come to a very important question, What is to be the future of the Indian population of the North-West? I believe it to be a hopeful one. I have every confidence in the desire and ability of the present administration, as of any succeeding one, to carry out the provisions of the treaties, and to extend a helping hand to this helpless population. That, conceded, with the machinery at their disposal, with a judicious selection of agents and farm instructors, and the additional aid of well-selected carpenters, and efficient school teachers, I look forward to seeing the Indians, faithful allies of the Crown, while they can gradually be made an increasing and self-supporting population.

They are wards of Canada, let us do our duty by them, and repeat in the North-west, the success that has attended our dealings with them in old Canada for the last hundred years.

^{4/} Alexander Morris: The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-west Territories. Toronto: 1880.

And now I close. Let us have Christianity and civilization to leaven the mass of heathenism and paganism among the Indians tribes; let us have a wise and paternal Government faithfully carrying out the provisions of our treaties and doing its utmost to help and elevate the Indian population, who have been cast upon our care, and we will have peace, progress, and concord among them in the North-West; and instead of the Indian melting away, as one of them in older Canada, tersely put it, "as snow before the sun", we will see our Indian population, loyal subjects of the Crown, happy, prosperous and self-sustaining, and Canada will be able to feel, that in a truly patriotic spirit, our country has done its duty by the red men of the North-West, and thereby to herself. So may it be.

One of the most recent statements of the government approach to Indian affairs is contained in a comprehensive and well-thought-out "Brief to the State Committee on Poverty",^{5/} prepared by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and presented in 1970. Two sections from this report are relevant to the discussion.

In spite of differences in specific aspects of Indian policy, (the Brief begins) all the European powers who colonized the Americas shared one basic assumption: the aboriginal inhabitants of the land were subjects to the heads of the colonizing states.

Along with the Europeans' assumption of sovereignty over the Indians there was also a recognition, and still is, of their responsibility for the welfare, both spiritual and material, of the subject peoples, although at times this seems to have been more honoured in the breach than the observance.

The Indian policy of federal governments (this section of the report concludes) up to now has been the result of almost three centuries of

^{5/} Pp. 47, 49-50.

evolution, and has been based on a number of assumptions inherited from earlier periods. Indian people were regarded, not as sovereign, but as subject to some outside government, and this policy set them apart from other Canadians in one important respect: specific legislation made them subject as a people, not as individuals. The government considered it has a special responsibility for the well-being of Indian people, even to the extent of managing many of their affairs.

The goal has always been to bring Indian people into Canadian life as full citizens of their country, sharing the responsibilities and the privileges that go with this status. The fact that this policy has been pursued with only superficial modifications for over a century indicates that it was believed to be adequate. But there has been an inherent contradiction in its advocacy of a program to realize a goal of inclusion.

This flaw in its basic assumption -- that exclusion can lead to inclusion -- has become increasingly obvious in recent years. More and more, Indian people have become aware that a separate road of development is not bringing them quickly enough into a society that is changing at an increasingly rapid rate. More and more this separateness has become a burden, unacceptable to Indian and non-Indian people alike as a seed-bed of discrimination. More and more, it has overshadowed the goal of inclusion, of full and equal participation in the life of the nation.

The Brief does not attempt to give answers, beyond the fact that the essay is itself a partial answer because of its production. It could not, of course, do so within its terms of reference. For the present that statement will have to serve: we will return to the discussion later on in this paper. Behind the legal aspects of policy, represented by treaties and by administrative decisions, there lies an even more fundamental area of constitutional support.

In 1860, Act 23, Victoria, Chapter 151, entitled "An Act respecting the management of the Indian lands and property", marked the transition from Imperial to Dominion control of the nation's legal framework. It defined new agencies responsible for Indian affairs. In summary, the Act, effective July 1, 1861, vested Indian guidance in a "Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs" a "Commissioner of Crown Lands" and reaffirmed the status quo as far as use, management, tenure and sanctity of Indian lands were concerned. Inter alia, it reaffirmed, also, provisions of a previous "Act respecting the civilization and enfranchisement of certain Indians". The legal machinery previously set up in this broad area was specifically corroborated.

Another Treaty was entered into, in 1862, again with the Ojibways; but the next substantial event, and one which provides the constitutional base for all subsequent policies in the field of Indian affairs, whether legal or administrative, is a tantalizingly brief statement (Section 91) in the British North America Act of 1867.

Following the usual premise that "It shall be lawful for the Queen, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate and House of Commons, to make laws for the Peace, Order and Good Government of Canada...." twenty-nine miscellaneous areas of legislation are listed,

the twenty-fourth of which refers to "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians".

Almost immediately the details of action in this area began to be spelled out. The first Indian Act was brought into force in 1876, following an eight-year period of discussion and revision. As has been frequently noted, "there is only one Indian Act" in Canada, and there is still only one Indian administration. The Indian Act has been revised twice, once in 1880 and again in 1951, and in addition there have been minor admendments and alterations from time to time. Yet the provisions of this original Act are substantially unchanged, and perhaps as concise a picture as can be drawn of what the Act embodies is to be found in "Brief to the Special Committee on Poverty", prepared by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and submitted under date of 1970. Here is their summary of its provision:

The Indian Act provides the legal framework within which the affairs of the Indians are administered by the Government of Canada in accordance with the exclusive legislative jurisdiction vested in it by the British North America Act. It does not embody all the law applicable to Indians as, generally speaking, they are subject to the same laws as non-Indians. Rather, the Indian Act represents special legislation taking precedence over provincial legislation, which the Parliament considers is essential to the needs of the Indian people, not only as a safeguard to protect their treaty and property rights, but as a means of promoting their advancement.

Although the present Indian Act does not, at a glance, bear much resemblance to the early legislation regarding Indians - for instance, to the Indian Act of 1876 which was the first consolidation of the laws pertaining to Indians - closer inspection reveals that the early legislation embodied certain general principles which, although modified over the years, are still to be found in the present Act.

1. That Indian status and band membership rights are restricted to certain persons.
2. That Indians who wish to give up their Indian status and membership rights may do so if they meet certain conditions.
3. That the resources on reserves shall be under the management of the Federal Government and that sales of land can only be made with the consent of the Indians.
4. That the revenue derived from the management of the resources shall be held by the government and used only in the best interests of the Indians.
5. That bands shall be represented by councils, which shall have the right to pass bylaws on matters affecting the welfare of the Indians on reserves.
6. That the use of intoxicants by Indians shall be restricted.
7. That the education of Indians shall be of concern to the Federal Government.
8. That jurisdiction over the estates of deceased Indians shall be vested in the Federal Government rather than in the provincial courts.
9. That Indians may acquire property rights within their reserves.

10. That the real and personal property of an Indian band or Indian on a reserve may not be pledged, mortgaged, seized, or taxed.

B. Interpretation

The Constitutional and Legislative sources of Canadian Indian policy (in the British North America Act and the Indian Act of 1876 plus the Revisions of 1880 and 1951, respectively) are thus identifiable; beyond these, however, we enter into a shadowy area in which the key is administrative action, supplemented by political decision. For the Indian Act must be interpreted, and to this process are brought the convictions, opinions and, often enough, the prejudices of both officials and politicians. The milieux within which these individuals work are inevitably those of the day-to-day and transitory world within which they live, and with all honesty, probity and good intentions, not to mention whatever common sense the individual may possess, and despite a multitude of built-in safeguards against precipitate action, decisions reached are bound to reflect beliefs current at the time they are made.

Here, also, the waters are clouded by the fact that "administration" and "implementation" are seldom easily separable. Even though the one may flow from high places and the other express the comprehension and ability, or their lack, of those who follow orders, decisions in this area may represent distortions of the intended reality as set forth in legislation and be subject only in the last

resort to clarification by the Courts -- that is, by a return to legislative verification.

The most recent activity in the statement of Indian policy occurred within the last five or six years. In 1966 and 1967 a detailed examination of the Indian Act was undertaken by officers of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, in consultation with Indians and Indian groups. This exercise was followed by a series of nineteen meetings held at various centres across the country, in which Indians and representatives of Indian groups were invited to participate.

A published summary of these discussions^{6/} begins with a brief statement of "purpose" and an historical review. It is pointed out that Canada's many Indian bands are scattered across the land, often in isolated and remote areas; that all are in differing stages of economic, social and political development; and that in many instances they differ one from the other in language and cultural background. Under these circumstances, it becomes difficult to devise policies that are applicable and fair to all Indians. "The 1951 Act modernized and improved existing legislation in light of conditions existing at that time... reflected a shift of emphasis from traditional protection towards self-government." "However, it has become obvious that further changes are required to meet present-day conditions."

A detailed summary of the provisions of the Indian Act

^{6/} DIAND, DN, 1971 Passion.

(c.149, R.S.C. 1952) with comments and suggestions for changes, has been condensed and constitutes Appendix II of this paper.

"Interpretation" of the Indian Act is, in realistic terms, a continuing process, whether it occurs as a result of official revision or more informally in day-to-day practice in Ottawa or in the field. This second sort of interpretation is not surreptitious or improper, but flows from the fact that circumstances in the field or at headquarters may render a strict interpretation of regulations difficult and perhaps discriminatory. It may be added that single instances of interpretative change that may occur almost casually can be responsible for official changes if they are accepted as valid.

Alterations suggested in the Summary quoted from above appear to have had some reflection in the STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA ON INDIAN POLICY, 1969.^{7/}

Issued in July of that year, the Statement presented the new Policy in two sentences and six propositions:

True equality presupposes that the Indian people have the right to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada. The Government believes that the framework within which individual Indians and bands could achieve full participation requires:

1. that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed;
2. that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life;

^{7/}DIAND, IP, 1969. Passim.

3. that services come through the same channels and from the same government agencies for all Canadians;
4. that those who are furthest behind be helped most;
5. that lawful obligations be recognized;
6. that control of Indian lands be transferred to the Indian people.

From the smug eminence of hindsight it is possible to discern more clearly than was possible in 1969 that protests which greeted the presentation of the Statement were in large measure directed at methods and the circumstances of the presentation, and that the propositions were themselves quite acceptable and indeed praiseworthy.

It was strongly suggested first of all that the emission indeed represented government policy, cut-and-dried and already decided upon, and that it had been devised without adequate consultation by its authors with the Indian people. The contrary assertion that propositions outlined in fact constituted only proposals for policy, which was supported by frequent use of that word in the text, and by the lengthy series of consultative meetings that had preceded it, did little to quiet the storm.

It can be pointed out that the White Paper in fact leaned over backwards to present the Indian-White situation in Canada in a way that did not seek to disguise its seriousness or to evade responsibility for past mistakes. On the other side, some criticism may be directed at certain of the government's declarations, into which

Indians read meanings not intended. For example, the following:

With this meeting the first round of discussion will be completed....The next move will be for me and my colleagues in the Cabinet to look at what you have said and to respond. I hope to have a response for you in June. I hope to come back to you then with something for you to discuss, some proposals for coming to grips with the problems which have lain so heavily upon your people.

Further discussions are implied in this, or so at least the Indians believed. The wish may have been father to that belief, together with an inclination to ignore some of the words' implications, as in use of the term "proposals", as well as certain other explicit statements made a few sentences earlier in the same speech:

"I am now convinced that what is required are bold new initiatives....I believe some things have become clear. You want action, not studies, reports or enquiries. The basis for action will have to rest on some fundamental principles which have emerged at your meetings."

The 1969 Statement surely represented "action", acceptable to Indian people or not.

It is possible, now, after the lapse of three years, to see the ensuing controversy as stemming in great part from a breakdown of communications between Indians and Government. While the dispute has been in some measure responsible for a further deterioration of Indian-Government relations, it must be said that it has aided the progress of Indians in clarifying for themselves

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many of their objectives, also, and has thus not been entirely destructive. But it seems evident that both the failure of Government to communicate and of the Indians to comprehend were root-causes of the dispute, as has happened in Canada and elsewhere in the world with distressing frequency during the last hundred years or more whenever true communication has been attempted. It may even be suggested that in this breakdown of communication may lie the roots of that "Indian problem" we have heard about so frequently.

It may be argued, also, that if the government's statement was made not without guile (as Indians charge), the lack of understanding and acceptance accorded by Indians was in some degree deliberate and calculated.

Indian "rights" and "responsibilities" are set down, sometimes explicitly, sometimes not, in the Indian Act, in the Summary quoted and in the 1969 Statement. A detailed examination of the last-named will serve to spell out many of both.

-- that the legislative and constitutional bases of discrimination be removed; --

leaves a great deal unsaid. Absence of discrimination suggests the existence of equality, and when keyed to such words as "constitutional" and "legislative" the statement appeared to Indians to advocate changes in both the British North America Act (obviously so difficult as to be almost impossible) and in the Indian Act, itself. This would result in the removal at one stroke of the "special status" Indians claim as -- in Hawthorn's apt phrase -- "Citizens Plus".

Indians saw in this recommendation, further, a clear indication that they would be expected to assume the same responsibilities for their own affairs that other citizens bear, and this, while theoretically desirable, has implications that many Indian leaders hesitate to accept without study and preparation.

-- that there be positive recognition by everyone of the unique contribution of Indian culture to Canadian life; --

appeared to promise little that was not already the Indians'. Indian culture exists, and nothing the larger society is apt deliberately to do will alter that fact. In addition, it may be suspected that use of the term, "culture" in the singular, reflects a misunderstanding: Indian have many cultures in North America, varying from region to region and sometimes even from band to band, despite the avowed unity of Indian people. The statement could not disguise the fact that Indians were expected to undertake in future to develop their own way of life, and no suggestion was made in the immediate context that government would feel itself obligated to continue to play the financial and assistance roles that have been customary. (However, as noted below, assurances in this regard are contained in later portions of the Statement.) In the Indian view, "recognition" of cultural contributions does not constitute action to aid the development of such contributions.

-- that services come through the same channels and from the same Government agencies for all Canadians; --

seemed to reinforce the Indian suspicion that what was intended for their future was nothing more nor less than the removal of constitutional and legislative protection, and that the prime agency responsible for Indian affairs would be declared redundant, with its responsibilities shifted to provincial, municipal and other bodies that would have neither the ability nor the inclination to respect Indians' "special status". If Indians were to be regarded in the same light as all other Canadians in regard to "rights", it followed that they would fall into the same category as other Canadians in regard to "duties". Also, without preparation to assume the latter

and no assurances given that such preparation would be forthcoming, they might not even wish to acquire such equality.

-- that those who are furthest behind should be helped most; --

seemed to many Indians to be a subtle and perhaps insulting reference to backwardness and even incompetence -- despite the fact that special assistance, flowing out of "special status", is one of the prerogatives Indians claim. The reverse side of this coin, they believed, would be to thrust them ever more deeply into a debtor-role vis-à-vis White society. They were promised here no more assistance than had been offered in the preceding recommendation, no matter the language employed.

-- that lawful obligations be recognized; --

was ambiguous, to say the least. What did it mean? Whose "lawful obligations"? Presumably those of government and Canadians generally, but the phrase cut both ways and the implications were sufficiently vague to cause Indian concern.

-- that control of Indian lands be transferred to Indian people.

To Indians, this single proposition seemed to embody all of the objections raised in regard to the preceding five. If Indian lands were to pass to Indian control, in spite of the immediate satisfaction and probable long-term benefits that would accrue, there would be a tendency for government to act immediately to remove many of the legislative and constitutional safeguards now in effect. Besides, most Indians were by no means prepared to undertake responsibilities for the complete control and administration of their lands and would be at the mercy of whomever wished to speculate in or acquire the lands.

It now seems to be acknowledged in most quarters that Indian rejection of the 1969 policy statement was widespread and that this attitude was reflected among other Canadians who do not ordinarily take much interest

in Indian affairs. The size of that segment of the populace who agreed with Indian criticism was, insidentally, surprising to some of us, for it included not only academics and media personnel who might be expected to express concern, but also many who do not usually become involved in minority-group affairs.

The term, "minority", is used advisedly, for although the designation of Indians as a radical group has scarcely been altered, there appears to be a noticeable tendency today to regard indigenous people as being in the same category as Blacks; and Blacks are accepted quite generally as constituting both a racial and a minority group in society. (The reasons for this expansion of definition are buried within the social-psychological sub-soil of our culture and are too complicated to be gone into here.)

It is a temptation to adopt this terminology of the academics and refer to Indians as a minority group, rather than in terms of race or culture. However, to do so, while convenient, would be in many ways misleading, for while the ultimate aim of society (and government) may be assimilation of both Blacks and Indians, that goal can probably be reached only in respect to the latter: it will surely require many generations to achieve even an approximation of that "café-au-lait" blending of races that some geneticists have suggested will be the ultimate heritage of the slave trade.

It may be desirable here to make an excursion into

definition, in order to clarify these allusions to assimilation and integration. Both terms, in the present usage, are to be seen as variations of the general process of acculturation, which occurs at once and without fail whenever two or more cultures come into contact with each other. Assimilation represents a total, or virtually total, merging at some time in the future of one of these cultures, usually the less numerous and thus weaker, with the more numerous and stronger. Integration may be seen as a process never really completed, during which two or more cultures merge but retain many of their own unique characteristics. (A more detailed discussion on this topic will be found in Appendix III in this paper.)

Indians believe that Canadian Government policy has embraced assimilation as an ultimate solution to the "Indian problem", even though the emphasis upon integration as an alternative may be increasing and this suggests one reason why the 1969 White Paper met with such immediate criticism from Indians. With very few exceptions, Indians profess not to wish to be assimilated into the majority society; and to be advised that their future lies in accepting the role of citizens, to be guided and controlled by provincial authorities as are other citizens, with very little say in the matter (as they maintain) proved difficult for them to accept.

The governmental attempt to redefine ultimate goals in terms of integration, was too abrupt and seemed inadequately justified. To this extent communications broke down and misunderstanding arose. Both Government and Indians perhaps expected too much of each other. The former apparently believed that statements of motives and intentions could be accepted at face value, despite a history that Indians define as one of devious and uncompromising refusal to negotiate; the latter seemed to believe that a sincere effort would be made to divorce Indian affairs from the politics of the moment. The final result was a mixture of truth and distortion on both sides, sufficient to enable each to justify a position of intransigence.

II. Implementation of Policy

In discussing indigenous policy we assume both its formulation and its implementation, but find it convenient to separate the two. Yet no policy has very great relation to reality unless both aspects are joined, with the theoretical expressed in and merging with the practical.

To carry the argument further, implementation itself has two aspects, one ideological the other physical. The second is by far the easier to discern and describe because it is expressed in terms of "programs" of concrete assistance. The first is a reflection of past thought or belief and past action, and is all too frequently rooted in emotions or, from the outsiders' point of view, superstition. The question of "rights" is thus rooted.

In Canada, as in other nations, Indian policy has acknowledged the existence of certain indigenous rights, including the right to possess or at least to occupy land. The Indian conception of ownership is, however, tremendously different from that founded in Western Law, initially expressed in Treaties.

A. Aboriginal Rights

For indigenous people everywhere it appears that the first and over-riding rights insisted upon are those designated as "aboriginal". These include occupancy of land, to be sure, but extend far beyond Western tenets

of ownership and use and beyond the mere physical facts of the land's existence and utility.

Land, for the aboriginal, includes not only the physical terrain -- earth, rocks and water; but the flora and fauna that lend it its character, and the air that covers it. All of Nature is, in fact, implicit in the indigenes' conception of land. To render the problem even more complex, "land" involves social and cultural components. Ancestors of men and women now living inhabited the land; as spirits they still do. As they inhabited it physically, so they are related to it in non-corporeal form; their essence remains and manifests itself in the trees and rocks and beasts and birds. and all living things. They become inseparable from the gods whom they and their descendants worshipped, and are one with the winds and rains, the clouds, sun, moon and stars.

The following quotation is germane:

Land for the aborigines was all-important because it was a spiritual ingredient of their culture; it determined their social groupings and status; and, finally, it was the source of their livelihood. If there is a test for the survival of a native peoples it must be: how much of their land have they retained in resisting the alien invasion?^{8/}

This is animism and is in Western eyes the sort of superstition that can have no place in modern life. Western law dismisses it completely, and when stated as baldly as this, many indigenes themselves find the argument difficult to sustain.

^{8/} Jacobs, 1972. Page 127.

The two value systems represented here, aboriginal and Western, seem utterly incompatible and impossible to compromise. But compromise, purely practical, has already been made, beginning with the first recognition of "Indian land claims" by Europeans and the first agreement by Indians to permit White settlement on traditional hunting grounds. Such practical adjustments had no bearing on the fundamental differences in points of view, of course, but serve to suggest that compromise is possible. Difficulties emerged when Europeans, either out of necessity or treacherously, depending on who tells the story, started to hedge their bets and devised means by which areas established as sacrosanct refuges for native peoples could be removed from that category -- "alienated", as we say. But Indians have compromised, also, and continue to do so, by accepting many of the precepts of Western Law pertaining to individual ownership, tenure and use of land that are insisted on by Europeans, even though such acceptance may come about because of the Indians' numerical inferiority and their lack of sophistication in European ways.

In practical terms, one of the chief barriers to acceptance of the Indians' theory of aboriginal rights, as far as the occupancy and retention of land are concerned, is due to the physical circumstances in which they exist.^{9/}

^{9/} DIAND, SD, 1971.

The Canadian Indian population numbers only about a quarter-million, of whom some 160,000 live on 2,281 reserves and 64,000 off reserves. There are 85 Indian "Settlements" on Crown lands and 560 Indian bands in all. Reserve areas total 6,000,000 acres across the land, a good proportion of which are unoccupied or at best very lightly settled. There are in Canada ten linguistic groups among Indians, the languages often mutually unintelligible. While a majority of Indians may possess either English or French as a sort of lingua franca, ties thus forged are apt to be superficial and have relatively little real impact upon disparities in other cultural areas.

The difficulty inherent in attempting to deal with this widely dispersed population as if it were a unit and with the lands they occupy as if they were amenable to "aboriginal" claim is apparent. And the degree to which European thought and custom have penetrated into even the most remote areas of Indian life has caused Indians to relegate more and more of their traditional behaviour patterns to subordinate positions, or to abandon them entirely, and the process is cumulative.

The Indians' answer, or one of them, is to build interest-associations, for the most part voluntary. In this process the government has assisted materially with financial aid and the efforts of a considerable staff

of advisers.

Nevertheless, Indians charge that much of this and other sorts of assistance is of dubious value because it is frequently an expression of decisions made unilaterally and flows out of feelings of guilt, is directed by economic necessity, and only slightly leavened by humanitarian concern. First as allies, then as wards -- they claim -- it has not been until quite recently that Canadians have begun to regard Indians as citizens with equal rights and potential abilities, despite lip-service to the ideals of integration and support of an independent cultural development. Nor is it possible to dismiss such charges out of hand.

The problem of aboriginal rights may never be resolved completely, but it ought to be possible to arrive at some sort of compromise which, while not giving either side a clear-cut "victory", could relieve pressures that threaten to erupt in violence. No such compromise will be possible, however, without a clearing and strengthening of lines of communication between the two sides, and this must constitute a first priority if Canada's Indians are to be accorded the economic and social benefits available to other members of the society.

B. Programs and Services 10/

Aboriginal rights are not the only^{ones}/that Indians claim,

but almost all others are subsumed in these, including the right to hunt and fish and otherwise to exploit in accustomed ways the natural resources within geographic areas Indians claim as their own.

Closely related, also, is the "right" to self-respect, or self-assurance or pride in themselves, their culture and their people, however such intangible qualities may be designated. Perhaps the most convenient term we could use here is the sociological word, status, with connotations that go beyond the usual lay definition, even as the anthropologists' culture has only remote relationship to that term in ordinary usage. Discussion of the concept of status will not be undertaken here.

However, the programs and services available to Indians through the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are doubtless instrumental in building and sustaining Indian self-respect, despite the attendant and perhaps unavoidable suspicion by Indians that most such aids retain the flavour of paternalism which was so common during the 19th century. As far as the activities, themselves, are concerned and the results they achieve, such programs are positive and even welcomed by many of their recipients, yet the fact remains that Government does initiate in too many instances, often by unilateral action, does control their operation and does judge results, if only by the circumstance that Government controls the purse and disbursement of funds.

Yet there is some reason to believe that the Indians' attitude of suspicion is slowly being dissipated as more and more control over the setting up and administration of programs and services is being handed over to Band Councils.

The Programs administered by the Department fall into three broad categories: Community Affairs, Education and Economic Development. The beneficiaries are Registered or Status Indians, only: Métis and others are not included. There follow brief summaries of the Programs, taken from a series of reports prepared by the "Planning, Program Analysis and Special Projects Division" of the POLICY, PLANNING AND COMMUNICATIONS BRANCH. Data was accumulated and arranged by a group called the Management Information Centre.

1. Community Affairs

Four areas are defined as responsibilities of the Community Affairs Branch:

- a. Membership of Indian Bands;
- b. Social Services to Indians;
- c. Indian Band Management;
- d. Indian Community Improvement.

Discussion of each will be undertaken under each of the seven headings listed below, except that the reader is referred to the Report, itself for details under numbers v. and vi:

- i. Objectives
- ii. Background
- iii. Procedure
- iv. Future Plans
- v Existing Agreements
- vi. Agencies with Related Responsibilities
- vii. Program Data

OBJECTIVES of the Community Affairs Program

General. The aim is to ensure that the Indians' full, human potential is realized, their cultural identity retained, their role in the management of their own resources increased, and their access to amenities guaranteed to be at least equivalent to that afforded Canadians generally. To achieve these aims, social services, including those implicit in provision and improvement of roads and other utilities and housing, are to be assured, to the extent and in the manner in which Indians themselves indicate. The Branch has established and maintains an Indian Register of band members and administers the legal process known as "enfranchisement".

- (a) Membership. As stated in the last sentence, above.
- (b) Social Services. These include Social Assistance, Care of Adults, Child Care, Rehabilitation, and Other Welfare Services. The purpose of all is to ensure that Indians and Eskimos have these services available to them in the measure they are available to other Canadians in the respective provinces. Financial assistance is given and physical support offered to all Indians and Eskimos, directly or through their band or tribal organizations, where such aid and support are requested or are obviously required by disadvantaged individuals.

(c) Band Management. The aims here reflect a general emphasis that permeates the whole of this Branch's efforts and the efforts of almost all Indian/Eskimo-oriented programs; viz., a drive to turn over more and more to native people the management (and, in time, the initiation) of programs. Thus: "to develop Band Management practices to the stage where Indian communities can effectively manage affairs of local concern." Included under this general heading of Band Management are "Program Development", "Social Development", and "Band Program Administration"; and, again, the thrust is towards financial and other forms of assistance to be made increasingly available as desire and willingness to accept them become evident.

(d) Community Improvement. This category embraces "Housing" and the construction or reconstruction of "Road Systems", "Water and Sanitation Systems" and "Electrification". Again, financial and other forms of assistance are offered.

BACKGROUND of the Community Affairs Program

From a reading of the document now under review, it is apparent that the bulk of all programs administered by the three Branches were instituted in their present form only after World War II, when a JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE SENATE AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS investigated Indian Affairs in 1946, 1947 and 1948. At least, while some features of all programs developed as late as the 1960's, the bulk of such developments were apparent as early as the 1940's and 1950's, and few are direct and unaltered expressions of the original Indian Act or of the 1880 Revision.

PROCEDURE in the Community Affairs Program

The work of Headquarters' personnel in Ottawa is supplemented by eight Regional and 54 District and Agency offices, located across the country from Nova Scotia to the Yukon Territory.

The roles of these organizations is, in general, to extend and supervise application of policy as determined at Headquarters, and specific activities include the negotiation of agreements with native peoples under which more and more programs and services are defined as joint responsibilities, shared between the Department, native peoples and other interested authorities -- e.g., provincial agencies, municipalities, school boards and districts, private social and assistance bodies and other Federal departments.

Of a total of almost 5,000 employees of the Indian-Eskimo program, approximately 90% are "in the Field". Indians and Eskimos are increasingly involved in both Headquarters and Field offices handling the three programs: latest figures indicate that about 17.5% of all employees of the programs are persons of native ancestry. 11/

FUTURE PLANS of the Community Affairs Program

In general, the main drive in all three of the Indian-Eskimo programs appears to be towards continuing review of existing facilities, their development and improvement, and the expansion of both their range and the degree to which native people can be involved in their definition, initiation and development. Understandably these are slow processes and are attended by growing pains. Resistance by intended recipients has occurred and may be expected to continue, especially as changes in orientation are interpreted by Indian and Eskimo people as attempts to "turn them over" to provincial and other agencies. In addition, and again as must be expected, the forces of tradition and inertia that normally affect any large

organization, may at times inhibit action by individuals or groups within the Department, to implement the changes in policy-interpretation that seem desirable.

PROGRAM DATA relating to Community Affairs

These materials are presented in the form of tabular summaries of expenditures by types of activity, except in cases (e.g., in the area of "Membership") where the breakdown is in terms of population, and in some of the sub-categories of "Program Development" and "Community Improvement", where expenditures are necessarily supplemented by data on population and units of production and development.

Overall figures for Community Affairs, "Program Costs and Manpower Utilization", for the fiscal year 1970-71, are impressive. They are included as Appendix IV-A of this paper. For further details, see a report soon to be published.

"Community affairs" appear to mean slightly different things to different people within different nations, both in theoretical terms and in practice. In some countries the words may embrace activities that are inappropriate to the realities of existence in other nations. For example, the expression in Canada of what is referred to above as "Community Affairs" seems to exist primarily within an administrative context, referring to governmental or other official action, hopefully reinforced by local participation and initiative. It may be that this is a reflection of the long history of Indian policy-development, under which government was seen as patron and guardian rather than as a partner in association with native people.

Much the same attitude with variants, of course exists in other countries, including those in Latin America; but in one of the latter, Mexico, the concept seems to have placed more emphasis upon the dynamic than upon the purely structural aspects of the matter.

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Before quoting what I believe to be one of the most satisfactory definitions of community relationships, usually summarized under the heading of "community Development", it should be useful to define some of the terms that are employed in discussions in this area.

"Community" is defined in varying ways by different authorities, but most such differences are semantic. Of a half-dozen culled at random, all insist upon certain factors: "group of people", "common geographic location", "common heritage" (or "culture" or "background") and "common interest(s)". By extension, "Community Affairs" would refer to any set of activities engaged in by such a group or affecting that group.

These activities may be classified as either "improvement" or "development", although the former implies a subjective and essentially relative series of judgments, and for this reason is less acceptable than the latter. "Community Development", in its turn, may vary from nation to nation, but most definitions appear to be contained in that suggested in United Nations' usage, which refers to a process during which people in a community first thoroughly discuss and define their wants and then plan and act together to satisfy them. Elsewhere the U.N. adds another ingredient: "with government support", in projects designed to aid and strengthen the whole community.

A further extension, though really little that is unique is contained here, states the matter as follows: "A movement to promote better living for the whole community, with the active participation and if possible on the initiative of the community... (or) by the use of techniques for arousing and stimulating (initiative)....It includes the whole range of development activities...whether these are undertaken by government or unofficial bodies."

To extend and detail this definition is perhaps redundant, but a description of events that occurred in Mexico during the 1920's and 1930's and which are continuing in somewhat muted form today, is interesting and informative. It appears in a volume by Frank Tannenbaum, called TEN KEYS TO LATIN AMERICA, 1962,^{12/} and comprises part of the section dealing with "Education".

The Mexican educational effort came out of the revolution and in its initial days the aim of remaking the nation and bringing the rural folk, including the Indian, into closer contact with the modern world. Beginning in 1923...an attempt was made to carry the school to even the most isolated villages. Starting with inadequate funds, insufficient teachers, and a not too clear idea of what could be done, the movement had the advantage of enthusiasm and faith in the powers of the revolution to redeem the rural population from the effects of peonage and to incorporate the Indian into the new nation. Toward these goals, the school was expected to make a major contribution.

The important lesson for the future revealed by this undertaking was that the rural community, no matter how poor and abandoned, could become an active participant in a system of rural education. Having neither money nor trained personnel, the Ministry of Education resorted to sending "missionaries" on horseback to the villages in the mountains to preach the gospel of learning for the children. The villagers were gathered together and the difficulties and prospects were discussed in a kind of open assembly. It soon became apparent that the communities would build the school themselves. The missionary turned architect, and the men, women, and children in their spare time and on Sundays and holidays gathered and hewed stones, mixed lime, worked the adobe, and built the school on land the community had given for the purpose. In a short time over 6,000 rural schools were built by the villages without any cost to the central government, and having built them, the villagers felt as if the schools belonged to them.

The missionaries and officials in the ministry -- without experience and with no confining traditions except the ideal of using the school as an agency of social improvement -- permitted themselves to be influenced by the communities who wanted the school to be useful to the village. Out of this there developed, without any initial plan, a body of what came to be called anexos to the school. The basketball field would be one anexo. A lamp for the school, so that it could be used by the adults in the evening, would be another such anexo. A shower bath made out of a tin can raised on poles into which one child poured water while another stood beneath it and got himself washed, was another. These

examples suggest the many possibilities that lay hidden in this kind of attitude toward the rural school.

It soon turned out that the anexos were the important part of the rural school. They included such things as a school garden, a house for the teacher, and a plot of land given to the school and worked by the adults for the purpose of providing additional income for the school or for the schoolteacher. The school also developed a kitchen where the women could learn to cook. It had a sewing machine, a barber shop where older boys cut the hair of the younger ones, and a medical kit or primitive dispensary where the teacher acted as nurse and applied iodine, bandages, and had some other simple remedies. There was no standardization in these matters. Each school acquired those anexos most convenient to its particular community.

The rural school came to be judged primarily not by its reading and writing but by its anexos -- one school boasted of 33 separate activities in addition to teaching the three R's. One result was that the school was always open and members of the community participated in its goings-on. Another consequence was the formation of "committees" of villagers to look after the various anexos: school sanitation, the school garden, the school plot, the school furniture, attendance, the night school, and so forth. The school was a busy place indeed. One teacher remarked that the school never closed. "When I get tired I take a rest."

These many activities gradually grew into a kind of theory. The rural school was meant to be the agency for teaching the people to make the best use of their immediate environment and their immediate resources. It was implicitly recognized that beyond its immediate resources the rural village had nothing really dependable that it could fall back upon. How to learn to live the good life here is this village, and how to bring the villagers applicable skills and knowledge available in the outside world at a cost that they could afford became the essentials of educational doctrine. This was in the nature of a philosophy of education for the rural population. It was a new view of the proper role of the rural school. This kind of activity in the rural schools tended to bring the school and the community close together. As has been suggested, the most important lesson that this movement taught was that there is a latent initiative and enthusiasm in the community that, once awakened, can be of great help in the development of rural education.

In this selection, "education" in the broadest sense is virtually indistinguishable from "community development". The Mexican aim was to remake the nation. More specifically, and this is the expression of not only a philosophy of education but a theory of social interaction leading to social change, it constituted an attempt "to redeem the rural population from the effects of peonage and to incorporate the Indian into the new nation." Still further to this underlying ideology, it was believed (though expressed as a revealed result) that "the rural community, no matter how poor and abandoned, could become an active participant in a system of rural education."

The results of the Mexican experiment in "one-teach-one" pedagogy, with the creation of a class of para-teaching aides called promotores, is too well-known and has been expanded in practice in so many other areas as not to require detailed discussion here. In any case it will be described later on in this paper in the section dealing with Mexico. It is enough to note that the promotor became in time but one member of a team, comprising a director, health and sanitation workers, civil engineer, and sometimes an agricultural specialist. All were committed to the same ends of community development and, eventually, functioned with the aid of direct, professional advice from official sources.

2. Education

The second section of the Report, dealing with Education, follows approximately the same format as did that on Community Affairs. It covers twice as many areas of responsibility, however:

- a. Cultural Development;
- b. Education in Federal Schools;
- c. Education in non-Federal Schools;
- d. Student Residences;
- e. Transportation and Maintenance of Pupils;
- f. Adult Education;
- g. Vocational Education;
- h. Employment and Relocation.

These eight areas may be compressed and summarized under major Categories:

Cultural Development

Education

Federal and Non-Federal

Adult and Vocational

Employment and Relocation

Services

Residences

Maintenance

Transportation

Finally, each of the eight is examined in detail under the same eight headings that were employed in descriptions of the Community Affairs program'S operations. However, in the interest of space, these are placed in Appendix IV-B.

In general terms, the OBJECTIVES established for the Education Program are:

To raise the level of education of Indians to standards that will enable them to take advantage of social and economic opportunities for advancement.

ACTIVITIES involved are summarized in Appendix IV-B.

3. Economic Development

This section of the Report of the Planning, Program Analysis and Special Projects Division covers three broad areas: Development Services, Lands Operations and Business Services. These, in turn, are broken down into 15 sub-Categories. Finally each of the latter is developed under the same headings as were the previous two Report Sections, viz..

- i. Objectives;
- ii. Activities Involved;
- iii. Background;

- iv. Procedure;
- v. Future Plans;
- vi. Agencies with Related Responsibilities;
- vii. Existing Agreements;
- viii. Program Data.

The following OBJECTIVES are stated in an Introduction:

- To increase employment opportunities for Indian people;
- To assist them (to) improve their economic position;
- To enhance their ability to promote and execute economic development projects;
- To administer and manage Indian reserve lands and to transfer these responsibilities to the Indian people; and
- To promote economic progress for the Indian people through the provision of business services.

These objectives are restated and, in some instances expanded, in each of the three general areas.

An appraisal of the three areas suggests that all are vehicles for three basic drives, consciously formulated and reflecting directly the 1969 Statement of Policy:

To involve Indians more closely in the planning and programming processes, as these concern their own people;

To decentralize the activities of the Branch from Headquarters to Regions and Districts, and to Agencies and Bands;

To transfer, as far and as quickly as possible, responsibility for Indian affairs from the Federal to provincial and other agencies.

In simplest terms what we are saying here is that the Government is seeking to initiate, promote and direct social change, although whether statement of the propositions in such a fashion is either politically or economically acceptable to the general public, or even, perhaps, to all persons within government, may be open to question. Each of the three will be discussed in the following section.

III. Implications of Policy

The programs and services summarized describe one aspect of "implementation" with their presentation of figures on the disbursement of funds. Critics will point out that the ways in which funds are spent and the goods they buy are usually better measures of quality than are figures alone; this is one of the crucial disputes between Indians and government. Chapter and verse to illustrate the point can easily be cited, ranging from unacceptable (to Indians) location of roads or structures on reserves, to inadequate maintenance by Indians (as far as government officials are concerned) of water and sanitation systems. Rather than to detail such charges, it seems more useful to examine some of the implications of Canadian Indian policy in an attempt to identify causes of disagreement.

A. Theories of Action

In discussing education it was pointed out that three fundamental "drives" appear to motivate all three Programs:

1. To involve Indians more closely in the process as it concerns their own people.
2. To decentralize activities, from Headquarters to Regions and Districts, and Agencies and Bands.
3. To transfer, as far and as quickly as possible, responsibility from the federal to the provincial and other agencies.

We propose to look more closely at each of these propositions.

1. To involve Indians more closely in the process, as it concerns their own people.

The "process" is, of course, social change. Not "Indian" change or "White" change, but change that by its scope affects the whole society. Logically the process of social change is from knowledge to opinion to attitude: it is the revision of attitudes that constitutes the ultimate goal. But this is a chicken-and-egg phenomenon, for attitudes can not change much in

advance of the institutions that corroborate them, and opinions will seldom change except as the attitudes they reflect and reinforce are altered, however slightly, within the institutional framework.

The implication is clear, that some agency and some means must be found to set the process in motion and to justify it. The search for these constitutes a definition of what has been called social engineering or, to use the term employed among social scientists, applied anthropology. In reference to indigenous affairs, applied anthropology presupposes the existence of specialists, who are called "Indigenists" in Latin America, where they originated and chiefly exist. 13/

The Indianist is most often a social scientist, although he may be without formal training in that field. With or without such training, he may occupy a position within the bureaucratic structure of government; but whoever or wherever he may be, he will not differ greatly from any other social scientist on the one hand, or any other government employee with long experience with Indians on the other, unless he is himself an Indian. This contention stems from one of the points that Indians make strongly and that has a good deal of support on the grounds of common sense: that no non-Indian can "really understand" an Indian. With all the empathy possible and all the good nature in the world, no man can, in the final analysis, fit himself into another's cultural being any more than he can insert himself into another's physical body.

13/ Derived from "indigenous" and "indigene", words which are still a part the anthropologist's specialized jargon in North America. The term "Indianist" seems more suitable for this country. See section of the present paper dealing with Mexican indigenous policies for discussion of the specialty concerned.

When it comes to the point of involving Indians in the process of social change in respect to their own existence, there would appear to be at least one course that might usefully be followed: -- that is, to attempt to bring Indians more directly and deliberately into the kind of educational process that has been employed in other countries, notably the Latin American, to produce Indianists, and thus to create social engineers.

2. To decentralize activities, from Headquarters to Regions and Districts and to Agencies and Bands.

If the extension of activities to agencies outside Ottawa is seen as an extension of Indian involvement, also, much of the criticism to which it is subjected can be turned aside. It was pointed out, earlier, for example, that close to 20% of all employees of the Indian-Eskimo Program of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are Indians or Eskimos, and there appears to be no reason why this proportion will not increase as time goes on. While we have no breakdown of such employees by classifications, the large majority would appear to be in the clerical category, with relatively few in positions of authority or policy-making. Of 159 young Indians hired by the Department during the early part of 1972, all were placed in clerical positions, doubtless as a reflection of factors of age and academic level as much as due to inclination and ability. Even those who are in relatively senior positions of responsibility have been trained mostly in business, journalism, the law or other such essentially non-social science fields, if they have even gone beyond the secondary-school level at all. This is a matter which deserves some detailed examination.

Having said this much, it must be pointed out that lack of the sort of specific training referred to, in the social sciences,

exists generally throughout our society in almost all fields, and is not limited to general governmental categories or to the Department of Indian Affairs. It is true that within very recent years a trend towards employment of more such specialists in the Department seems to be evident; but this statement, also, warrants more detailed study.

Whatever the situation may be, the Indian-Eskimo segment of the Department's employees labour under a handicap that does not afflict their non-native peers: as government employees they are all too often regarded by their fellows on reserves as having in some manner "sold out to the enemy". The contradiction embedded here is obvious, for if Indians are to assume a more direct and useful role in administering their own affairs, there is no other approach so immediate and useful as that by way of the establishment, itself. In other words, some measure of assimilation must occur if the organization which is to initiate and guide their training is to fulfill its role. This is merely another aspect, it might be noted in passing, of that dilemma mentioned earlier: -- the contradiction that stems from a necessity to "define" and thus to "segregate" a group and its individual members if they are to be assisted in achieving benefits to which they should be entitled as members of the larger society.

3. To transfer, as far and as quickly as possible, responsibility from the federal to the provincial and other agencies.

Here we enter another dimension of change, and one which has implications of a much more serious nature. The first two aims refer to action within a known and customary environment, of federal commitment and federal control. Indians may have what can be regarded as an ambivalent relationship towards the federal agency with legal responsibility for their well-being, but the Indian Affairs Branch is at least familiar, and known devils are preferable to those unknown. Provincial agencies, including local and county bodies are, as far as Indians are concerned, and to the extent they are known at all, thought to be untrustworthy at best and devious, if not venal, at worst.

Again, the validity of such charges is of less moment than is the fact that they are made and given credence. They spring not only from distrust engendered by unfamiliarity but, paradoxically, from a sometimes too-intimate contact between Indian and White within a restricted physical milieu. Relationships within the confines of a council or school board will normally be both intimate and competitive, and when two groups or individuals have not only ideological but obvious physical dissimilarities, disputes can be acrimonious.

If, as could be the case, Indians involved in such situations feel themselves threatened by persons whom they tend to distrust even before the fact, it would appear that the transfer of responsibility from federal to other agencies should be undertaken cautiously, paced to follow involvement of Indians in Regional, Agency and Band activities, and be preceded by training of a type similar to that suggested for the production of Indianists.

B. Conclusions

1. On General Attitudes

The two earlier "phases" of development of Canadian Indian policy are of interest as an indication of the wide divergence between Anglo-Saxon and Iberian concepts of human behaviour and social change. The British, and to some extent the French, were willing to accept the belief that change was probably inevitable (although not to the degree that is common among social scientists, today). The Spanish, on the other hand, inclined not only to deny the necessity for change, but actively resisted it to the extent possible, believing that both the physical and spiritual worlds had been created in permanent and immutable form: if change were to occur, it would be an expression of the will of God, and not in response to the efforts of mankind.

The first two "phases" reveal, also, the distance Canada has come during the third period, i.e., since 1876 and particularly since the end of World War II, from the 19th century beliefs in paternalism and the precision of economic and social "laws" rooted in laissez-faire and Social Darwinism.

At the same time, Canadian practice tends to conform to the old beliefs, no matter how greatly our value-system has appeared to change; thus we appear to hold still to certain convictions, which may be summarized about as follows:

1. Most Canadians in Government, and many in the general population, are willing to accept the thesis that the Indian is a human being, like themselves, capable of achievements equal to those of other Canadians, save only the factors of individual differences.
2. Most Canadians accept the proposition that Indians as a group have been treated shoddily, to put the best face possible on the matter, and deserve better.
3. Most Canadians are willing to accept, if not entirely to believe, the assertion that Indians in Canada ought not only to be helped financially and in other ways, but that they should have a direct say in defining the nature of such help, and in administering it.
4. Most Canadians are willing to accept, in theory, the proposition that "Indian affairs" and the "Indian problem", as long as they are defined apart from other "affairs" and "problems" in society, tend to perpetuate the second-class-citizenship status of the Indian, a circumstance that is essentially unhealthy within the boundaries of a democratic society.

The psychoanalysts speak of "intellectual" and "emotional" understanding and acceptance: the four statements above fall into the "intellectual" category. In other words, no matter how much most Canadians profess to subscribe to the beliefs referred to,

it is questionable whether acceptance at the gut level has really been achieved.

All of which boils down to this: that a majority of Canadians find it difficult to regard Indians as fundamentally "Canadian" in the same sense that they, themselves, (the non-aboriginal people) are Canadian.)

These phenomena of belief and attitude are not the exclusive property of Canadians. Almost every country in the world which includes indigenous people among its population shares the same failings. This is so even in Mexico, where the Indian has become so closely woven into the social fabric that he is more often than not indistinguishable from the majority. One of the reasons for the "Indian problem" being less marked in Mexico, and in Latin America generally, would seem to lie in the fact that the Indian is culturally and socially defined in the former countries, legally defined in Canada.

2. On Government Attitudes

It is presumptuous to try to summarize official attitudes towards Canadian Indians, for these vary and will continue to vary from department to department, and within departments from person to person. Yet it may be said that policy is both a reflection of official beliefs and attitudes and has much to do in formulating them, and some generalizations can be made.

From what has been said in the preceding pages it can be suggested that the Department has a deep and sincere concern with the plight of Canadian Indians and wishes to do as much as can be done to assist them. Officials are to some extent inhibited in their actions, however, by the fact that the Department is not one of the strongest and wealthiest and must in confrontation with others frequently give ground, at least as far as the segment concerned with Indians and Eskimos is concerned. This fact, indeed, points to a major difficulty: that Indian affairs

are only one, and unfortunately a minor, portion of the entire portfolio, in competition with the Northern Affairs and National and Historic Parks branches.

Finally, and at a much more subtle level of criticism, officials of the Indian Affairs Branch seem for the most part to retain despite their undoubted knowledge of and sympathy for Indians and Eskimos, some strong vestiges of traditional attitudes, which dictate the sort of paternal behaviour typical of a preceding century. Indians, to many Department officials, are still not fully adult -- except for notable exceptions -- and must be guided and cared for as they have been in the past.

Justification for this statement, which will be unacceptable to many, must be sought in small, day-to-day occurrences, none of which by itself is particularly important. It is revealed most sharply in the Statement of Policy, 1969, but may be found, also in the manner in which funding of voluntary associations is handled and the hesitant way in which housing and public works projects are dealt with. It is acknowledged that in these areas, as in most others, the difficulties stem at least as much from outside-Department pressures (from Treasury Board requirements and the policy of CMHC, for example) as from internal ones, and it is further to be noted that change in both areas, inside and outside the Department, is occurring.

Nonetheless, the beliefs and attitudes of high officials within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development are naturally transmitted to lower echelons, and the latter are reinforced in their responses by the fact that they are less exposed to and less willing to accept "new" knowledge about Indians and about human behaviour generally. Yet within the last few years the Department, like Canadians generally, has begun to accept the fact that Indians, despite their numerically small representation within the population, are potentially powerful and are capable of disrupting the system to an extent far beyond that which might be expected. With the general breakdown

throughout the world of older standards of order and obedience to social norms, society has proceeded far along the road towards disintegration, or towards a sort of group atomization that threatens traditional values.

While this may seem to be an alarmist point of view, one result that can be expected if it is only partially accurate is that governments will be urged to accept the existence as autonomous bodies of other groups than those customarily defined in institutional terms -- business, labour, the highly organized professions, and so on, with more recent additions such as the young and the elderly. Minorities, particularly those as vociferous as Blacks and Indians, are developing the ability and the power to influence legislation, and this is the usual path by which institutional structures are altered.

Here is the core of social change. To the extent that pressure of events makes change essential, it is indeed the sort of "natural" phenomenon that our grandfathers conceived it to be. But inasmuch as human intelligence can discern trends and portents and foresee coming events, social change, like that in physically defined areas, can be guided and controlled, even initiated by men and women. It appears to be unavoidable that attitudes towards Indians on the part of both Department and government generally, and thus with the public, will continue to alter, and a steady, consistent progress in this direction will occur. Areas of initiative and decision will continue to broaden and there will be an increasing level of consultation between Indians and government.

It was suggested earlier that the chief failure in the region of Indian-White relations was that of mutual understanding -- i.e., in communications. Here, it is believed, lies the importance of Indianist-training. As long as government holds the purse-strings, it will devolve upon government to set up training facilities, in consultation with Indians, for the production of such specialists, then to offer them to Indian young people, without strings and in good faith. If this can be done, and if the desire to do so exists, Indians will be able to assume increasingly effective control of their own affairs.

CANADIAN INDIAN POLICIESAppendices

I. Chapter XIII of J.E. Hodgetts' study of the early Civil Service in Canada is a scholarly and well-documented work. It is reproduced here in its entirety.

II. This is a summary of the 15-page record. Nothing has been added and all pertinent material has been included.

III. The material is a "spin-off" from reading and study during several months of specialized writing in the general area of indigenous affairs; it claims to be no more than a recapitulation of such material, and the writer is himself aware that it is no more than a preliminary statement of position and can perhaps never be regarded as definitive. However, the very tentative nature of the concepts may suggest the direction future exploration should take.

IV. The three Reports on Community Affairs, Education and Economic Development are being published in uniform format and will be available for distribution within the near future. The reader is referred to the documents, themselves, the value of which will be enhanced by the fact that they will have been brought up to date.

J.E. Hodgetts: Pioneer Public Service -
An Administrative History of the United
Canadas, 1841-1867. U. of Toronto Press 1955

CHAPTER XIII

INDIAN AFFAIRS: THE WHITE MAN'S ALBATROSS

The history of the Indian Department affords rather convincing evidence for the cynical view that where there are no votes administrative services are bound to be neglected or starved for funds. The affairs of the aborigines were of paramount importance in 1763 when the Proclamation which transferred control from French to British hands was issued. About one-third of that document was devoted to the future arrangements to be made for the Indians.¹ Eighty years later, Indian affairs had been pushed so much into the back eddies of provincial politics that the Act of Union of 1841 forgot to provide for the annuities to which the Indians were entitled.² The omission was discovered and remedied only in 1844. As late as 1850 Lord Grey observed to Elgin that he felt "that less has been accomplished towards the civilization and improvement of Indians in Canada in proportion to the expense incurred than has been done for the native tribes in any of our

1 See D.C. Scott, "Indian Affairs 1763-1841," in *Canada and Its Provinces*, ed. by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, vol. IV (Toronto, 1913) p. 703.

2 This omission is recorded by investigating commissioners in a report published in 1858. The neglected annuities were covered by proceeds from Crown revenues or by special vote of the provincial legislature. See "Report of the Special Commissioners to Investigate Indian Affairs in Canada," *Sessional Papers*, Canada, 1858, Appendix 21, part I, "Relations with the Government." See also Lord Elgin's comments to Lord Grey, letter dated Oct. 25, 1850, in *The Elgin-Grey Papers*, 1846-1852, ed. by Sir Arthur Doughty (4 vols., Ottawa, 1937), vol. II, p. 1227.

other Colonies."³ From highly useful military assistants they had become expensive impediments to the white man's search for *Lebensraum*. Their degenerate and sometimes depraved state of existence bore embarrassing testimony to the neglect by the Great White Father who operated out of Whitehall.

The Department of Indian Affairs—which until seven years before Confederation led such a shadowy existence in Canada that it scarcely warranted the title—is of interest to us here for three reasons. First, it was called upon to nurse a new policy of managing the Indians which had been developed by the Imperial authorities. Second, it provides a good example of administration at arm's length by the home government, the provincial authorities assuming full charge only in 1860. Finally, it was and remains one of the few administrative agencies organized on a *clientèle* basis.

Protection and Instruction versus "Necessary Generosity"

Until 1830, the policy governing administration of Indian affairs reflected clearly the original military use to which the native population had been put by the occupying powers on the continent. True, the Proclamation of 1763 had envisaged a programme of protected settlement and progressive "civilization" of the aborigines, but under military administrators this programme remained only an unrealized ideal; pacification, through a judicious

3 *Elgin-Grey Papers*, vol. II, p. 703, Grey to Elgin, Aug. 2, 1850.

distribution of presents and an accompanying glittering display of military pomp, seemed to be the major purpose of Indian policy.

"The presents," as Elgin explained to Grey in 1850, "have always been given and received as Royal Bounty in acknowledgement of the fidelity with which the tribes stood by their Great Father the King of Great Britain in various wars."⁴ At the same time, as settlement progressed, various tracts of land were surrendered by the Indians in return for annuities. The annuities were normally paid out in the same form as the presents: clothing, blankets, guns, anything that would help the natives survive.

The first significant effort to bring a more enlightened policy to the fore was made in the late 1820's by Major General Darling, Superintendent of Indian Affairs.⁵ In a report to Governor Dalhousie he recommended that active steps be taken to civilize and educate the Indians and that gifts of agricultural goods be substituted for the presents. Succeeding Governors spiritedly took up the cause of the Indians. In 1829 Sir John Kempt reported that the new policy could operate only if the scattered Indians were brought together in settlements. As an essential element in

4 Ibid., p. 727, Elgin to Grey, Oct. 25, 1850.

5 An excellent résumé of changes in Imperial policy towards the Indians is presented in "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," *Journals*, Legislative Assembly, Canada (J.L.A.C.) 1844-5, Appendix E.E.E., Section I, "History of the Relations between the Government and the Indians." This Commission was appointed in 1842 and reported in 1844. The report was published in instalments between 1844 and 1847.

civilizing the Indians, Sir John emphasized the need for religious training as well as instruction in "husbandry." An interesting nationalistic note is struck in his request to the ^{government} home for "active and zealous missionaries for the Indians . . . and . . . Wesleyan . . . Missionaries from England to counteract the antipathy to the Established Church, and other objectionable principles which the Methodist Missionaries from the United States are supposed to instil into the minds of their Indian converts."⁶ Sir John Colborne, Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, also pursued the same objective by making arrangements to have the Indian annuities applied to house building and the purchase of agricultural implements and stock.

In 1830, under the vigorous direction of Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary, the new policy of civilizing the Indians got underway. It proved popular, particularly because it sounded well in official records and because there were few to register complaints at the slow progress of the programme. A long tradition of neglect had to be overcome and a completely new administrative apparatus-as will be shown later-had to be designed. "Civilizing" the natives implied a long-range policy of "raising" them to the moral and intellectual level of the white man and preparing them to undertake the offices and duties of citizens. Assimilation into the white community was looked upon as the ultimate natural goal. The two instruments of civilization were the church and the school.

⁶ Ibid.

Christianity would introduce the stabilizing influence of morality, while education-only in trade and manual practices, of course-would fit the Indian for the new sedentary life required of the civilized. He would drop his allegiance to Nimrod and kneel before the plough and the machine.

The policy seemed clear enough, as were the instruments for implementing it, but there were many obstacles to the attainment of the final goal of assimilation. One of the most persistent and controversial issues was that provided by the system of annual presents. Since these were charged against the Imperial Treasury, British authorities were inclined to agree with some experts who claimed that the bestowal of presents was bad for the Indians. It encouraged all those characteristics which, it was alleged, came naturally to the natives: sloth, unwillingness to assume responsibility, a perpetual pauper's attitude. The first requisite to civilizing the Indians was a programme that would encourage rather than stifle their ability to stand on their own feet. Bestowal of presents such as gunpowder merely encouraged the hunting and nomadic instincts which had to be suppressed if a policy of settlement was to be successful. Whether, in fact, all these criticisms of the system of bestowing presents were true seems never to have been thoroughly proved. Colonial politicians, interested in keeping the costs of government down, continued to argue that presents were necessary-as long as the Imperial government

would foot the bill. In 1846 the Legislative Assembly forwarded an address to Her Majesty (in which the Governor concurred) requesting that the presents to the Indians be continued.⁷ But in the same year the Colonial Secretary, Lord Grey, reiterated the Imperial government's intention of discontinuing the dole.⁸ Grey, in giving reasons for this policy, denied that the Imperial government was breaking a pledge with the Indians (an argument emphasized by colonial statesmen); he reasoned that the presents were no longer needed to ensure loyalty from the Indians as potential allies in wartime, and that they counteracted the measures designed to make self-sufficient citizens of the Indians. Despite this impressive reasoning, the arguments for and against this special form of outdoor relief for the Indians continued through the fifties. In the end the colonial politicians agreed to the policy of ending the system of presents, but the Imperial government had to accept the view that they had to be tapered off very slowly, commencing with the wealthier and well-established tribes.⁹

7 "Report of the Special Commission," *Sessional Papers*, 1858, part I. Lord Cathcart was then acting Governor General.

8 Ibid., part I. On July 30, 1846, the Secretary of State formally endorsed his earlier view that the presents ought to be discontinued.

9 In 1851 the Imperial authorities were still requesting a speedy end to the presents, but had to settle for a terminal date of 1858. See the detailed history in *ibid.*, part I.

While the annual presents complicated the problem of civilizing the natives, the real difficulty was created by the decision to settle the Indians on reserves. This decision was presumably reached by the military personnel still in command of Indian affairs in the 1820's; it was strongly supported by the colonial governors-both in Upper and Lower Canada-and the Imperial authorities gave approval to it in a Treasury Minute in the dying days of 1829.¹⁰ It was a policy which once begun has been followed unswervingly to this day by the Department.

Two pressing issues were raised by the system of reserves. The Indians' corporate rights to the land, timber, fish, and game had to be protected against "villians" (to use Lord Elgin's term) who surrounded them. According to the very exhaustive inquiry conducted by the royal commission in 1857, protection against poachers and squatters on Indian lands had been entirely inadequate.¹¹ Although strong provisions had been inserted in legislation passed in 1850 vesting officials of the Indian Department with magisterial powers to punish such offenders, apparently these provisions went unheeded. The commission recommended that a strengthening of the administrative machinery for guarding the Indians' property was the least that could be done by the government, since it had been Imperial policy

¹⁰ See the detailed account in "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1844-5, section I.

¹¹ "Report of the Special Commissioners," *Sessional Papers*, 1858, part III.

at the outset which had fostered this undesirable state of helplessness and dependency.

The easiest way of protecting the Indians against encroachers appeared to be that of setting them apart in isolated reserves. And yet if the ultimate aim was civilization and assimilation, this isolation was undesirable. The curious paradox seems never to have struck the white administrators: the Indian must obviously be forced to embrace the superior culture of the white man and yet contact with that culture and with the bearers of that culture seemed to render the plight of the natives even worse. Consequently, the programme of isolated reserves was designed to protect the natives against the worst feature of that civilization which it was also the policy to foist on the Indians. An interesting working commentary on this problem is provided by the attempts to settle Indians on a reserve on Manitoulin Island. This settlement programme, which was begun in 1835 on the ambitious scale that was possible during the first flush of enthusiasm for the new civilizing policy, was Lord Glenelg's special project.¹² The elaborate provision for schoolteachers, missionaries, artisans, and trade schools suggested the original ideal was to lure as many Indians as possible into one isolated place where their rights would be

¹² The history of this venture is told in *ibid.*, part II "Present Condition of the Indians in Canada," section on Manitoulin Island; also Report of 1844-5, section II.

protected while they acquired civilization in mild doses. The scheme was never a success because the establishment created for this Shangri-la was too pretentious and expensive for the small number of Indians who volunteered to enter it.

Probably as a result of this costly failure, a compromise solution was adopted. This consisted in establishing what the royal commissioners of 1857 called "compact Reservations surrounded by whites." Separation without isolation, it was hoped, would still provide sufficient protection for the Indian and yet not check the progress toward ultimate assimilation. The commissioners in recommending a continuation of this policy pointed out that the State of Michigan had found that reservations in close proximity to the whiteman had not increased immorality among the Indians or endangered their rights. Indeed, the commissioners had discovered greater signs of immorality amongst the Indians living on remote reservations.¹³

As a result of the commissioners' findings a comprehensive statute passed in 1857 reiterated in its preamble the basic policy of encouraging "the progress of civilization among the Indian Tribes." The Act also made the long-range intention of assimilating the natives perfectly clear: there must be a "gradual removal of all

¹³ "Report of the Special Commissioners," 1858, part III.

legal distinctions between them and their Canadian subjects to facilitate acquisition of property by individual Indians." A procedure for enfranchising the Indians and a definition of the rights and liabilities of such enfranchised Indians were also incorporated in the Act.¹⁴ Yet still the basic paradox remained: how was it possible to assimilate the Indian when he had been quite deliberately singled out as a class apart by being placed on a reserve and given only the corporate rights enjoyed by his tribe? As will appear in dealing with the third feature of the Indian Department (its clientèle basis of organization), the very existence of a special administrative agency to service the Indians- and only the Indians-also resulted in setting them apart. Only one official investigating body was sufficiently farsighted to visualize this peculiar consequence of a clientèle administrative agency.¹⁵ Possibly the system of reserves was the only practicable solution to the problems of the defeated, demoralized, impoverished, and bewildered native population; perhaps, too, a clientèle organization was the most satisfactory administrative arrangement for servicing the various needs of the Indians on these reserves. But if this was so, then surely it followed that assimilation and transformation into "first-class" citizens were really not compatible

14 20 Vic., c. 26 (1857).

15 See "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, Appendix T; this is section III of the voluminous report, the first two sections having been published in 1845. See under heading V, "Indian Department."

with the special administrative machinery which had been created.

Nevertheless, in the legislation by which the Canadian government took over complete control of Indian affairs from the Imperial government in 1860,¹⁶ the basic objectives of civilization and enfranchisement (or assimilation) were restated, and at the same time the administrative forms which inevitably isolated the Indian from the Canadian community--the reserve and the clientèle department--were continued and have been continued to the present. The more obvious forms of paternalism which earlier took the shape of presents have been replaced by a subtler form of guardianship and for this change in policy the early administrators must receive credit. As Duncan Campbell Scott, the gifted deputy head of the Department, stated the ideal: "Protection from vices which were not his own, and instruction in peaceful occupations, foreign to his natural bent, were to be substituted for necessary generosity."¹⁷ Yet still the paternal note is struck and still the Indian is treated as an outsider in his former kingdom. Thus a policy devised in the 1830's was reiterated, elaborated, and carried forward to Confederation. Almost intact it has served up to this day as the

16 23 Vic., c. 151 (1860).

17 See his excellent section "Indian Affairs 1840-1867," in *Canada and Its Provinces*, vol. V, pp. 329-62.

guiding star for administrators of Indian affairs.¹⁸ Probably in no other sphere has such continuity or consistency or clarity of policy prevailed; probably in no other area has there been such a marked failure to realize ultimate objectives. The fault cannot be laid at the feet of willing, concerned administrators: the fault is partly that of public neglect and mainly that of the antipathy traced above between means and ends.

The Imperial Connection

Administration of Indian affairs was one of the last of the Imperial government's responsibilities to be transferred to the United Provinces. The official transfer took place in 1860, when the Commissioner of Crown Lands received this uncherished legacy. Long before this time, however, the Imperial authorities had been seeking a convenient way of effecting the transfer, while colonial officials were using their ingenuity to keep the situation unchanged.¹⁹ This transfer of power clearly formed no part of the Canadians' demand for autonomous control over all their administrative services, comparable, for instance, with the very positive local desire to attain control over the Post Office and Customs. This point was strongly emphasized by Lord Elgin during an exchange with the

¹⁸ For a recent criticism of departmental policy see Diamond Jenness, "Canada's Indians Yesterday: What of Today?" *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*, vol XX (Feb. 1954), pp. 95-100.

¹⁹ For the Imperial pressures see "Report of the Special Commissioners," 1858, part I.

Colonial Secretary on the British government's decision to drop the annual presents to the Indians.

I shall feel myself obliged . . . to protest most strongly against the attempt . . . to saddle me and through me the Canadian Gov't . . . with the responsibility of the opinion that the Indians have no claim to continuance of their presents Measures of economy of this class are very popular at home and very much the reverse here; their adoption in any shape will be attended with hazard, and I am sure that it is safer and often better that they should appear to be forced on the local authorities than to be recommended by them.²⁰

As early as the 1820's some British officials had contemplated tapering off the Indian Department so that the Imperial government could ultimately drop its responsibility for the aborigines. This idea was submerged during the 1830's by the enthusiastic pursuit of the policy of civilizing the Indians. In 1837 a Select Committee of the British House of Commons argued that the colonists were not fit persons to control their own native tribes: "...the settlers in almost every colony," the report concluded "having either disputes to adjust with the native Tribes, or claims to urge against them, the Representative body is virtually a party, and, therefore, ought not to be the judge in such controversies."²¹ The Executive Council of Lower Canada hastened

20 *Elgin-Grey Papers*, vol. II, pp. 724-5, Elgin to Grey, Oct. 11, 1850.

21 Quoted in "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, heading I, "General Views as to the System of Management and General Recommendations."

to endorse this view, adding that only the mother country was capable of providing the proper parental protection for the Indians. Again in 1844 a special investigating commission in the province also recommended "That as long as the Indian Tribes continue to require the special protection of the Government, they should remain under the immediate control of the Representative of the Crown within the Province, and not under that of the Provincial Authorities."²²

Even as the commissioners framed their report in 1844, the British government was experiencing a rapid change of mind. By 1846 Lord Grey, the Colonial Secretary, was vigorously opposing the colonists' efforts to have the Imperial government continue the system of issuing (and paying for) annual presents to the Indians. But it was not until 1851 that the Imperial government delivered its ultimatum to the province, insisting that it would pay for no more presents after 1858.²³ The Imperial authorities were so eager to relieve themselves of the incubus of the Indians and the colonial politicians were so anxious to avoid this responsibility that neither group gave much consideration to the needs of the Indians themselves. Indeed, when Colonel Bruce, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, recommended in 1851 the

²² Ibid., first "General Recommendation."

²³ See "Report of the Special Commissioners," 1858, part I.

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methods by which he thought the Imperial government could dispose of Indian affairs, he failed to recommend any provision for a local department to take over. Not until 1854 did Colonel Bruce rectify this omission by arguing that, in so far as the Imperial government dropped the Indians, to that extent the need for a local department would grow.²⁴ During the next six years, as colonial officials realized that Imperial withdrawal was inevitable, a growing local concern was displayed for the Indians. As has been noted, in 1857 the local legislature approved the statute which set forth the basic objectives of Indian policy. Three years later the necessary local administrative machinery for giving effect to this policy was created by statute of the local legislature. The Commissioner of Crown Lands became Superintendent General of Indian Affairs on July 1, 1860, and broad discretion was conferred on the Governor in Council to determine how the revenues of the Indians would be spent, how their moneys and lands would be managed, and other details of administrative policy. In 1862, William Spragge, veteran employee of the Crown Lands Department, was raised to the status of permanent head, reporting directly to the Commissioner of Crown Lands as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs.

The administrative machine handed over to the United Provinces in 1860 had had a complex history. Prior to the Union, Indian

24 Ibid.

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affairs were managed by several Imperial authorities, the representative of the Crown in the colony acting as the co-ordinating force. Special instructions issued in 1796 and 1800 to the Lieutenant-Governors of Upper Canada and Lower Canada gave them direct control of Indian Affairs.²⁵ In practice this meant that they transferred to local Indian authorities any instructions issued by the home government or special orders from the Governor General. The executive officers were closely tied to the Imperial military establishment in the colonies, of which the Governors were the heads. Indian agents wore military uniforms-especially to make an impressive display on the occasion of the annual distribution of presents to the various tribes. A military representative always attended at these pompous annual affairs. Part of their pay was in rations, also a military practice. Military men, without exception, occupied the highest administrative positions such as Superintendent and Deputy Superintendent General, Chief Superintendent, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In 1830, for example, Indian affairs in Lower Canada were directed by a Superintendent who was a Lieutenant-Colonel of Militia, reporting to the military Secretary of the Governor General; in Upper Canada, the Lieutenant-Governor (the military leader) was in charge of the Chief Superintendent, also a Lieutenant-Colonel.

25 See "Report of the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs" (D.C. Scott), *Sessional Papers*, Canada, 1922, no. 27.

In the mother country three major departments shared in the direction of Indian Affairs in the colonies. The Colonial Secretary appears to have been the most concerned with major policy issues, as, for instance, authorizing the General Order of 1828 which carried out an important reorganization of the Department or in the introduction of the new policy of civilizing the Indians. He also approved the appointment of Indian agents recommended by the Lieutenant-Governors and channelled through to the Treasury the requisition for the annual presents to the Indians.²⁶ The Treasury also appears to have worked in conjunction with the Colonial Secretary right through the whole period of Imperial control, settling such personnel questions as the kind of tenure to be enjoyed by a newly appointed Chief Superintendent.²⁷ The third Imperial Department concerned with managing the Indians was the Army Commissariat, for it was through the local agents of this Department that the annual supply of presents was issued. For this purpose-the major administrative purpose so long as

26 For suggestive indication of relationships see "Despatches on Indian Affairs," *Journals*, Legislative Assembly, Upper Canada, 1837-8, Appendix, pp. 180f.

27 See the action taken in 1844-5 when S.P. Jarvis, the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, was on the carpet for having exceeded his powers and was ultimately discharged. Before this business was cleared up the Colonial Office, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Audit Board, and the Commissary General in England were all involved as were also the local Receiver General's Office, the Crown Lands Office, the Governor General, the Civil Secretary, and the Inspector General of Public Accounts! See "Return re correspondence with S.P. Jarvis etc....," J.L.A.C., 1847, Appendix V.V.

military views predominated--an extremely devious procedure had been worked out. The Superintendents of Indian affairs estimated their needs eighteen months to two years in advance. The Governor General transferred these estimates to the Commissariat Department in England, which ordered the necessary supplies. These supplies were then transferred to local depots of the Commissariat in Canada. The chief Indian officer requisitioned the presents from the stores of the depots and the Indian Department was debited with the cost when the goods were forwarded to the local Indian agent. The Imperial Treasury received these accounts which it then transferred to the Audit Office, at that time one of its subordinate branches.²⁸ This bewildering arrangement presumably continued until 1860 when the Imperial government stopped issuing presents. As an investigating commission reported in 1840, the commissariat machinery might have been "admirable in relation to the Army, and to the contracts connected with so vast an establishment and expenditure, but it was productive only of delay and expense, when applied in all its rigid details to the little purchases of the Indians. . . ."²⁹

While it was customary to refer to the "Indian Department" in the colonies and while permanent directing heads were early appointed in each province, in fact so many Imperial departments shared responsibility for making vital decisions that the local

28 The arrangements are described and criticized in the "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, heading II, "Presents."

29 Ibid.

administrative machinery remained shadowy and almost completely unorganized. Reporting just before the Union in 1840, an official investigating commission remarked ". . . with regard to this Department, it was not so much a reforming, as an organization of the office *ab initio* that is wanting."³⁰ At another point in their report the commissioners concluded:

Had, indeed, an effective protecting power over the Indians' property been, many years since, given to a properly organized Department, . . . your Committee should not now have to lament the injudicious disposal of much valuable property, and the disappearance of unaccounted funds. . . . With regard to the Indian Office itself, nothing can be less proportioned to the extensive and varied duties which it ought to perform. The Chief Superintendent is himself the only Officer in it. There is not even a permanently appointed Clerk. . . . This total inadequacy of the office to the growing interests of the various Indian communities, has been probably one cause of the business which properly belongs to it, being conducted by other Departments.³¹

A longer view than the commissioners then possessed suggests that the conclusion in the last sentence ought to have been reversed: because so many departments had undertaken various responsibilities for the Indians, they had crowded out the Indian Department. Even where authority had been conferred on the Department, its chief officer, as the same commissioners complained, had "to trouble the Lieutenant Governor on the most trivial occasions for his signature."³²

30 See "Report of Committee No. 4 on Indian Department" in "Report on the Public Departments," *Journals*, Legislative Assembly, Upper Canada, 1839-40, vol. II.

31 Ibid.

32 Ibid.

And yet the permanent officers derived advantages from the hit-and-miss organization of the Department. The Governors and Lieutenant-Governors, who were technically supposed to provide detailed supervision over Indian Affairs, found that they lacked both the information and the time to perform the task. By default the Superintendent General was allowed to go his own way. Lieutenant-Governor Arthur and Governors Sydenham and Bagot all felt their inadequacies and in 1842 Bagot was finally induced to appoint a special commission to recommend improvements. The commission, after reiterating the view that only the Imperial authorities were fit to govern the native tribes, proposed that the Governor's responsibilities could be effectively exercised by placing them in the hands of his Civil Secretary.³³ This recommendation was accepted in 1844 by the home authorities, the Civil Secretary becoming *ex officio* Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, a post which he held until the transfer to the Crown Lands Department was completed in 1860.

This reorganization coincided with a criticism of the Chief Superintendent for having abused his powers; accordingly, this post was abolished in 1845 and the Department was left without an

33 See "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, heading V, "Indian Department, Recommendations."

experienced permanent head.³⁴ A chief clerk and an accountant between them handled the correspondence from the resident superintendents, kept up the files in a desultory fashion, and maintained a loose record of the finances of the tribes. The Deputy Receiver General was paid an allowance of \$400 out of the Indian funds for his services in receiving the payments made for Indian lands. In short, at the end of nearly one hundred years of Imperial control, the local administrative arrangements still revealed a startling absence of any permanent central nucleus. The special investigating commission of 1857 was forced to repeat the criticism made twenty years before by another royal commission: the Department still lacked a central focus. True, the Governor's Secretary had undertaken this task after 1845, but as the commission of 1857 remarked:

The Governor's Secretary is necessarily partly engaged by his other duties; he is, in all probability a stranger not only to the Indians, but to the country at large, and from the nature of his appointment, vacates the office of Superintendent General soon after he has mastered the intricate details of the business, leaving his successor to go through the same apprenticeship.³⁵

This comment is all the more significant when it is noted that the Governor's Secretary was a member of the commission which came to this conclusion.

34 "Report of Special Commissioners," Sessional Papers, 1858, part III.

35 Ibid., part III.

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The closer the time came for the Imperial government to cast off the Indians the more apparent to the colonists became the administrative vacuum that would be left. Hence the commission of 1857 reported strongly in favour of a permanent deputy head for the Department—a recommendation that the Canadian authorities implemented in 1862, two years after they accepted their new charges.

Perhaps the clearest indication of the hit-and-miss attitude of both Imperial and colonial authorities towards the Indians is revealed in the complex process by which the costs of administration were met. Indeed, as has already been noted, it was the consideration of expense which induced the Imperial government to seek to free itself of the responsibilities for the Indians. Between 1840 and 1860, while the Imperial government still retained control over Indian affairs, administrative costs were covered from five different sources.³⁶ An annual grant voted by the Imperial parliament provided the largest amount for the Indians. The fact that the sum varied and, after the mid-1840's, was a popular target for criticism by economy-conscious members of the British House of Commons, left a perpetual sense of uneasiness in the colony. The Imperial grant was used to pay the salaries of the Indian agents, the pensions of certain former officers in the Department, and the expenses of maintaining a few selected officials

³⁶ Excellent details on the financing of the Indian Department are to be found in *ibid.*, part III.

such as missionaries and teachers. When the time came to break the Imperial connection with Indian affairs, the pensions were the only charges which the home government were willing to continue to meet.

The General Fund provided a second but much smaller source of revenue for the Indians. This Fund was made up from the sale of Indian lands, the sale of timber seized after it had been unlawfully cut off these lands and interest on money held by the provincial Receiver General to the account of the Indians. The salaries of the small headquarters' staff of the department (e.g. the accountant, chief clerk, and messenger), the special allowance to the Deputy Receiver General (who received the funds from the sale of Indian lands), and some contingencies for the office in Upper Canada not covered by the Imperial grant were paid from this Fund.

The third source of revenue was the Land Fund which was derived from the sale of Indian lands made by the Crown Lands Department. According to a complicated formula worked out by Lord Sydenham, the expenses connected with the management of all lands-including Indian lands-were lumped together and then an arbitrary percentage of the costs of management charged against the revenues derived from the sale of each type of land. In practice 10 per cent of all costs of management were assessed against the Indian lands, 50 per cent against Crown lands, and 40 per cent against

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Clergy Reserves. If it happened that the lands owned by one tribe enjoyed heavy sales during the year then that tribe would bear most of the 10 per cent assessment for the general costs of management. This obvious injustice was noted by various investigators but apparently remained unchanged as long as Imperial control continued.

A fourth special source of funds was provided by the estate of the Six Nations located in the area around Galt. The money from this source was used to defray the salaries of the trustees who helped the Indians manage the estate. When the provincial government took over in 1860 the charges of managing the Six Nations' property were merged with the general charges of managing all Indian lands. Finally, each tribe had its own local funds-mainly the annuities paid in perpetuity out of provincial revenues-which were used to pay the tribal chiefs, interpreters, missionaries, surgeons, and schoolmasters. The ultimate complication in this fantastic scheme of financing Indian affairs was the payment out of the Commissariat funds for the annual presents of blankets, ammunition, clothing, and so forth. The decision of the Imperial authorities to cut off the distribution of presents was not acted on until the end of the period of Imperial control, so that this item of administrative expense properly formed part of the whole budget for Indian affairs.

The complicated method of financing the administration of Indian affairs afforded unlimited opportunities for petty wrangling between Imperial and colonial authorities when the time came to effect the transfer. The protracted negotiations leading up to the transfer can be attributed almost entirely to these complications. When the commission in 1857 made a careful assessment of the financial situation confronting the Department they discovered that, if the Imperial authorities withdrew, existing local sources of funds would fall short of current administrative costs by over \$8,000 (about half the total budget). It was the attempt to find a satisfactory method of bridging this financial gap that was the occasion for prolonged bickering and compromises between colonial and Imperial authorities. The sum, even in those days was not large; "it was the principle of the thing." The royal commissioners bluntly stated the principle in their report of 1857. The Imperial authorities might continue the grant for another ten years, hoping in the interval that the sale of Indian lands would be stepped up enough to close the gap. But if this was the solution, the Imperial government must be expected to retain its control over patronage and policy. However, the commissioners hastened to add, "If the aid hitherto afforded by the Imperial Government be withdrawn, it is but equitable that its control over the Department should cease likewise." This was the advice which the colonial authorities ultimately accepted in 1860. The extra price they had to pay for acquiring complete authority over their own native

population seems at this distance to have been so paltry that neither set of authorities could take any credit for the prolonged bickering which preceded the transfer. The explanation was surely not in the \$8,000 involved but in the fact that this was one responsibility that the colonial government would have been happy to have evaded. By the same token it was a responsibility which Imperial authorities were glad to shrug off, since their own administrative performance had not enhanced their reputations as bearers of the white man's burden.

A Clientèle Department

The third conspicuous feature of the Indian Department was closely related to the long experience with Imperial control which has just been examined. Was it possible to administer the affairs of the Indians in bits and pieces, conferring responsibility on several departments for various interrelated aspects of Indian management? Or was it preferable to assemble the various agencies into one department and make it solely responsible for all matters pertaining to the native population? The record of neglect and unsystematic administration under the former arrangement (which characterized the period of Imperial control) spoke strongly in favour of the second alternative. And yet if this alternative were adopted-as in fact it ultimately was-would this not perpetuate the isolation of the Indians from the white population and thereby frustrate the efforts to civilize and ultimately assimilate the

natives? Between the years 1840 and 1857 this problem was discussed by several official investigating bodies, with the weight of evidence gradually tending toward the policy of centralization in one "clientèle" department. When centralization was ultimately achieved after 1862, it was marked, as will be noted, by a practical compromise which made the decision palatable.

As might be expected, the desire to bring together in one department the scattered agencies responsible for Indian affairs was first expressed by a senior permanent official in the Indian Department.

In 1839, Colonel Samuel Jarvis, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, strongly urged an investigating committee to report in favour of such a plan.³⁷ In particular he objected to the Crown Lands Department managing Indian lands and charging against the revenues derived from their sale a fixed percentage of the total cost of administering the whole Crown Lands Department. Neither Department, as a result of this divided responsibility, maintained a proper record of the sales or any clear accounts for the Indians' business affairs. Furthermore, as has already been explained, several Imperial authorities also shared important responsibilities for Indian affairs. The investigators in 1839 finally agreed with Jarvis that the Indian Department ought to assume fuller control of all matters pertaining to their special charges.

³⁷ See "Report of Committee No. 4," *Journals*, 1839-40, and the criticisms of that committee for the acceptance of Jarvis' views by the Commissioners appointed in 1842, "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, heading V, "Indian Department."

However, the commission appointed in 1842 carefully assessed the arguments for and against centralization and ultimately rejected the verdict favourable to centralization which had been reached by the previous investigators.³⁸ Four strong arguments could be made in support of the plan for focusing all responsibility for Indian affairs in the one agency. First, a department organized on a strict clientèle basis would be less likely to become indifferent to its public. If responsibility for Indians affairs--the sale of their land, education, welfare, health, finances--was dispersed in a number of departments whose chief concerns lay elsewhere, then the interests of the Indians might easily be overlooked. Second, agents who had to work only with Indians could acquire the necessary special information and insight to deal effectively with their charges in their own localities. This would not be so if the responsibility were dispersed. Third, a closer adaptation of policy to special needs of the Indians could be effected if the Department had only the Indians to consider. The Crown Lands Department, for example, would not need to adapt its general land policy to the special requirements of the Indian lands. Finally, all books and accounts relating to the Indians could be brought together in one Department rather than scattered in the several offices which dealt with separate aspects of Indian administration.

38 "Report on the Affairs of the Indians in Canada," J.L.A.C., 1847, heading V, "Indian Department."

On the whole these benefits of the clientele basis of organization seem most convincing. And yet the royal commissioners, reporting in 1844 concluded that it would be wrong to create a department vested with full responsibility for managing every aspect of Indian Affairs. One of their criticisms was predicated on the Imperial government's view that the Indian Department was an "expiring" one. Accepting this assumption, the commissioners argued that a clientele department would only expand an administrative entity which it was thought would eventually be abolished. This argument lost its validity as colonial statesmen became increasingly aware that administrative arrangements for managing the Indians' affairs would have to be continued and even expanded. However, the commissioners were on firmer ground when they developed two additional criticisms. Unquestionably a clientele department would increase administrative costs. Instead of allowing the technical specialists employed in sub-divisions of other departments to handle the Indians it would be necessary to employ the same kind of specialists in the Indian Department. Branches for the sale, management, and surveying of Indian lands, timber agents for the Indian forests, special accountants for managing the Indian funds and annuities, an office to supplant the Commissariat in handling the ordering and supplying of presents, and so on, would be required. A duplication of skills and special knowledge is inevitable when a clientele basis of organization is employed. That is perhaps one reason why it is seldom found today--even the Department of Veterans Affairs, the closest approximation

to a clientele organization, relies on other specialist departments for certain services. The final criticism of the clientele arrangement was that it would serve only to foster the isolation of the Indian population and perpetuate the sense of tutelage. Both of these tendencies would certainly negate the efforts to develop and then assimilate the Indian as a first-class citizen. In this observation the commissioners proved themselves true prophets, for there was no better way of preserving the corporate and distinct character of the Indians than by setting up a special department to deal only with their needs.

While opposing a clientèle organization, the commissioners nevertheless realized that the existing arrangement lacked coherence and proper central direction. Accordingly, they proposed that the Governor General's Secretary become the co-ordinator and that all the records be amalgamated, kept at the seat of government, and maintained in an up-to-date form by a permanent clerk. With the Governor's Secretary as the new head of the Department the permanent Superintendent General became at first advisory and then superfluous; in 1846 his office was abolished. Thus from about 1846 to 1860 Imperial management of Indian affairs was directed theoretically by the Governor General with the assistance of his Secretary who acted as the channel of communication between the Indian agents of the Department and the Governor. In fact, the clerk and accountant of the Department were the only active

members of the staff at headquarters. They, in turn, were surrounded by the Commissariat, the Colonial Secretary, the Imperial Treasury, and Audit Office, while Crown Lands continued to act as the selling agency for the Department.

Unfortunately, as the commission of 1857 discovered, this dispersion of administrative responsibility for the Indians proved disastrous. The benefits of the clientèle arrangement were lost and, despite the good will shown by the Imperial government and successive Governors, "interests of greater magnitude had sprung up and the Indian has been lost sight of and has sunk to a state of comparative neglect." This was the commissioners' verdict in 1857, after over a decade's experience with the system of dispersed piecemeal administration. Moreover, far from confirming the Imperial government's view that the need for the department would "expire", a strong administrative agency seemed now to be even more insistently required by the Indians. Unfortunately, too, the dispersed system had not fostered the desired assimilation of the Indians; indeed, the gap between the tribes and the white settlers seemed to have widened, while the Indians' sense of helplessness, isolation, and dependency had deepened.

The royal commissioners in their report of 1857 did not directly assess the merits and liabilities of the piecemeal system of administering Indian affairs; nor did they argue the claims of

the clientèle or centralized system of administration. However, their whole report reflects dissatisfaction with the previous ten years' experience of the piecemeal system. At the same time, their recommendations pointed the way toward the creation of a centralized, properly co-ordinated Department of Indian Affairs. They denied absolutely the popular Imperial belief that the Department was an "expiring one." They appealed to the colonial government to recognize its responsibility to the Indians and recommended that this could best be done by appointing a permanent head for the Department. They considered that the appointment of the Governor's Secretary to act as Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (following the recommendation from the earlier royal commission) had been a mistake. Finally, they made clear their preference for colonial control of the Indians with the consequent elimination of the confusing and overlapping jurisdiction of various Imperial Departments. In short, the commissioners appeared to favour the centralization of all responsibility for Indian affairs in the hands of one local administrative agency. The decision to transfer control from the Imperial to colonial authorities provided a real opportunity to make this break with the past administrative arrangements. As a necessary adjunct to this proposal the commissioners recommended appointment of a senior permanent official to lend strength and co-ordinative power to the centre.

When the colonial authorities assumed full control over the Indians in 1860 nearly two years passed before the local arrangements for their management were completed.³⁹ These arrangements more or less confirmed the recommendations of the royal commission of 1857 but juggled with the issue of the clientèle department. The desire to consolidate responsibility for all matters relating to the Indians was displayed in two administrative reforms. A single agency was created to administer Indian affairs and a permanent head, with the status of a deputy minister, was appointed to that agency. But still it could not be said that a truly clientèle department had been established, for the new agency was set up as one of the many branches within Crown Lands. Nevertheless, a great improvement had been made, for at least all the major concerns of the Indians-land, timber, fish, and business records-were now under one political head, the Commissioner of Crown Lands. Furthermore, judging from the independent character of each of the main branches in Crown Lands (examined in a previous chapter) the new Indian Affairs Office would have enjoyed virtually the full autonomy of a department in its own right. Certainly in the few years remaining before Confederation the records and financial accounts of Indian affairs were greatly clarified and presented

39 See Appendix for organization of Department of Crown Lands at Confederation.

in consolidated form.⁴⁰ This was made possible because of a strengthened central office and the ability of that office to work with the surveys, sales, and timber branches of the Crown Lands Department.

It is interesting to note that until 1936 this organizational arrangement for Indian affairs remained unchanged. After Confederation it became the practice-with a few scattered exceptions-to place Indian affairs under the Department of the Interior, the federal government's successor to the Crown Lands Department. But Indian affairs always enjoyed a rather special independence-indeed after 1880 it was given the legal status of a department,⁴¹ but always had a ministerial head who doubled both as Superintendent General and as Minister (usually) of the Interior Department. During this whole period, too, the permanent head of Indian Affairs had the rank of a full deputy minister. Moreover, the department's basic organizational form remained that of a clientele department. Today, it has its own Field Administration Service to which the local Indian agencies report;

40 See, for example, the detailed statistics and accounts (lack of which had been a common complaint of all early investigators) provided by William Spragge after 1862, as appendices to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands.

41 See D.C. Scott's historical sketch in his report for 1921, *Sessional Papers*, Canada, 1922, no. 27.

there is a Medical Service and a Welfare Service to which the doctors and welfare workers to the Indians report; and its own Reserves and Trusts Service to handle the special historic accounts of the tribes. There is scarcely a feature of Indian life which specialists of the Department do not serve: health, welfare, education, special supplies, annuities, protection, and management of the Indians' estate, all are encompassed by the one Department.

The record of the period during which dispersed control characterized the management of Indian Affairs suggests that the centralized arrangement in a clientèle department was the more appropriate organizational basis. Nevertheless, it is probably true to argue, as did the commissioners who reported in 1844, that the clientèle arrangement reinforced the public view of the Indians as a group apart. This attitude, in turn, was in opposition to the long-run goal set for the Department in the 1830's, that of civilizing and assimilating the native population.

Was the original decision to create a clientèle department in 1860 the best answer to the problem of managing the Indians? Probably no certain answer can be given to this question, for the authorities faced an unpleasant predicament. Under military rule and after the first impact with the white man, there seemed little alternative to the policy of treating the Indians as wards. Yet, if the Indians could not be neglected, no more should they be pampered, for that was no way to raise them to the level of

individual self-respect and responsibility which was required of potential citizens. Primarily, the short-run problem was the danger of neglect, and the history of the Department suggests that the clientèle basis of organization was best designed to prevent neglect and indifference. On the other hand, the long-run problem was (and remains) that of assimilating the Indian into the white community. In the administrative machinery designed to protect and educate the Indian there lay the danger of frustrating the attainment of the larger objective of assimilation. The clientèle arrangement necessarily and deliberately singled out the Indians from the rest of the community, while the system of Indian reserves only reinforced this process.⁴²

Perhaps it is significant of the special status conferred on both the Indians and the Department erected to manage their affairs that until 1913 the major expenses of administration were borne by the funds derived from the Indians' own estate. The eccentric Secretary of State Labouchere had argued in the 1850's that he "was convinced that if those entrusted with the care of the Indians were made sensible that their establishment must be self-supporting, they would not fail to find the requisite means of accomplishing the object."⁴³ His comments apparently were

42 The conclusions reached by the legislative committee which recently (1955) studied the affairs of the Indians in Ontario appear to confirm the general thesis sustained throughout this chapter. See *Civil Liberties and Rights of Indians in Ontario*, Report of the Select Committee of Legislative Assembly, March 19, 1954, section I.

43 Quoted in "Report of Special Commissioners," *Sessional Papers*, 1858, part I.

taken to heart by the colonial officials who replaced the Imperial authorities. Certainly under the new management of a centralized department the interests of the Indians received better attention. But one might query the adequacy of the budget thus made available. Further, one might ask whether placing the costs of managing Indian affairs directly on the taxpayer might not have aroused a more general critical interest in their administration. As it was, the Department operated mainly in a quiet backwater, isolated from parliamentary interest and by the same token unable to stir up any interest in expanding the services to the Indians. Periodically, the white man feels the weight of the albatross and institutes a full-scale inquiry, amends the Indian Act, and sits back again, his conscience partially salved. This being the situation perhaps it has been for the best that the Indians had a single Department whole-heartedly concerned with their affairs, if not always able to attract the funds or efficient personnel required for its work.

APPENDIX IITHE INDIAN ACTSects. 1-3

Sections 1 - 3 of the act, which deal with terms and authorize the Minister (of Citizenship and Immigration, who was then responsible for Indian Affairs) to administer the Act and to delegate certain of his powers, are ignored in the summary, which begins at this point a discussion of the "Application of the Act -- Section 4" and "Definition and Registration of Indians -- Sections 5 to 17".

Sects. 4

Section 4 of the Act gives the Governor in Council power to eliminate application of any section of the entire Act, except those sections (37 to 41) that provide that reserve lands cannot be sold or alienated without a surrender by the band, to an individual, a band, a reserve or surrendered land; and specifies that "provisions of the Act pertaining to the education of Indian children shall not apply to Indian children ordinarily resident off reserves or Crown lands"; and further specifies that without ministerial order, "provisions of the Act pertaining to wills and estates of deceased Indians shall not apply

to Indians ordinarily resident off reserves or Crown lands." It was suggested that the first of these three principles should not be used without band council assent.

Sects. 5-17

Sections 5 to 17 set up a legal definition of "Indian" and, by completing and refining lists of registration (a feat not possible prior to 1951, before which time band rolls were incomplete) proposed to specify precisely who is or is not to be designated "Indian". Attached to this is the proposal that bands, themselves, should be given the power to affirm or reject membership in the band. One of the concomitants of this action is the power to deny to an unmarried Indian mother and her children the anonymity formerly theirs, and to specify that the illegitimate child of a non-Indian father and an Indian mother should be denied Indian status, while the illegitimate child of an Indian father and a non-Indian mother should be permitted to hold Indian status. A corollary of this provision is that Indian status is lost by an Indian woman who marries a non-Indian, but does not similarly penalize an Indian man who marries a non-Indian woman. (This feature of the Act has recently been challenged in the Courts.)

In these sections of the Act, also, it is declared that a non-Indian child, legally adopted by Indian parents, does not have to be accepted as Indian by the reserve community, while an Indian child, similarly adopted by non-Indians, remains Indian.

Sects. 18-19

The power of the government is expanded in a limited way, by Sections 18 and 19 of the Act, to use reserve lands for administration of Indian affairs, with compensation paid for such use to Indians affected. It provides that land-use should be subject to approval by the band, even when the stated purpose is for the band's general welfare. These features result in a widening of the band's powers of control over its lands, also, giving it power to expropriate, with due compensation, an individual band member's land if such action is deemed necessary to the general well-being of the band. This results, in turn, in the possibility of a more orderly development of reserves because of more effective ministerial planning.

It was suggested that the authority vested in the Minister by these provisions should be passed to the band councils, which already possess authority

to make by-laws related to zoning, construction of roads, etc.

Sects. 20-29

Sections 20 to 29 of the Act relate to possession by individuals of reserve land, the extent of such ownership and the uses to which land may be put. A land-registry system is established, under which an Indian may acquire legal possession of land on a reserve only by allotment by the band council with approval by the Minister, and which he may transfer or sell to another member of the band subject to approval and recording by the Department. Such property may be devised to his heirs, but if band membership is lost, such land must be disposed of to the band or a band member.

While most bands recognize the rights of individual Indians to possession of lands they occupy, there has been some objection to the role of government in this matter, and it has been suggested that the band councils should have the authority to grant permits for possession and use, rather than have these subject to ministerial or departmental control.

Sects. 30-31

Sections 30 and 31 limit the legal rights of individuals to enter upon reserve lands. Any person, Indian or non-Indian, not a member of the band for whose members the reserve was established, may be defined as a trespasser. It was suggested that provisions of these sections should be more detailed and specific.

Sects. 32-33

Sections 32 and 33, applying only to the three Prairie provinces, provide that sale of cattle or farm produce be accomplished only under permit from the Agency Superintendent -- a provision that has been objected to and which, it is suggested, should be a matter for individual Indian decision, perhaps subject to band council approval.

Sects. 34-35

Sections 34 and 35 relate respectively to the maintenance of roads and bridges on reserves and to the extent and manner of "expropriation" of Indian reserve lands by corporations and provinces. As far as the maintenance of public works is concerned, it is felt that present provisions that give control to government, either through Indian Superintendent or the Minister, should be eliminated, with decisions

in such matters delegated to band councils. In regard to the so-called expropriation of reserve lands, the major change in procedure thought necessary would entail assignment of a decisive role in any such action to the band council before lands are granted for public purposes, no matter who the applicant may be. This already applies to the Government of Canada, it should be noted, as it does to non-corporate and non-provincial entities and to individuals.

Sects. 36-41

Section 36, specifying that reserves not vested in the Crown shall come under provisions of the Act, is omitted from discussion. Sections 37 to 41 affirm the general principle that reserve lands may not be disposed of without the joint consent of the band the Governor in Council, and it was suggested that the former should be given an increasingly important role in such matters and be permitted their own business consultants in relation to both sales and leasing of lands. Further, the proposal has been made that selling and leasing be distinguished one from the other, with the first related only to actual "alienation" of land with, presumably, the government retaining its role, while the right to lease land might be

a band prerogative if the lease were limited to, say, a ten-year or similar period. Also, there appears to be a feeling that all band members be permitted to vote in the matters of land-disposition, whether they reside on or off the reserve, a privilege now restricted to residents.

Sects. 42-52

The matter of inheritance and the passing on of estates of deceased and/or "incompetent" Indians, is dealt with in Section 42 to 52 of the Act. This area has from the beginning been subject to ministerial control, and the cut-off figure of \$2,000., used to determine the point at which the widow's right to exclusive inheritance ends, is regarded as being too low in view of the steadily increasing size of Indian estates. Also, there appears to be confusion in regard to authority to use the property of mentally incompetent Indians, with dependents sometimes suffering as a consequence. Finally, use of the term "guardianship", in respect to minor children of deceased Indians, is regarded as inaccurate and should be eliminated in favour of a term such as "trusteeship", as is the case in provincial law.

Sects. 53-60

Sections 53 to 60 of the Act relate to the management of reserves and "surrendered" lands, particularly in respect to disposal of timber, mines and minerals. Leasing is carried out by the Minister on behalf of band or individual; the Minister may dispose of sand, gravel, etc., on reserves, preferably with consent of the band council. However, the band may be given the right to manage and control reserve lands. The main proposals for change in these sections express the view that individuals be given more authority to control leasing and that the band council, rather than a majority of the electors, be given power to manage reserve lands.

Sects. 61-68

Similar alterations are suggested in relation to the management of Indian funds and are set forth in Sections 61 to 68, which establish separate capital and revenue accounts and define both the sources and the disposition of moneys in each. With the exception of complaints from band councils that their expenditures are sometimes over-restricted, operation of these sections has been fairly satisfactory. In 1951, for the first time, some relaxation in the principle that the management of Indian funds by government is

necessary was introduced, and within the last few years some 100 bands have been given authority to manage and control all or a part of their revenue moneys. Budgets are prepared by band councils under this provision and, when approved by government, funds are placed in a local bank account for payment of accounts for purposes specified in the budget. There appears to be a belief that capital funds realized from sources other than sale of surrendered lands, including funds accrued from the band's capital assets, should be under band management and control; also, including the right to guarantee loans to individuals and to enter into contracts.

Sects. 69-88

The next twenty sections of the Act, 69 to 88, cover other financial areas, specifically financial credit. Section 88 provides the basic assurance that an Indian's personal and real properties cannot be attached or seized and cannot, in fact, be pledged by their owners as security for any loan not made by another Indian. This stipulation is judged to be excessively restrictive in modern times, and it has been suggested that, while some restriction on the pledging of real property should be retained so that land shall not be alienated from a reserve,

and would thus continue to render some sources of intermediate and long-term credit unavailable, it might be possible to vest bands with the authority to pledge their interest in reserve lands as security for loans and then to lend such funds to band members, who would pledge their own individual interest in real property as security.

It is further suggested that restrictions on the use of personal property by individuals as security on personal loans might be removed rather easily by expanding use by the Department of the revolving Loan Fund or by setting up a separate Development Fund. There would, of course, still exist the necessity to provide authority for both bands and the Department to foreclose upon real and personal property that had been posted as security

Sects. 70-71

Section 70 of the Act, which gives authority to the Minister to operate farms on reserves, to employ farming instructors and plow back profits from farming operations into assistance to Indians in farming, is to a large extent no longer useful. Band councils now operate

community farms and are permitted to do so. Section 71, relating to the payment of Treaty moneys, is omitted from the summary.

Sect. 72

Section 72 related to areas within which the Governor in Council may make regulations respecting reserves and includes the licensing and control of dogs, the operation of places of amusement, traffic, and Indian health. The tendency seems to be to transfer some of these powers to band councils.

Sects. 73-79

The election of band councils is provided for and spelled out in Sections 73 to 79 of the Act, in the case of bands that have been officially designated as being subject to the provisions set down in these sections. Bands not so specified retain their traditional practices in electing chiefs and councillors, but the number of these is becoming progressively fewer. These sections, furthermore, apply only to bands that have reserves, thus ignoring bands in the Yukon and Northwest Territories and those on Crown lands. Amendment to Section 73 has been advocated in order to eliminate this discrimination. It has been suggested, also, that provision be made

for overlapping terms of office of band councillors, as is done in many rural municipalities and school boards.

Other changes, relating to the methods of selecting chiefs and councillors, have been suggested, also, and some relaxation of voting requirements and a more realistic definition of terms of office as now established are advocated.

Sects. 80-85

The powers of band councils are defined in Sections 80 to 85, with the general feeling that such powers should be widened wherever possible. Areas of broadening should perhaps include the making of by-laws, including those relating to money, the provision of protective and sanitation services, the regulation, management and control of business hours and recreation facilities, and the employment of assistants in these areas.

Sects. 86-89

Section 86 to 89 deal with taxation and other legal rights of band members, with the suggestion that tax exemption be extended to include certain off-reserve activities such as fishing, when it is a regular income-producing occupation.

Sects. 93-100

Section 93 to 100 relate to regulation and control of alcohol on reserves. There are presently three stages of development discernible in this area: (a) total prohibition of alcohol and its use on reserves; (b) consumption of alcohol allowed in public places, when requested by the province and concurred in by the Governor in Council; (c) purchase and use of alcohol off the reserve in accordance with provincial law, when proclaimed by the Governor in Council at the request of the province. In addition, where the third stage is in force, the band council may request a referendum, and if a majority are in favour, the Governor in Council may permit possession of alcohol on the reserve. A number of bands in every province except Alberta, and in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, fell into one or more of these categories at the time the summary was prepared. As might be expected, it has been suggested that all restrictions on possession and use of intoxicants by Indians ought to be eliminated from the Act.

Sects. 108-112 Enfranchisement (Sections 108 to 112 of the Act)

"is the legal process whereby a person ceases to be an Indian within the meaning of the Act. It carries with it loss of band membership rights, as well as loss of Indian status." It has been suggested that these provisions in the Act should be repealed; at the same time, if the power to enfranchise be withdrawn, it is recognized that provision for voluntary withdrawal from Indian status, or automatic withdrawal in certain circumstances (e.g., in the case of an Indian woman married for a specified length of time to a non-Indian, or in the case of an Indian child adopted by non-Indians) must be made. The matter of band assets' distribution in such cases would have to be clarified. Finally, in the case of an entire band wishing to withdraw from Indian status, similar clarification regarding retention of band assets would have to be made.

Sects. 113-122 Matters of Indian education are dealt with in Sections 113 to 122 which provide authority and set out principles for Indian educational services. Mainly, the Federal Government may operate Indian schools, or may enter into agreements with

provinces. School boards or religious or charitable institutions, and may initiate and have a hand in almost all aspects of Indian education. However, existing regulations in this area require refinement and clarification, and the trend would appear to be towards a closer and more frequent involvement of the Indian people in determining and controlling their own educational institutions.

Sect. 123

The last section of the Indian Act refers to the broad area of local self-government. The summary notes that "There is a quickening desire on the part of many Indian leaders for local control" of their affairs, with the suggestion that one way of accomplishing this might be "to provide for a broadened system of local or municipal self-government", either through granting of a constitution or a charter of incorporation. Safeguards against alienation of Indian lands and exploitation of inexperienced bands and councils would have to be built into any such legal structure.

APPENDIX IIINOTES ON ACCULTURATION

An examination of indigenous policies of the several nations whose populations include aboriginal minorities suggests that most such policies have as their admitted or implicit goal the ultimate "simplification" represented by assimilation. True enough, several nations have begun to modify this rather drastic aim by adding a reference to integration as a substitute, or even as a simultaneous, goal, even while clinging, (it seems) to the conviction that all members of their society ought to participate fully in enjoyment of the rights and responsibilities that are, in theory, available to all.

It will be observed that in what has been said the writer has formulated definitions of the two terms, assimilation and integration, that are explicit but may not conform precisely to those generally used. But this is the point: that there seems to be little real agreement even among scholars as to what exactly the two words do mean, and the following formal definitions have at least the merit of expressing a continuum.

To begin with, I hold that the generic term from which both "assimilation" and "integration" spring is "acculturation", or the situation which exists, at once and without fail, whenever two or more disparate cultures come into contact with each other. The two alternative choices, to assimilate or to integrate, are implicit and whichever occurs is largely due to the influence of factors of time (or duration) and of intensity

(or degree) of contact.

In my "Notes" on these matters I have employed a rather simplistic metaphor:

The notion of two rivers or streams is illustrative of these two terms. In the case of assimilation, the river has a single bed (the culture) which is the result of an intermingling of two or more smaller streams. These subsidiary waters have merged and become indistinguishable. The nearer to a point of convergence of any two of the subsidiary streams one examines the flow, the less complete is the admixture. One stream came from, say, the mountain snows, originally clear (and colourless?); the other flowed from a source in red clay or brown soil or black loam, and possessed a distinct hue. Some distance (time) would be required for the stream to blend so far as to present a uniform appearance and to seem one.

Employing the same metaphor, integration may be likened to a stream with two beds, the waters flowing side by side so closely as to appear from a distance to be one. Each would present and largely retain its own original character, no matter how greatly the physical environment might alter them over the miles (time). Each

would possess its own value and usefulness and each serve ultimately the same purpose.

The analogy is of course imperfect and cannot be extended too far. Yet it does suggest a further characteristic indirectly alluded to, that integration may become in time the finality of assimilation, depending upon the character of the "wall" which separates the two streams and the amount of "seepage" that occurs. To illustrate, it would appear that in both Mexico and in Canada such phenomena as are suggested by the word, "seepage", is occurring: in the case of Mexico it has been going on for upwards of 400 years; in Canada, with its shorter history, the process has nevertheless managed to produce a Métis population almost as large as the total "pure" Indian group.

There is still another aspect that may be noted: the longer and more intense are efforts towards integration (even though assimilation may be the "real", though frequently unadmitted, goal of the society), the stronger integration may become; that is, the "wall" which separates the two streams may in time become strengthened by an accretion of materials from both sides, and eventually develop qualities that render it virtually impermeable.

Returning to the concept of acculturation, seen as process, Dr. Miguel León-Portilla suggests that a distinction should be made between what he calls "spontaneous acculturation" and

that which occurs as a result of deliberate intent. In an article, "Que es el Indigenismo Interamericano?" in América Indígena (XXXVI,4,1966), he rejects the idea of "formation of autonomous nationalities", preferring instead "enforced acculturation" which, in his view, is a method of achieving integration. (I trust that I have not over-simplified his argument.) In effect, he rejects both autonomy of Indian groups and assimilation into the majority society.

Dr. León-Portilla illustrates the process of spontaneous acculturation by reference to the extension of a highway or an irrigation system into an area of indigenous occupancy, where such amenities did not previously exist. The resulting mutual interaction of people resident within the area and those who are brought in as "development" proceeds constitutes, or can constitute, integration.

It will in time result also in assimilation, of course. But the most direct criticism of this thesis seems to me to be that it returns to an earlier frame of reference, in which the role of man as an unwitting agent of "spontaneous" social and cultural change implies some pre-existent and even primordial or "natural" force, operating in the same manner as did the "laws" of the Social Darwinists. I much prefer to state the dichotomy in terms of voluntary and enforced acculturation, with the explicit connotation that both result from human action -- one springing from internal sources within the community, the other resulting from decisions taken

outside and from above, generally without prior discussion with those who will be most directly affected by whatever action is taken.

If this distinction be made, the act of consultation is revealed as the most crucial single ingredient in the acculturation process, especially if integration is the aim. It takes account, also, of another prime necessity: that if integration and not assimilation is to be achieved, the more numerous and therefore probably stronger segment of the total society must deliberately and with good will seek to assist the less numerous segment in maintaining and developing its own unique character and its own separate identity.

Two further points can be made:

First, the cynic may suggest that "integration" has developed an aura of almost sanctity, to the point where it tends to be equated with motherhood and the avoidance of sin. As such, it may be accepted as an ultimate good, even while many of its advocates secretly believe it to be less desirable than would be a complete merging of cultures; and, in any event, probably impossible of achievement.

Second, the pessimist, hoping that the cynic is wrong, may feel in his bones that he is not; that the ultimate end, distressing as it may be, will be assimilation of races within a multi-cultural whole, with all the irreparable loss (he believes) to humanity that will ensue.

APPENDIX IVA. COMMUNITY AFFAIRSTOTAL PROGRAM COSTS

Community Development	2,833,000
Administration	\$ 820,000
Social Services	48,423,000
Band Management	3,624,000
Cultural Development	427,000
Community Improvement	50
Operation and Maintenance	5,150,000
Capital	27,757,000
TOTAL	\$89,134,000

MAN-YEARS

Operation and Maintenance	409.9
Capital	644.6
TOTAL	1,054.5

B. EDUCATION

Cultural Development. Responsibility in this area was officially shifted during the summer of 1971 from Community Relations to Education and, under the heading of "Development ", total expenditures of \$427,000. were noted. The general objectives were stated thus:

- = To promote the preservation, growth and expression of Indian cultures, and to facilitate the entry of Indian creative and performing artists into the North American cultural world.

Education in Federal and Non-Federal Schools.

The thrust of current educational practice as far as Indian are concerned seems to be directed towards (a) involvement of parents in the

educational process and (b) to make Indian education equivalent to provincial standards. The "Objectives" express this philosophy.

- = Federal schools: To provide educational services and facilities for those Indian children who do not attend schools operated by Provincial and other agencies, and to promote the participation of parents of Indian children in school affairs.
- = Non-Federal schools: To provide, as requested by Indian parents, for the non-segregated education of their children, by entering into agreements with provincial, territorial, municipal and parochial school systems, and to provide guidance services to all Indian students registered in an elementary or secondary school program.

Adult and Vocational Education. The lumping of these two categories may be disputed, yet both in practice and in terms of theory they are directly related. It is sufficient to point out that "functional literacy" and "social education" (as aims of Adult Education) are paralleled by "vocational skills" and "higher education" (as functions of Vocational Education), respectively. Both are fundamental as acculturizing agents.

- Adult Education: To ensure the development and implementation of functional literacy and social education programs which will provide adult Indians with the skills and knowledge they require to adapt to a changing environment.
- Vocational Education: To provide the opportunity for Indians to obtain vocational skills and higher education which will enable them to compete for employment in government and industry on an equal basis with other Canadians.

Employment and Relocation. Government involvement in this area shifts somewhat from a purely educative function, with the introduction of the Canada Manpower Centre. Objectives are:

- To ensure that the Indian work force is provided with adequate opportunities for employment through the utilization of Canada Manpower Centre programs, direct placement by employment relocation counsellors, on-the-job and in-service training, and relocation to areas of higher employment opportunity.

Services. These are concerned with provision of accommodations, the maintenance of Indian students and their transportation where necessary. They spread into all other areas.

- Residences: To provide living accommodation in student residences for Indian students who attend school outside their home communities.
- Transportation and Maintenance: To provide living accommodation in boarding homes, transportation to and from school, and other support services for Indian children who cannot attend school in their home communities.

Future Plans for the Education Program

These may perhaps be most conveniently stated by listing them by area, as given in the Report (here condensed and paraphrased):

Administrative To continue to provide administrative services to Indian education.

Cultural To continue to provide professional and financial assistance to Indians to develop and consolidate their cultural identity.

Federal and non-Federal Schools To continue to open and maintain Federal schools as long as requested and needed by Indians, and to improve their facilities; but to maintain liaison with provincial and other educational agencies while striving to increase academic achievement of Indians, lower drop-out rates of students, and to assist secondary school students in every way possible.

Adult Education and Vocational Training To increase available facilities, research efforts, training programs, the involvement of professional persons, consultation, and library services; and to encourage the participation of non-Indian and non-governmental agencies.

Employment and Relocation To emphasize on-the-job training and relocation projects and the participation of outside agencies herein.

Services To increase Indian involvement in areas of administration and funding of services, but to operate or supervise as long as Indians desire that this be done.

Lands Operations:

To complete registers for each reserve, to reduce the backlog of old and complicated estates which remain unsettled and to transfer the management of reserve lands to the Indian people;

To reduce the large backlog of research required to identify, clarify and register interests in Indian lands;

To improve the administration and management of lands under the Act and be more responsive to Indian needs including the decentralization of signing authority for land transaction documents; and

To find ways and means to involve Indians to a greater extent in decisions affecting their lands, and to obtain their approval of the necessary legislative changes which are essential if Indian Bands are to control and manage their lands without excessive government involvement.

Business Services:

To continue to foster the progressive participation of Indian businessmen in relevant sections of the business and financial community.

PROGRAM DATA (F.Y. 1970/71)Development Services:

<u>SERVICE</u> (Oper. & Maint.)	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>
Administration	\$ 618,000
Agriculture	1,615,000
Commercial Recr.	618,000
Forestry	1,165,000
Fisheries	1,248,000
Wildlife	230,000
Tourist Outfitting and Guiding	243,000
Indian, Com. & Res. R.E.	368,000
Development & Evaluation	376,000
Arts & Crafts	813,000
Minerals	180,000
TOTALS	\$7,474,000

ACTIVITIES Involved in the Education Program

The following general statement applies to all areas:

In consultation with Indian peoples to provide or arrange for the provision of:

- Assistance in the development, preservation and promotion of Indian culture;
- Federal educational services and facilities as required;
- Services of provincial school systems for students;
- Daily and seasonal transportation wherever necessary to enable students to attend school, and boarding accommodation in private homes for students who must attend beyond daily commuting distance of their home communities;
- Basic education, educational upgrading and social educational programs for adults which will equip them with the skills and knowledge they require in their changing environment;
- Opportunities for vocational training and employment; and
- Pupil residence accommodation for those students who must attend school in distant communities and who cannot be accommodated in private boarding homes.

In even more general terms, it may be said that government sees its activities here as reflecting, once more, the dual obligation to fund and to advise within a context of Indian choice and approval.

BACKGROUND of the Education Program

No general statement on this matter is possible, for the history of each area differs slightly. This "history" extends back to the beginning of the Indian Affairs Branch, of course, but activity accelerated following World War II, the earliest of these latter events occurring in 1951, up to which time "supervision of the education program was done largely by agency superintendents under direction of departmental headquarters...." In 1958, the establishment of regional offices was completed and Superintendents of Schools were appointed to each.

A great deal of activity ensued during the 1960's, and nearly all current regulations (i.e., official "interpretations") pertaining to Indian education were promulgated during the last ten years by Orders-in-Council or by Treasury Board enactment.

The tale seems to have been one of almost continuous activity, suggesting the extent of burgeoning Indian awareness and government commitment within the field of education.

PROCEDURES in the Education Program

This increased activity within the Indian Education Program seems to reflect that movement referred to earlier towards "integration" rather than towards outright "assimilation". In addition to the appointment of District Superintendents of Education, who fill the roles of funding, selection and training of staff, and the initiating and guiding of research, a Linguist and an Assessment Committee were appointed to adjudicate applications for aid in the fine and performing arts. However, final decisions, particularly in regard to funding, remain in Headquarters' hands.

In fact, it should be noted, nearly all procedures in the Education as well as in other Branches, reflect a high degree of centralization, even in the case of non-Federal schools, although efforts continue to shift responsibility for negotiations

with provincial and other outside authorities to the Indians, themselves. Only when matters dealt with involve the relocation of workers and/or their families is responsibility by government relatively absolute, even here a certain measure of freedom of choice is conceded to the Indians involved. (It is a point of interest that within the entire educational structure, however, Indians appear to have the final say only in regard to selection and employment of such service-personnel as janitors and school caretakers.) This hierarchal structure of responsibility extends along the same sort of continuum as in other areas of government concern with Indians: from local agency or band, to Region, to District, and finally to Headquarters in Ottawa.

C. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Development Services.

In general, the Indian people were by-passed by the industrial and technological progress which took place throughout Canada. Because of the lack of training facilities and the lack of credit sources available to them, the Indian people had little hope of participating actively in the modern Canadian economy. In an effort to rectify the situation, the Department set up various programs geared to provide the required training and to help the Indian people gain access to credit sources. Financial and professional assistance have been provided in numerous fields in an effort to help the Indian people improve their economic position. The main programs deal with: agriculture, forestry, fisheries minerals, wildlife, tourist outfitting and guiding, commercial recreation, arts and crafts, industrial, commercial and real estate, band economic development committees, and economic profile of reserves.

Lands Operations:

Indian reserves have been established throughout Canada in various ^{ways} treaties, purchases, grants, agreements with provinces, statutes or a combination of two or more of the foregoing. The British North America Act of 1867 gave the

Federal Government the exclusive right to legislate in respect of Indians and lands reserved for Indians, thus creating quasi-trust responsibility for Indian lands.

Business Services:

A major problem facing Indians who wish to establish themselves in business enterprises and co-operatives has always been the lack of access to regular sources of credit used by other Canadian businessmen. This has been due, in large measure, to the fact that the Indian Act prohibits the pledging of Indian owned property or of land on reserves as security. A further inhibiting factor has been the lack of business management experience and knowledge.

To help overcome these problems the Indian Economic Development Fund was created with \$50,000,000 capital to be injected over a five year period beginning in 1970/71, and supplemented by a program of provision of business management services. The financial assistance available from the I.E.D.F. combined with those from other federal and provincial government agencies, banks or other financial institutions and private investments is also being used increasingly by Indians for the development of various business enterprises.

Another approach to partial solution of both the financial and management problems of Indian people in business has been encouragement and assistance in the development of co-operatives. The collective approach to business enterprises affords Indians independence, strong bargaining power and financial gains which may not have been achieved by individual entrepreneurs. Policy guidelines designed to ensure the effective application of business and credit services and the development of co-operatives and other business organizations are being established, and specialists are being employed to provide services to Indians involved in business enterprises.

PROCEDURE

Development Services:

The Department assists Indians through the provision of loans and grants from the Indian Economic Development Fund and through the provision of training, in order that they may develop and manage their own operations in all fields of economic endeavour. Professional services are provided for directly by the Department, or through the aegis of other federal and provincial departments and agencies, and the private sector.

Lands Operations:

The Department provides all services related to the efficient administration and management of Indian reserve lands. These include the maintaining of an Indian land registry, the provision of services to facilitate documentation and execution of agreements regarding land transactions and the settlement of estates.

Business Services:

The Department provides an advisory service for Indian businessmen with relevant sections of the Canadian business community in order to help optimize Indian peoples' opportunities for economic development.

FUTURE PLANS

Development Services:

During the next 5 years, the Band Economic Development Committee program is expected to create 350 of these committees to assist band councils and to facilitate the assumption by Indian people of full responsibility for the control of their economic destiny.

It is also intended to operate activity programs on a provincial basis through a process of consultation and agreements with Indian associations, other federal departments, provincial agencies and private enterprises.

Lands Operations:

Administration	\$ 46,000
Land Management	170,000
Land Titles	424,000
Estates	93,000
TOTALS	<hr/> \$733,000

Business Services:

Operation & Maintenance	\$383,000
Capital	.9,000
TOTALS	<hr/> \$392,000

TOTAL COSTS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

<u>SERVICE</u> (Oper. & Maint.)	<u>EXPENDITURE</u>
General Administration	\$1,303,000
Development Services	7,473,000
Lands	733,000
Business Services	391,000
TOTALS	<hr/> \$9,900,000

Program Data for the Education Program

As in the case of Community Affairs, this section of the Report consists largely of a series of chronological and/or financial summaries in tabular form. Totals for each area are as follows:

General AdministrationProgram Costs (F.Y. 1970/71)

<u>Heading</u>	<u>O&M</u>	<u>Capital</u>
✓ Administration	\$2,206,000	-
Transportation	91,000	83,000
Professional Education	214,000	3,000
✓ Scholarships	19,000	-
✓ Studies and Research	221,000	-
✓ Totals	<u>\$2,751,000</u>	<u>\$86,000</u>

Scholarships Awarded (F.Y. 1971/72)

	<u>Number</u>
University	27
Nursing	5
Vocational Training	32
Cultural	9
Teacher Training	10
Independent School	6
Totals	<u>89</u>

Cultural Development

Operation and Maintenance for this Program in F.Y. 1970-71 amounted to an expenditure of \$427,000. There were eight art exhibitions that attracted some 100,000 viewers, and a new

quarterly publication, TAWOW, had a distribution of 15,000 copies. One hundred and forty requests for grants were received, of which 94 were approved:

<u>Size of Grants</u>	<u>Number</u>
Less than \$999.	16
\$1000 - 1999.	13
\$2000 - 3999.	34
\$4000 - 5999.	28
\$12000	1
\$15000	1
\$16500.	1
Total	<u>94</u>

<u>Subject of Grants</u>	<u>Number</u>
Indian Language - Promotion and Teaching	5
Indian Days and Pow-wows	19
Arts and Crafts	7
Inter-tribal Assemblies, Activities and Tournaments	7
Indian and Princess Pageants	5
Songs and Dances	15
Inter-Cultural Activities	10
General (Combination of two or more of above)	21
Other	5
Total	<u>94</u>

Federal and Non-Federal SchoolsProgram Costs (F.Y. 1970-71)

<u>Heading</u>	<u>Federal (000)</u>		<u>Non-Federal (000)</u>	
	<u>M&O</u>	<u>Cap.</u>	<u>M&O</u>	<u>Cap.</u>
Instruction	12,176.	140.	27,704.	\$ 8,835.
Inspection	26.	-	-	-
Facilities	5,010.	5,925.	-	-
Committees	150.	-	-	-
Guidance	-	-	2,030.	-
Totals	\$17,362.	\$6,065.	\$29,784.	\$8,835.
<u>Other Data</u>			<u>Federal</u>	<u>Non-Federal</u>

Total Enrolment in Indian
Schools (S.Y. 1971/72)

Federal 28,983

Non-Federal 43,626

72,609

72,609

% Indian to Total School Age Pop. (12/71)

72-75% (Data
Extrapolated)

Number Schools (9/71)

274

Number Classrooms (9/71)

1,258

Number Teachers (9/71)

1,329

Number Teacher Aides (9/71)

146

Indian School Committees (9/70)

163

Joint School Agreements (3/72)

550

Spaces Reserved (3/72)

35,907

H.S. Students Graduated/Promoted

(S.Y. 1969/70)

5,573

H.S. Students Failed (S.Y. 1969/70)	944
H.S. Students Withdrew (S.Y. 1969/70)	1,624
H.S. Leavers (S.Y. 1969/70)	2,440

Adult and Vocational Education

Program Costs (F.Y. 1970/71) (000)

<u>Heading</u>	<u>Adult Ed.</u>		<u>Vocational Ed.</u>	
	<u>O&M</u>	<u>Cap.</u>	<u>O&M</u>	<u>Cap.</u>
✓ Administration	412.	--	1,331.	--
Adult Basic Education	576.	--	--	--
Adult Social Education	845.	--	--	--
Pub. Libr. Services	86.	5.	--	--
✓ Un. & Prof. Training			278.	
✓ Vocational Training			873.	4.
✓ Maint. of Pupils in Public School Prgs.			3,190.	--
Totals	<u>\$1,920.</u>	<u>\$5.</u>	<u>\$5,670.</u>	<u>\$4.</u>

Other Data

Adult Basic Education
and Upgrading

Number 383

Participants 5,471

Adult Social Education

and other Services (Nos.)

Skill 674

Leadership 37

Cultural and Citizenship 83

Support 107

Participants 14,638

Training Courses (Vocational Education Only)

	<u>Enrolments</u>	<u>Completions</u>
Vocational Preparation	4,155	2,985
Formal Vocational	1,761	895
Special Vocational	2,230	1,900
University	465	287
Professional	490	261
Registered Nursing	22	20
Teaching	46	32

<u>Students Assisted Financially</u>	<u>By IAND</u>	<u>By CMC</u>	<u>By "Other"</u>
Vocational Preparation	2,322	1,783	655
Formal Vocational	1,378	655	96
Special Vocational	1,619	653	74
University	450	2	7
Professional	497	5	1
Nursing	22	-	5
Teaching	43	-	1

Employment and Relocation (F.Y. 1970/71 exc. as noted)

Program Costs (O&M only)

<u>Heading</u>	<u>\$</u>	<u>Completed</u>	<u>NUMBER Discon- tinued</u>	<u># (31/3/71)</u>
Administration	753,000.			
Placement	512,000.			
Relocation	329,000.			
On-the-Job Training	405,000.	213	73	301

Transporatation	183,000	55,000
Bldg. Facilities	3,887 000	2,175,000
Catering Services	3,451 000	--
Special Services	3,165,000	--
Maint. of Students	1,759,000	--
Extra-Curricular Activities	150,000	--
Other Services	48,000	1,000
Totals	<u>\$14,483,000</u>	<u>\$2,231,000</u>

Heading

<u>Transporation & Maintenance</u>	<u>O&M</u>	<u>Cap.</u>
Maintenance in Private Homes	4,492,000	--
Mid-Day Lunches	565,000	--
Student Allowances	959,000	--
Transport		
Seasonal	376,000	--
Daily	5,553,000	57,000
Totals	<u>\$11,940,000</u>	<u>\$57,000</u>

5

7

INDIGENOUS POLICIES IN MEXICO.

I. AQUEENS OF POLICY

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2. Colony
3. Independence.

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1. The Role of Government in Mexican Society
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NATIONAL INDIGENOUS POLICIESIN MEXICO1. SOURCES OF POLICY

Mexico's Indian policies in this century are inextricably linked to the humanitarian and nationalistic objectives of the Mexican Revolution, (1911-1920). As such, they seek to re-evaluate the indigenous heritage of the majority of Mexicans, and attempt to bring social justice and services to those who continue to live outside the national economy and culture, usually in conditions of abject poverty.

In Mexico, the indigenous population is not defined by law, consequently different criteria are employed to determine who should be the recipients of policy. Therefore, should the following section appear to stray beyond the strict confines of what we in North America would consider "Indigenous Policy" to be, it is done in the hope of clarifying some of the complexities of the issue.

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Mexican Indigenist policies have evolved through at least five discernible "phases" in the past four hundred and fifty years. The first begins when a handful of Spanish soldiers disembarked on the eastern coast of Mexico.

(1) Conquest

The Spanish conquest of Mexico (1519-1521), left in its wake the ruins of an empire which had once embraced millions of people. Only in Mexico (and Peru) did the Spaniards find large extended territories and vast population nuclei, already subject to an autochthonous imperialism. The subsequent creation of Spanish Viceroyalties in these areas, had they not been founded on the demographic, economic and political concentrations of previously existing empires, would not have been possible. Since the Aztec empire was a reality when the Spaniards arrived in Mexico, the Spanish task was facilitated by enlisting the support of those groups subject to Aztec rule and turning them against their masters. Once the Aztecs had been subjugated, the Spaniards then turned on their former allies and again converted them to a subject people.

The conquerors' mission was threefold. The Spanish crown sponsored the expedition to replenish the royal treasury, attempting to enhance its supremacy over a recalcitrant nobility, and sent representatives, soldiers and friars to do its bidding. The representatives were to ensure that one-fifth of material resources discovered would find

their way into the treasury, and that human resources would become Spanish subjects endowed with all the immunities, like "unto our subjects in Spain". The soldiers, however, had come for a different purpose. In their native land most had been poor men and were lured to the new world by the possibilities of material rewards and liberty they could never enjoy at home. Since they had risked their lives and expended their fortunes in the Conquest, they felt the country and the Indians were rightfully theirs. While not disloyal to the Crown, the conquerors felt they had a right to convert Mexico into a feudal paradise where the land would be carved up into great estates and cultivated by the Indians as serfs. Each conqueror would become a feudal lord himself, rendering at best nominal obedience to the distant Spanish monarch.

The friars came for yet a different purpose: to convert and add to the ranks of the faithful. Of the three types of Spaniards, this last group alone treated the Indians with humanity. By training and belief the religious orders were the natural defenders of the Indians against the conquerors, perceiving the Indians more as souls for God's design, rather than as another exploitable resource for the designs of men.

you don't really say anything

The cross-purposes of the Crown, the conquerors and the religious orders, prevented any one of them from establishing its own particular ideal. More important, the effects of

their combined presence on the indigenous population was catastrophic.

The Conquest itself was accompanied by great physical destruction and bloodshed. In retaliation for one defeat, the Spaniards annihilated the Aztec population, tortured its leaders, and razed the capital city of Tenochtitlán into the dust.

The remaining native population was soon relegated to working in alien fields, mines or mills in a condition of forced labor and slavery, with the accustomed fabric of indigenous life violently disrupted and the traditional Gods cast from their altars, the ancient temples buried under baroque Catholic churches.

The basic man-land equation was drastically upset by the Spanish presence. Indigenous agricultural methods consisted of an intensive rotational system of maize-bean-and-squash-planting dictated by the arid and sparse ecological milieu. When the Spaniards arrived they implemented their own extensive methods, flooding the land with sheep and cattle. They also introduced the plow which, while expanding the potentially cultivatable area, produced only half the yield provided by the native hoe. These practices and the appropriation of canals that had formerly irrigated indigenous lands, soon imperilled the production of basic crops and led to severe famines throughout the sixteenth century.

Finally it was the mere presence of the alien population

which was to provide the Indian population with its most singular tragedy. In the first hundred and thirty years of Spanish occupation, six-sevenths of the estimated fifteen million ^{and} ~~Indigenes~~ were decimated by epidemics of small-pox, typhoid fever, measles, malaria and yellow fever introduced by the Europeans.

(2) Colony

Immediately after the conquest the Spaniards began to establish an elaborate caste system to maintain the distinctions between themselves, the Indians and the African slaves, imported to perform the systematic labor which the Indians would not or could not do.

Initially the indigenous population had been the sole labour force for the capitalist pretensions of the conqueror-colonizer in New Spain, but it was the black slave who became the indispensable element in the capitalist development of Mexico during the colonial period. This occurred for two major reasons. As mentioned above, the Indian population could not be coerced to perform certain tasks to the Spaniards' satisfaction. Also, the use of ^{Indians} ~~indigenes~~ as slave labor was curtailed by the Crown in a series of laws (Recopilación de Indias) beginning in 1542. Although humanitarian in content, the laws were pragmatic in purpose. The Crown wanted the Indians free, governed by Spanish law, converted to the true faith, paid for their labor in honest coin and protected

from abuse. The laws made provision for special rights and privileges pertaining to the continuance of communal land-holdings around Indian villages, the preservation of native government on the local level and indigenous tribunals for the regulation of local disputes. They were pragmatic in that they were designed to prevent the conqueror-colonizer from the unrestricted control over as many subjects as would pose a threat to royal hegemony. Unfortunately, in the distance separating Spain from her American colony, the declaration of fiat became impotent as officials proved incompetent, corruptible or both. What effective authority the Crown possessed in the Americas, it undermined by returning its officials to Spain every few years, enabling the conquerors and their descendants to eat away at the administrative rules with obdurate noncompliance.

Hence, while it was no longer legally permissible to enslave Indians, the colonizers still forced the Indians to labor against their own volition only now gave them token payment to circumvent the stipulations of the law. This system, known as repartimiento, required that each community contribute a given number of labourers to the colonizers each week, thus neatly side-stepping the Crown's attempts at protecting the aboriginal population from abuse.

By 1650, the hierarchy created by the Spaniards consisted of 120,000 colonizers, crown representatives and friars from the Peninsula, 1,250,000 subjugated and divided Indians, 10,000 African slaves, and 130,000 members of a fourth group brought into existence by the miscegenation of

the other three. The mestizo, who today forms the bulk of Mexico's population and represents the ethnic symbol of Mexican identity, was throughout the colonial and independence periods the social and biological orphan of Mexican society. Initially the child of the Spanish conqueror (who did not bring women with him), and mothered by indigenous females, the mestizo was in time rejected by both groups and left to fend for himself. Within the Spanish hierarchy there was no place for these offspring; they could not be considered slaves owing to their patrimony, yet the fathering Spaniards would seldom acknowledge them as their own. The Indians, on the other hand, regarded the mestizos as a disruptive element in tribal life and soon banished them from their communities. The term, mestizo, while possessing a racial connotation, was for the most part based on social rather than racial discrimination. In time, the ranks of this nonfunctional element in American Hispanic society was added to by detribalized Indians, the mixed offspring of slave and other-caste unions, and the conquerors and children of conquerors who had come off second-best in the appropriation of the spoils of conquest. Relegated to the fringes of society and living a culturally disinherited existence, the mestizo condition in Mexico (indeed throughout Latin America) in the colonial period is best described as one of long-persisting social alienation. For his own survival he worked in the mines, in the towns about the mines and to some degree

in the cities as a craftsman, laborer and petty official as the sole element of free labor in the Viceroyalty. Although free, his economic condition was rarely better than the two other subject castes and his immediate prospects for social mobility were nil.

During the colonial period Mexico came to be divided into two types of social organization, villages and plantation communities, a division which three hundred years later accelerated the process of revolution and which in spite of that revolution still persists. Where the land was rich and plentiful, the villages tended to disappear, consumed by the Spanish plantation or hacienda which in its grossest proportions was also known as the latifundio or vast rural estate. The villages and minifundios (small rural holdings) held by Indians or peasant mestizos which lay in the path of the hacienda were often appropriated by the hacendado (plantation owner) and the members of those communities became the peons, (sharecroppers, day-workers) or the acasillados (literally: those pertaining to) those belonging to a given hacienda. On the other hand, in the mountainous states like Oaxaca and Puebla, the villages persisted in great number and with them the languages, many of the customs and the traditions which predated the conquest itself. Similarly, in those regions where the laws providing for private indigenous republics were enforced, (usually owing to supervision by Spanish friars), changes were few and

traditional customs and conceptions of economy prevailed in spite of the missionaries' attempts to modify them.

It was, for the most part, the two different conceptions of property that provided the widest gap between European and native understanding and which to this day inhibit otherwise successful programs of acculturation. To the Indian, land was and has largely remained a communal possession; to the Spaniard and his descendants land belonged to the individual. It is upon this difference in attitude toward land that a large part of the history of Mexico has turned, and the conflict came to be embodied in the two distinct institutions named above, the village versus the plantation.

Nonetheless, the colony survived for three hundred years, the Spanish hacienda and the Indian republics, each little modified from its original form, dividing the land, however inequitably, between them. As a landed gentry the Spaniards preserved a largely feudal economy, the Indians remained in their private republics and paid the former tribute sufficient to cover their conspicuous consumption, while the black slaves supported the capitalist sector with their labor in the Spanish mines and mills.

(3) Independence

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the rigid order established by the Spanish administrators became threatened by developments both within and outside the colony.

The internal difficulty related to the inordinate growth of the mestizo sector which, by 1790, had expanded to include 2½ million souls. Together with 5 million persons of indigenous descent these groups posed, if nothing else, a numerical threat to the superordinate caste.

Within the superordinate caste itself divisions were now in evidence between the Spaniards who came to Mexico as officials on a tour of duty, and pure-blooded Spanish descendants of the colonizers. This latter group, known as criollos, constituted a sub-caste, since they were not permitted any important role in the political administration of the colony. The Crown reasoned that power should be dispensed solely through the viceroys, military commanders, high ecclesiastics and bureaucrats tied closely to the metropolitan apron strings. The criollos, in spite of their small numbers, (only two hundred thousand immigrants came to Mexico in the three hundred years following the conquest) constituted the most powerful economic element in New Spain. They ran the haciendas, the plantations and the mines but, excluded from the sphere of political influence and restricted in their trade by the monopolistic pretensions of the Spanish monarchy, they grew frustrated and alienated from the mother country.

The external factor which pushed the divisions and apprehensions of Spanish-American society to the surface was the deposing of the Spanish monarch Ferdinand VII, when the

Napoleonic armies conquered Spain. With the French emperor's brother on the Spanish throne, the issue of allegiance wrought confusion and uncertainty in the colony. The criollos sought to establish a junta in the name of the deposed monarch, ostensibly attempting to found a tradition of popular sovereignty in the Americas. The Spaniards on the other hand were fearful lest the theory of popular sovereignty lead to self-government and undermine the political dominance they had enjoyed since the conquest. There is reason to believe that the criollo plan was in fact a pretext for achieving independence, and the allegiance sworn to Ferdinand was designed to cloud the issue so that they would not have to confront immediately the tactically and numerically superior Spanish garrisons.

The criollos, however, were upstaged by a mestizo uprising led by a rural priest, Miguel Hidalgo, and later another half-caste, José-Maria Morelos. With the support of several hundred thousand mestizos and Indians the uprising very nearly drove the Spaniards out; only betrayals and one tactical error resulted in defeat.

The significance of the uprising lies in the fact that it represents the first rebellion against Spanish authority in three hundred years of rule. The issues it raised were those which were to underlie Mexican political history for a century to come, and the program of its leaders foreshadowed those of the Mexican Revolution of 1910. Morelos, in a

Constitution issued in 1813, wanted to make Mexico independent, deriving its sovereignty from the people; to break up the large estates; to divide the wealth of the rich between the poor and the government; to abolish slavery, caste distinctions, government monopolies, the sales tax, the tribute. Finally, ~~he devised a federal constitution based on universal suffrage.~~ Unfortunately the day of federal government had not yet come to Mexico and Morelos was defeated and executed. With his death in 1815 the short-lived mass movement for Mexican independence came to an end.

A new turn of events in Spain in 1820 provided the necessary fuel for breaking the yoke of Spanish rule, although it did not lead to the type of republic envisaged by Morelos and his followers. When Napoleon was defeated in Spain, and Ferdinand reassumed the Spanish throne, he was forced to reintroduce the Liberal Constitution promulgated in 1812. The criollos, who had enjoyed the first taste of independence during the mestizo uprising, used the Constitution as a means of rejecting Spanish rule, claiming it violated their principles, and forged an unholy alliance with the smoldering remnants of the mestizo rebellion. Together, these unlikely allies succeeded in driving the Spaniards out.

Once their immediate objectives had been achieved, the common cause gave way to turbulence, chaos and civil strife. The basic dichotomy centered on the divisions which had existed between criollo and mestizo before Independence; the absence

of a common foe pronounced the divisions between them.

The criollos were, generally speaking, conservatives. They had enjoyed a unique position in the colonial structure and simply wanted to expand it with political authority. In the period after Independence they usually favoured a centralized government that would give Mexico City control over the country. Despite the break from Spain, they were still monarchists and in the early years of Independence supported a short-lived monarchy, proclaiming an enterprising, criollo, Agustín Iturbide, emperor of Mexico. Later, rather than acknowledge the mestizo right to rule the nation, they would turn the country over to the French and allow them to bring in Maximilian as emperor. They favoured special privileges for the clergy and the army over other citizens, in short, clinging to Spanish customs and practices and attempting to dominate the land much in the same fashion as before the Spaniards had left.

As new masters of the house, the criollos proved generally inept. Since the expulsion of the Spaniards a power vacuum existed on the national level which the criollos, because of the scarcity of their numbers and their political naivety, could not fill. Experience in the domination of a region or a latifundio was not sufficient to handle the complex dimensions of national rule in a period of accelerated change. More than half of the national territory was lost in a war with the United States in the first twenty years of criollo

rule, a French invasion force and a French emperor controlled the nation for five years in the mid-nineteenth century, and a civil war between the conservative criollos and the liberal mestizos drenched Mexico in blood and led Mexicans to murder one another over issues that seemed to have no solution.

The mestizos slowly eroded criollo power over the first part of the century and then seized it for themselves during the second. Essentially the mestizo leaders were liberals who wanted a federal government. Schooled in law and under the influences of developments in France and the United States, they were republican, anticlerical and in favor of free competition. They opposed special privileges and favored the doctrine that all men are equal before the law.

The new order which the liberals were attempting to impose was embodied in the constitution of 1857 and took effect ten years later when the French were evicted from Mexican soil.

Independence had not affected the position of the Indians until this point, since the revolt had simply substituted criollos for Spaniards and, except when enlisted to fight for criollos or mestizos, the Indian had remained a near-slave on the hacienda or isolated in his private republic.

Under the 1857 constitution, a new indigenous policy came into being, dedicated to the inclusion of the Indians

into the national society. The prevailing liberal laissez-faire ideology which permeated the reforms, dictated that individual progress would add up to collective progress and hence the distinctions between Indians and other groups would have to be removed to allow the Indians to develop. The caste order was abolished, the Indians were granted legal citizenship along with all other Mexicans, and the term "Indian" was stricken from official usage. Unfortunately, this attempt at spontaneous acculturation after three hundred years of exploitation, domination, and protection through mere fiat, worsened rather than improved the Indians' condition. The reforms swept away what little protection the Indians had and put nothing in its place. Royal protection had disappeared during the War of Independence, but also gone were the labor exchanges, special Indian courts, the legal limits to Indian debts, and the laws which had governed the nature and duration of work open to Indians. The communal land-holdings were divided up among the members of the community, laying them open to exploitation by the ever-expanding haciendas. The Indians, the roots of their existence threatened, either rebelled or withdrew further into lands yet untouched by the "foreigners" because they were inaccessible, of little agricultural value, or both.

The incorporative policy, designed to bring the Indian into full citizenship, did not make allowances for his physical

and cultural media. The goal was to integrate the Indian by making him "white"; to secularize and modernize his traditional community, for a western nation to be forged. While only incidental to the argument, it is particularly ironic that the two main perpetrators of this policy, Benito Juarez and Porfirio Diaz, (the two rulers of Mexico from 1867 until the revolution of 1910), were both racially although not culturally full-blooded Indians.

In fairness to Juarez, it must be pointed out that he did have the best interests of the nation at heart, and did not foresee the deleterious effects the policy would have on the native people. He successfully undermined the special position of the church and the army, and for a time at least converted Mexico into a democratic and federal republic. For Juarez, the Constitution above all things had to be upheld, the nation preserved against foreign invasion and saved from internal treason. It was under the rule of Porfirio Diaz (1876-1910), that the major abuses against the people, particularly the Indians, took place.

The Diaz regime began auspiciously. After the turmoil of the earlier years of the nineteenth century and Mexico's defeat in the 1847 war with the United States, many of the people were ready for a change that would bring order and development to the political, economic and social structures of the nation. The generation assuming political responsibility in the late nineteenth century dedicated itself to this task

zealously. A new type of national education and a new type of social order, which claimed scientific principles as the foundation of both was established. Positivism, as the ideology was called, derived its postulates from the French philosopher Comte (1798-1857). It was reasoned that through the Comtian principles, the Mexican people would be able to establish a mental and social order that would make them fit for true liberty and democracy. And, after all, wasn't positivism the philosophy of practical people like the Anglo-Saxons, who had made their countries into great nations?

For the grand political, social and economic evolution to take place, however, political liberty would have to be sacrificed for the time being, to allow for that degree of social organization without which political evolution would remain but a chimera. Only a strong state could work such a miracle, said the ideologues, hence all political power and with it all political liberty were handed to Diaz.

The ideal did not stand up well to reality. Instead of producing men who had made great nations such as the United States and Great Britain, positivism soon become another instrument serving the power-elite, a distinguishing characteristic of Mexico and other Latin-American republics at most times in their short history.

Diaz ruled as if the Constitution did not exist. He appointed his friends to the legislature, made them governors

for life and placed his own political bosses in the local municipalities. The new privileged classes who replaced the army and the church consisted of a small Mexican bourgeoisie which became narrower as Diaz only granted his friends the right of getting rich. The source of wealth stayed mostly the same as during the colony, consisting in the exploitation of the rural worker. The colonial land-owner simply gave way to the "porfirian" landowner. What progress there was worked towards greater efficiency in the methods of exploitation, the "official" machinery permitting the landed gentry to accumulate more acres than had been possible under the Spanish Viceroy.

During this period, a great part of the land found its way into foreign hands, and with it, all the mining and manufacturing, a substantial part of the commerce and the new oil industry as well. According to Diaz' interpretation of positivist philosophy, the foreigner was to be encouraged, as his presence was making Mexico a progressive nation, even if he was not really concerned with Mexico's progress. Because the Mexican bourgeoisie preferred to exploit the peasants or the treasury instead of industry, with which they were unfamiliar, the industrial development that might have helped the nation develop during this period never materialized. The few Mexicans interested in industry interpreted it to be the sole property of the French, British or American firms who employed them, and placed their loyalties to these

enterprises above their interest in the nation.

During this period, rural Mexico and its inhabitants were ignored, except when they were exploited to support the elite, or unless, as the Yaqui Indians had done, they resisted the infringement of the haciendas, the building of the railway lines, or the presence of the oil wells on their lands. Then, they received national attention as squads of Diaz' troops descended on their villages and exterminated them. The only options available in rural Mexico then were those present since the conquest; virtual enslavement to the hacienda or further retreat to the mountains and valleys where "civilization" had not yet arrived.

For what was now close to four hundred years, with only a few minor variations, the ruling theory in Mexico still held that the Indian was an incompetent, an inferior condemned by nature to be the eternal pariah as against the "civilized", "cultured" and better endowed elements of the population. The Diaz regime justified its position with its own interpretation of social darwinism and dedicated itself to a logic that would ensure the Indians and rural mestizos the bottom position of the societal heap.

In spite of three hundred years as a colony and one century of Independence, not to mention endless rebellions, civil wars, foreign invasions and changes of constitutions, Mexico had never really become a nation. It was "a land of

locally bred colonists who for all purposes felt themselves living in a foreign country and sought their inspiration outside national boundaries especially in France. Their painting, literature, art and architecture in the second half of the nineteenth century had the exotic quality of things imported from the outside. The large land-owners, the educated, the philosophers, all belonged intellectually to a non-Mexican universe. In spite of the fact that the Indian and the white man were equal before the law and that an occasional Indian like Juarez or Diaz could, by the accident of revolution or political upheaval, climb to the presidency, it remained true that for all other purposes the gap between the Spanish on the one hand (at least those who considered themselves Spanish in social terms) and the underlying population on the other remained unbridgeable."¹

¹F. Tannenbaum, (1968). p.53

B. INDIGENISM(1) The Politics of Revolution

The failure or misapplication of positivism as the guiding ideology for Mexican development, a social situation virtually unchanged from the colonial period, and a corrupt regime serving only elite interests, more often than not foreign, bred a reaction of disgust among the next generation of Mexican intellectuals. Discontent also ran high among the masses of Mexico, whose condition had worsened under the Diaz administration. The aspirations of rural Mexicans, Indians and mestizos alike remained frustrated.

In 1910, after thirty-four years of uninterrupted rule, Diaz announced he would run for another six-year presidential term. His bid was challenged by Francisco Madero, a young, wealthy foreign-educated criollo from northern Mexico.

The results of the "election" were predictable, Madero received an 'official' 196 votes to Diaz' millions. For his pains, the challenger was imprisoned on election day and then allowed to "escape" to the United States, the customary reward for potential "agitators".

On November 20th 1910, Madero changed his tactics, and issued a manifesto from Texas, the Plan of San Luis Potosi,² which called for the nullification of the election and urged the Mexican people to stage a revolt against the dictator.

In its early stages the uprising did not draw massive support but it did attract sufficient adherents to topple the internally weak Diaz regime, and in so doing marked the point of departure for contemporary Mexico.

The army which defeated Diaz was of a tradition reminiscent of the Independence movement and the internecine wars of the nineteenth century. Small bands of barefoot men, poorly armed, living off the land and led by self-appointed leaders, made common cause in the dictator's defeat. The uprisings were often spontaneous, uncoordinated, owing their allegiance solely to their immediate leaders, and unaware of events on a national scale.

When Madero emerged as the head of the revolutionary forces, the seeds of something far beyond a mere change in leadership were on the wind. The people were hungry for land; they wanted a Mexico they could call their own.

But the new leader was a mild individual, kind and well-intentioned, hardly the type to set the world aglow or to tear apart the old order. His platform consisted of narrowly defined political motives. Chief among these were the removal of Diaz and his political henchmen, the establishment of honest electoral practices, and the upholding of the provisions of the 1857 Constitution, which Diaz had all but ignored. He also made provision for land reform, assuring the people that the lands which they had lost under the old regime would be

restored to them, but this aspect of his program was vague and it soon became apparent it was not among his major priorities.

Since Madero had challenged and then defeated Diaz, he came to be considered the Messiah who would lead Mexico out of the wilderness, but his limited vision, and his inattention to economic and social objectives, particularly land reform, soon eclipsed his leadership and cost him the support of many of his followers.

As had happened before throughout Mexican political life, common purpose for a specific goal gave way to diversity and dissension once the dust of battle settled and the immediate objective had been achieved. The chasm between the desires of the common man and the political leadership of the nation threatened to yawn open once again.

This time, however, strength lay in the hands of the oppressed, and it was the peasant who was to force his program and his personality on Mexico. In the north, the bandit, Pancho Villa, joined the battle commanding the support of forty thousand personal followers, most of them peasants; Alvaro Obregón, a peasant from another northern state, rose to become a great military and political leader of the revolution; Calles a poor, rural school-teacher later dominated the political scene for almost a generation; Lázaro Cárdenas joined the revolt at sixteen, became President of the Republic in 1934 and until his death in 1970 was the most

beloved and influential of Mexico's public figures. From the outset, it was the determination of these men and others like them, the poor, the dispossessed, who sounded the death-knell of the old order.

As important as any of the above, were the efforts of an Indian peasant, Emiliano Zapata, who was the first revolutionary to articulate the objectives of the movement in his Ayala Plan (1911).³ His stubborn courage, resisting the expansion of the sugar plantations, years before Diaz was overthrown, set an example for many others. Assassinated in the bitter infighting which occurred during the consolidation of the revolution in 1919, he remains to this day the greatest folk-hero of the revolt.

What distinguishes Zapata for our purposes was his refusal to lay down arms when Madero came to power, and his insistence that he would not do so until land was restored to the villages. At the time he was one of the few Madero supporters who could clearly see the issues at stake. When Madero's half-heartedness to land reform became evident, Zapata denounced the President and announced his famous plan. The Ayala plan firmly imposed the agrarian stamp on the Revolution, by demanding immediate restitution of lands lost under the Diaz administration. It called Madero a traitor for cooperating with Diaz politicians and wealthy landowners (Madero had in fact done this in his attempts to build a

coalition government), and ordered the peasants to take forceful possession of the lands. The 'Plan' is better described as a statement of revolutionary sentiment than an effective program of agrarian reform, but it approximated the aspirations of the downtrodden and it imposed the direction which would be taken by the revolution for the next thirty years.

Madero and his vice-president were killed in 1913, in a counter-revolutionary coup, led by General Victoriano Huerta who then took control of the nation. The course of the revolution continued shortly afterwards, when Huerta was overthrown by another general, Venustiano Carranza.

Carranza was not naturally predisposed to the goals enunciated by the masses through such men as Zapata or Pancho Villa. In fact, the manifesto he issued to the nation urging that Huerta be defeated, made even less reference to Mexico's economic and social problems than did Madero's Plan of San Luis Potosí. Nonetheless, Carranza was a wily politician who had survived from the Diaz regime and he was always prepared to shift with the tide. Opposed by both Villa and Zapata and the more radical elements, Carranza derived his support mainly from an alliance of groups outraged by Madero's assassination.

But the Revolution had so far produced no formalized programs and the defeat of Huerta had been obtained at the expense of dividing the military forces between Villa

and Carranza. Villa threatened to overthrow Carranza and this forced the latter into seeking popular support among those to whom the Revolution had become a social movement. It was in this manner that Carranza became the unwitting cement which linked the political and social aspects of the revolution. Carranza later defeated Villa militarily in 1915.

Accepting what political expediency demanded, and embracing the demands of the more vocal and powerful elements upon whom his survival depended, Carranza announced his newly-discovered commitment to social justice in a series of reform promises to labor and peasant groups, among them the first agrarian law,⁴ to redistribute land to the peasants and Indians. In amplified form this would be incorporated into the Constitution of 1917.

Legal machinery to put the agrarian law into effect was created in 1916 by the formation of National and State Agrarian Commissions which would review petitions and provide land accordingly. Whatever his motives, Carranza's program reinforced the Agrarian line taken by Zapata in the Ayala Plan, and with it he provided instruments for the implementation of those goals. While on the right track, the program was nonetheless in need of significant revision for it to become an effective tool of social legislation.

The onus of restitution had been left with the villages instead of the government, and in a nation where the

majority of the rural population was illiterate, and the villages themselves isolated, it could be years before the policy was implemented. Also, the provisions of the law excluded certain kinds of villages, and did not generally threaten the break-up of the haciendas. Its greatest shortcoming lay in the provision of an injunction which could be used by the individual whose lands were subject to expropriation, up to and including the stage of definitive grant by the President of the Republic.

In a nation where men had been fighting for land to ensure their survival, the legal delays provided by this injunction resulted in people ignoring the law and expropriating what they saw fit without legal sanction. For the most part the haciendas themselves refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Carranza's decrees, and the laws which were expected to reduce the degree of violence for a time intensified it.

The "fine print" which covered the redistribution of land and those entitled to it was not resolved satisfactorily until the revision and expansion of these basic principles were sanctioned in Article 27 of the 1917 Constitution. Even then, it was a full decade before the 'Reform of the Basic Law of Restitution and Dotation' (1927)⁵ made the principles of land reform into an operative instrument of social legislation.

5. Appendix IV.

In the meantime, the laws brought Carranza the support he needed: the labor unions, the agrarians, and all those bent on reducing foreign influence were his. But to give his power a legal basis something else was needed, and a convention to reform the Constitution of 1857 was decided upon in 1916.

The basic charter upon which the foundations of Mexican society have since been built stems from two sources. First, it was a reiteration of all the concepts of democratic government outlined in the Constitution of 1857: freedom of association, worship and speech, representative government, universal suffrage, periodic elections, the separation of powers, the independence of state and municipal governments, the right to trial by jury and the right to property. Second, it built upon this foundation a series of 'radical' provisions in the areas of agrarian reform, Article 27;⁶ labor reforms, Article 123; and reforms curtailing the institutional powers of the Church, Article 130, which dramatically altered the emphasis of Constitutional protection from the individual to the society as a whole.

The principles reaffirmed from the 1857 Constitution had not in themselves proven sufficient to protect Mexico from either political chaos or tyranny. If the Revolution was not to prove once again a vain effort, something was needed to re-establish a balance in Mexican society. It was therefore only by attacking the entrenched forces in the

body politic, such as the large plantations and foreign interests, and then destroying them, that the "radicals" within the convention could balance the social structure and strengthen the state. It was to this end that writers of the new Constitution devoted themselves.

Although the radicals prevailed, the Constitution by itself proved no guarantor of immediate peace, nor did it at once redress the social injustices of three hundred years.

Carranza proved corruptible as a leader and met much of the popular turbulence with suppression. He employed martial law against the rising trade unions he had at one time encouraged, and fought petty engagements all over the country with his rivals. His term of office drawing to a close, he attempted to leave the country with the better part of the public treasury, but was caught in the attempt and later murdered.

Alvaro Obregón (1920-1924) next rose to the presidential chair, and under his leadership a period of comparative peace returned to Mexico. Obregón enjoyed the prestige of the army, which assured him of the authority needed to pacify the country; he rallied labour by encouraging the rise of trade unions; and he was the first of Mexico's presidents since the Revolution to make peace with the Zapatistas. He accepted their demands for land redistribution and reformed

the agrarian laws to make them fully operative for the first time.⁷

Obregón's open acceptance of the popular impulse marks the end of the strife of the revolutionary years. In spite of a brief rebellion to reverse the land program and some momentary convulsions between presidential changeovers, Mexico slowly settled in to a period of relative peace and democracy.

(2) The Indian Heritage and the National Community

If the Revolution marks the emergence of the mestizo as the acknowledged symbol of Mexican ethnicity it also marks the emergence of the submerged elements of the old order, the peons of the hacienda and the Indians of the Indian communities. Where the economic cement of this alliance was land reform, the division of land among the propertyless, the ideological cement was Indigenism, the search for roots in the Indian past.

This movement began in the late nineteenth century as a rather self-conscious intellectual attempt on the part of a few individuals to draw moral inspiration for the new order from the legacy of the Indian past. "With the coming of the Revolution their symbols and attitudes achieved a new and wider popularity. Indian themes sounded again in music, populated the murals of the Mexican Neo-Realists, and came to guide the hand of an architect designing the

7. See Appendix IV.

new university in Mexico City. Heroes of the Indian past became national archetypes, collective scorn and pity were heaped upon Malinche, the Indian concubine of Cortes, for the betrayal of her fellow Indians into Spanish hands... Transmuted into myth the indigenous past became a golden age, the colonial period a time of trial and darkness, the Mestizo present, a return to the abundance and innocence of the country's golden youth."⁸

But the movement went far beyond this romantic attachment to a gilded age, as "... a primary effect of the revolutionary nationalism led to a change in attitude towards the Indian. The contending factions required the Indians to fight their battles and promised them restitution for so doing. From the promises made to the Indian in the Revolution there emerged the compromise of Indigenism, a persistent concept glorifying the Indian which attempted to bring him into the economic and social life of the national community."⁹

In binding national values to a positive appreciation of the Indian heritage in the national community, the ideologues of indigenist philosophy began to erase the conceptual barriers to the Indian's assimilation and widened and transformed the nature of Mexican nationalism. In the main, it was the anthropological approach to Indigenism which was to provide the scientific basis for the cultivation of the movement and

8. Eric R. Wolfe. (1959), pp.249-250.

which would ensure a persistent adhesion to policies that would bring about a continuing economic and social assimilation of the indigenous population.

C. THE FIRST INDIGENISTS(1) The Pioneers

In 1915, a group of young Mexican anthropologists attending the Pan-American Scientific Conference in Washington made recommendations that the participating nations establish institutes to study the aboriginal people within their national boundaries, to incorporate them into national life.

On the basis of these recommendations the Mexican government established the Directorate of Anthropology and Regional Populations in 1918 under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture and Public Works. The goals of the directorate were; to acquire information "of the racial characteristics and examples of the material and intellectual culture, the languages and dialects, the economic, physical and biological condition of the present and past aboriginal populations of Mexico; to investigate the most adequate and practical methods for immediately bringing about the full physical, intellectual, moral and economic development of these people; and to prepare for their racial approximation, cultural fusion, linguistic unification and economic equilibrium so that they might contribute to a coherent and defined nationalism and the creation of a true nation."¹⁰

The significance of the directorate was that, born of the heat of full revolution, it linked the first vestiges

10. Manuel Gamio, (1918) p. 51.

of official policy to nationalistic and liberal-democratic goals. It acknowledged anthropologists as those most capable to perform the task, thus giving rise to the preeminence of anthropological theory for dealing with the problems of indigenous people. This in turn imposed an 'official' stamp on Mexican anthropology itself, as it was considered to be "that science designed for the improved governing of men."¹¹ Finally, its principles expanded and improved upon through experience, the goals of the directorate have since served as the continuing basis for Mexican indigenist policies.

In the political turmoil of the early 1920's the directorate was suspended before it could implement its program. Anthropological studies themselves passed to the Ministry of Public Education, a development which eventually contributed to the application of anthropological principles in the area of indigenous education.

Initially, however, these studies did not receive wide support, since the Minister of Education, José Vasconcelos, considered the discipline dysfunctional and claimed that it "maximized the differences between groups of people".

Vasconcelos was said to have approached his task with the zeal, albeit also the attitude, of a sixteenth-century missionary. He initiated the first widespread rural school program and established a nation-wide literacy campaign whereby those knowing how to read would teach those who didn't.

11. Gonzalo Aguirre Baltrán, 1964, p. 1.

Improvised schools run by volunteers, and "ambulatory teachers", carried their mission to the hamlets and villages for the first time, and community development programs were begun as the teachers were encouraged to "delicately and with proper circumspection also give advice about cleanliness and hygiene, food, and other essentials of a better life."¹²

But Vasconcelos made no allowance for the Indian to be incorporated into the national society if he brought along his cultural baggage. To his way of thinking, Mexican education was to be Spanish in all details. As Mexican citizens, the Indians were to receive an equal education with the remainder of the rural poor; the meat of the instruction would come from learning Spanish and reading the works of Tolstoy, Shaw, Ibsen and Perez-Galdos, not to mention the classic works of Plato, Plutarch, Sophocles and Homer.

In this respect Vasconcelos' reforms can only be considered partial measures, and he fell prey to the fate of other mild reformers of his day. In 1924 he left his post at the ministry, and the course of Mexican education took a more "radical" bent as the rural school moved away from Hispanic influences, assuming a nativist posture designed to make the modern world intelligible to the rural population, particularly the Indian.

Such was the work undertaken by the new élite in the Ministry of Public Education after 1924. Rafael Ramirez,

12. Tannenbaum. op. cit., p. 156.

Manuel Gamio and Moises Saenz pioneered a host of projects to upgrade the quality of rural education and with it the quality of rural life. Under the leadership of Ramirez, the rural school expanded its scope of activities to establish a number of "cultural missions", offshoots of the "ambulatory teachers". The missions gave instruction in such areas as soap-making, tanning, health, physical education, carpentry and domestic science. Corps of these travelling instructors combed the countryside, settling in a community for a period of from three to eight weeks, and gathered in as many teachers as possible from the region. Once organized and acquainted with the community, the 'mission' set up a model school to provide instruction to the community itself. It also attempted to upgrade the quality of local teachers by encouraging them to adopt new teaching methods and to expand the scope of their activities to include health instruction, new methods of agriculture or simply the cleaning up of the town itself.

The "cultural missions" were strictly for any rural community which showed an interest in having them. Programs specifically designed for Indian needs were for the most part still rare in 1925.

It is in this regard that the work of Gamio and Saenz has its major impact. Gamio had been responsible for the founding of the Directorate of Anthropology in 1918. Since the departure of Vasconcelos in 1924, he had come to occupy

a senior position in the Ministry of Education, where he influenced the development of both the rural school and the "cultural missions", imbuing each of these with an anthropological bias, demanding that each base itself on a thorough integral study of the region where work would be done, well before the programs were put into effect. More important, Gamio initiated scientific studies of indigenous groups in different parts of the nation for the purpose of fostering the development of instruments of research and action to bring about the incorporation of the Indian in national life. Gamio believed that Mexico's progress lay in becoming a "western" nation, but that this should not exclude the indigenous sector of the population, nor should their art, craftsmanship, cooperative ways of working and sense of community be disrupted. His task was to facilitate the creation of a just and modern society with all the elements of the intellectual and material culture of the population, regardless of their ethnic background. Gamio redefined the Indian, abandoning a racial classification, and substituting for it a definition based on cultural differences, designed solely to accommodate the indigenous groups into national life. Gamio's work places him foremost among the theoreticians of contemporary indigenism.

Moises Saenz, another educator and anthropologist, complemented the theoretical work undertaken by Gamio by implementing several programs that would concretely establish the basis of future indigenist policy.

In the early stages of the revolution there remained a degree of skepticism as to whether the Indian "could be civilized", and to prove this point some well-intentioned but inappropriate projects were initiated. One example was the "House for the Indigenous Student" established in Mexico City between 1925 and 1932, under the direction of Saenz. This boarding school brought to the city students from the most primitive tribes of Mexico to prove to the incredulous and contemptuous that the quality of the Indian was "good". The school demonstrated the obvious: that there is no reason for assuming that there should be an innate difference between the basic abilities of Indians and city dwellers, and consequently its very success proved to be its failure. The "civilized" students acquired a contempt for their own culture, preferring to be "successful" at menial levels in the city. A consciousness of initial failure dawned on the educators and the school was modified to be given a new purpose as a rural training centre. As of old, students from primitive villages were brought to the city to be trained as rural teachers, later to return to their villages as leaders and educators. A few years again proved the obvious: that rural teachers can be trained only in a

rural environment, and that the gap created by the removal of young people from a primitive community to a modern and sophisticated one is so great that it defeats the purpose of trying to make them into rural leaders. By 1932 Saenz realized that rural teachers must be trained in the environments in which they live and in which they must continue to live. The school in Mexico City was abolished, and its high budget given over to the creation of ten centres of indigenous education in indigenous areas themselves.

Saenz also initiated another program of more generalized education, which would fall under the heading of what today is called "community development". His experimental Station for the Incorporation of the Indian, in Carapan, Michoacan (1932) was established as the first pilot project of its kind in Mexico to develop "research and studies in the area of social anthropology to learn of the realities of the Indian milieu, and the phenomena operative in the process of assimilation of the aboriginal population into the Mexican milieu."¹³ The project itself, designed to last three years, did not get beyond its seventh month and like the experiment with the "House for the Indigenous Student" was in the short run a dismal failure. But, as the failure of the boarding schools in large cities had led to an important re-evaluation, so too did the failure of this experiment. In his report, Saenz brought to light two significant points which have since influenced the development of indigenist projects.

13. M. Saenz, (1936) p. 352.

First, Saenz cited "the difficulty of harmonizing the goals of scientific speculation with social action."¹⁴ His recommendation postulated a division of labour between those elaborating anthropological theory and implementing policy, the bridge between the two to be provided by the director of a project. The director would wear two hats, as he would be both a trained anthropologist and an administrator. Second, Saenz criticised the fact that the Experimental Station had existed under the auspices of only one government department, Public Education, claiming that this inhibited the scope of activities and the budget of the project. It should, Saenz felt, have been able to draw on the resources of all government departments to deal with problems in other matters not strictly educational, such as public health, local economy, agriculture and legal matters. These two concepts would later become incorporated in the program undertaken by the National Indigenous Institute (INI) after 1948.

Another Mexican anthropologist who contributed much to the development of systematic, objective and action-oriented programs for the socio-economic and cultural improvement of indigenes was Miguel O. de Mendizabal. His early publications began by studying ethno-historic themes, but he soon reoriented his work to social problems (demographic, economic, health, educational, etc.) as the base for the 'Mexicanization'

14. Ibid.

of indigenous communities until then "geographically and culturally isolated from the mainstream of national life". Mendizabal collaborated with Saenz on the Carapan project, and successfully initiated the creation of the School of Rural Medicine in the National Polytechnic Institute, that would bring to the rural communities, especially the indigenous ones, a permanent and on-going program of preventive and therapeutic medicine.

It was the work of these men and others like them who kept alive the ideals of the new order at a time when the dimensions of power and the complexities of the turbulent era were devoted to the preservation and consolidation of the newly established regime.

Factionalism and strife characterized the 1920's (although to a lesser extent than in the preceding decade), with the result that the issue of consistency in policy from one presidential regime to the next was always open to debate. It was not until the Cárdenas administration, that the work of the indigenists received broader priority and strong reinforcement from the First Executive of the state.

Until that time, the effort was for the most part piecemeal, and often of short duration as government departments, directorates, projects and plans would be suppressed or terminated at a moment's notice. Under Cárdenas the implementation of revolutionary goals, particularly those dealing with rural problems, agrarian reforms and the

treatment of indigenes were accelerated to assume major priority in the nation's business.

(2) The Cárdenas Administration

The "radical" provisions of the 1917 Constitution were not implemented to any quantifiable degree until the Cárdenas administration (1934-40). Power struggles among factions of the revolutionary leadership inhibited the reforms' application and the transformation of the social order materialized only to the extent that previous beliefs in such concepts as private property, capitalism, and control of the means of production were not interfered with.

To Cárdenas this constituted a violation of revolutionary aspirations, since he believed these could only be fulfilled if society's goods were redistributed to "the people" especially the rural poor, the peons, the little farmers, the Indians.

In 1934, the goods to be redistributed were few. Mexico's chronic poverty of soil and resources were accentuated by the costs incurred as a consequence of the revolution, and the severe economic depression which at the time afflicted not just Mexico but the other nations of North America.

The dimensions of this poverty led many Mexican reformers to believe that the capitalist order itself had failed, that a total rebuilding of the economy along

collectivist and socialist lines was necessary. Cárdenas subscribed to this theory to the degree that he believed it to be the best way for goods and services to reach the people. Under his administration more land found its way to the public domain than ever before. The agrarian reform laws were further revised to break the power of the hacienda, and the agrarian issue which in 1911 had begun as a minor reform to satisfy a few needy villages became under Cárdenas a profound agrarian revolution.

As with land, so with labor. Cárdenas brought greater strength to the trade-union movement, giving rise to a national working-class and developing a new source of national political power based upon workers' organizations.

Education under Cárdenas turned more toward the rural school as an instrument of social action, reflecting the prevailing ideology. As such, it became the voice of social reform and the champion of agrarian causes. Fully gone now were the quixotic notions that attempted to pattern the mestizo and Indian after European conceptions of "civilized" men, and the methods which tried to do so.

Saenz expresses best what the rural school had become in the 1930's. "What kind of a school is this where young and old come together; where young men sing in the evening and the children during the day; where there is so much talk of rabbits and chickens, cooperatives, recreation and haircuts, and so little learning of reading, writing and arithmetic?

Simply, a new kind of school...where if the home does not look after the hygiene of the children the school has the obligation of doing so....Here, one never knows where the school leaves off and the town starts, where village life ends, and school life begins."¹⁵

The new guidelines for educational planning stressed the stimulation of a "utilitarian and collectivist" teaching. What textbooks there were postulated "rational" concepts of the universe and were designed to instill equality, pride and self-confidence among members of Mexico's poorer classes, to contrast the nature of learning with the fatalistic approach associated with the scholastic methods of prerevolutionary days. The number of schools increased, particularly in indigenous zones, and teachers with a knowledge of the local indigenous language began teaching indigenes in their native tongue.

The Constitution's Article 3, which dealt with educational matters, was amended to support the "socialist doctrine" of Cardenas' regime, the "rational" textbooks were published to correspond with constitutional law.¹⁶

Cárdenas' approach to the indigenous question stemmed from his firm belief that Mexico's national identity lay in its indigenous roots. If the indigenous people did not play a significant role in the economic and social life of the nation, Cárdenas believed that all social reforms would be little more than plans of the conquerors for a conquered

15. M. Saenz (1928), p.11.

16. Appendix VI.

people. More concretely, Cárdenas sought to attack the "problem" on the two bases where he felt the Indian had suffered most; to replace the exploitative policies begun by the conquistadors and later reinforced by such concepts as latifundism, peonage and dictatorship; and to restore ancient lands, since the environment to which the Indians had been relegated was the least hospitable and most unproductive in Mexico.

In an attempt to coordinate his indigenist policy, Cárdenas created in 1936 the Autonomous Department of Indian Affairs (DAAI). The organization was conceived as a branch of the executive, directly responsible to the President, and "would undertake the coordination of the work of various government departments to resolve the economic and social problems of the Indians".

The Department did not develop along the lines expected, since Cárdenas' thought on the matter was somewhat contradictory and obscure. He did not give the department administrative powers sufficient to its task, claiming there was already too much bureaucratization in government, and adding his fear that as a regular department it would marginalize the Indians from the national society by admitting they were different from the rest of the population; making "a separate caste of them rather than assisting the task of national unification and assimilation which is the true

objective of the revolutionary effort."¹⁷

Nor was the department conceived as a research organ, since the president felt that research "would make of the Indian a mere scientific curiosity."¹⁸ "Men of action", not researchers were to be employed by the department to bring about the emancipation of the Indian.

The anticipated direction of the department changed because Cárdenas mistrusted researchers and academics, and because he decided not to give the organization administrative 'bite'. Instead it evolved as a delegative body, important not for what it did directly, but important, first, in conception as a body to coordinate the treatment of indigenes by various government departments, and second, for its recommendations and the sponsoring of conferences from which new ideas sprang.

One such example was the First Assembly of Philologists and Linguists which, under the auspices of the DAAI, approved the creation of the Institute of Literacy in Native Languages. The Institute would be run by anthropologists and educators as a means of improving the quality of education in indigenous zones. Spanish would be taught as a second language once literacy was achieved through a phonetic understanding of the indigene's own language.

The conference also approved a pilot project to put the new plan into effect, and in 1939, the Tarascan project for community development became the first to educate indigenes

17. L. Cardenas in: G. Aguirre Beltrán (1970), p. 1075.

18. Idem. .

in their native language. Two years later the method was applied to five other regions and has since become the accepted practice for educational institutions working in indigenous zones.

The most significant indirect accomplishment of the DAAI was its sponsoring of the First Interamerican Indigenist Conference, held in Patzcuaro, Mexico, in 1940. The purpose of the conference was to attempt to give international significance to the indigenist movement, to fix the goals and objectives of scientific study and elaborate the methods and techniques it intended to apply to this purpose.

Among the seventy-two recommendations of this meeting several dealt concretely with the question of applied social anthropology and indigenism; integral plans for the studying of indigenous people; plans for a conference on applied indigenous linguistic training; the use of applied anthropology in the planning and administering of programs for the well-being of the Indian; the position of anthropological science in the face of the problems of indigenous nuclei; the protection of popular indigenous art; the defense of indigenous culture; the integration of the indigenous communities.

But the most significant concerned the formation of the Interamerican Indian Institute (IAII), a recommendation made at an earlier conference, (Lima 1938), but reinforced and put into motion again in 1940. The Institute was to be based in Mexico, an acknowledgement of Mexican preeminence in the

fields of applied anthropological work and indigenism, to "initiate, direct and coordinate research and scientific studies which have 'immediate application' to the solution of indigenous problems, or which help to add to a greater understanding of indigenes although they do not have immediate practical application".¹⁹ Today the Institute continues as an affiliated body of the Organization of American States, the scope of its work to be discussed later on in this paper.

During this period several other anthropological projects received support from the regime. The University of Oklahoma's Summer Institute of Linguistics began its study of aboriginal languages and prepared vocabularies, grammars and bilingual texts for Indians. It worked in conjunction with the DAAI to initiate programs of education, health and agricultural improvements, contributing to the existing program of acculturation and national integration. The Mexican Anthropological Society, founded in 1937, began publishing its review two years later subsidized by the government. Although its work is mainly archaeological its contribution to indigenism in the broad sense of the term has been significant. In 1938, the Institute of Social Research and the National School of Anthropology were founded, their monographs, conferences and field research all adding to the body of knowledge on Mexico's indigenous

19. J. Comas (1964), p. 50.

population. Since 1942 the National School of Anthropology has been known as the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), a department in the National Polytechnic Institute which trains indigenists and is considered one of the best departments of applied anthropology in Latin America. The INAH also participates in the executive council of the National Indian Institute (1948) which formulates most of Mexico's indigenous policies, and sponsors programs for the protection of indigenous arts and crafts and trains young indigenous artists.

The significance of the Cárdenas period cannot be too highly emphasized, since it constitutes the first meaningful support of indigenous policies by an administration, and provides the framework for current policy.

II. IMPLEMENTATION OF POLICY

A. THE INDIANS OF MEXICO

1) Population and Distribution

Attempts to enumerate the indigenous population of Mexico have met with methodological difficulties owing to the high degree of miscegenation and acculturation occurring in the nation over the past four hundred and fifty years. The task has been further complicated by the absence of a legal definition to classify the aboriginal population. The official decennial census employs a linguistic classification for its statistics, but the limitations of this method are such as to require elaboration in this study.

The following table from the 1940 census enumerates the indigenous population on the basis of a linguistic criterion:

Table I*

PERSONS SPEAKING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES (1940 CENSUS).

Persons speaking only indigenous languages and dialects ---	1,237,01
Persons speaking Spanish and one or more indigenous languages-----	1,253.89
Total, Adults-----	2,490,90
Children under five years of age-----	454,17
Total indigenous population-----	2,945,00

*Source: Indigenous Peoples: ILO, Geneva, 1953, p.54

A census conducted in 1942 by the Autonomous Department of Indian Affairs (DAAI), gave a total of approximately 4.5 million indigenous people, a remarkable increase of 1.6 million in a two year period. Here, however, different criteria were employed, and 2,250,497 persons speaking an indigenous language, and another 2,267,485 were included though they did not speak an indigenous language. The latter were judged indigenous on the basis of racial characteristics, economy and culture.

In 1950, the census included a table to determine, in addition to the number of persons speaking indigenous languages, the extent that pre-Columbian traits had survived in Mexico. The significance of the figures is limited since only three traits are cited, nor do they necessarily imply that an individual whose diet is based on corn, or who goes barefoot, is therefore indigenous. They are significant, however, in demonstrating that a linguistic classification alone for determining the size of the indigenous populations is inadequate and that many other factors must be considered.

TABLE II*

PERSISTENCE OF SOME PRE-COLUMBIAN CULTURAL TRAITS
(1950 CENSUS)

Division of Country	Total Pop.	Indian Speakers	Use huaraches or sandals	Go barefoot	Diet based on corn
Northern Zone	5,176,855	114,636	1,045,096	264,146	2,319,738
Northern Pacific Zone	1,724,241	38,238	429,544	68,166	485,529
Central Zone	12,449,201	787,442	3,337,711	1,985,494	5,619,503
Southern Pacific Zone	3,360,051	906,633	1,249,698	1,496,190	1,908,242
Gulf Zone	3,068,911	599,020	573,022	954,266	1,150,600
TOTAL:	25,779,259	2,445,969	6,640,071	4,768,262	11,483,612

*Source: Indians in the Hemisphere Today: Inter-American Indian Institute, Mexico D.F. 1962, p. 67

The reliability of the data for determining the size of aboriginal populations in Mexico, and one might add, Latin America as a whole, must of necessity be always accompanied by certain qualifications, specifically what the determining criteria are. In addition to these considerations, the reliability of the figures themselves must be called into question, since these conflict on occasion. As an example, it is generally agreed, and reinforced statistically, that Mexico's aboriginal population has been increasing in this century. Why there should be an apparent decline in the population between 1940 and 1950, (see Tables I and II) on the basis of the linguistic criterion, can only be attributed to faulty estimates.

With the preceding considerations in mind, and the absence of detailed figures as shown in Table II, the following table (III) is presented to show the distribution of the indigenous-speaking population as a general guide for pointing out the zones of indigenous concentration in the republic, and the prevalence of monolingualism and bilingualism among them.²⁰

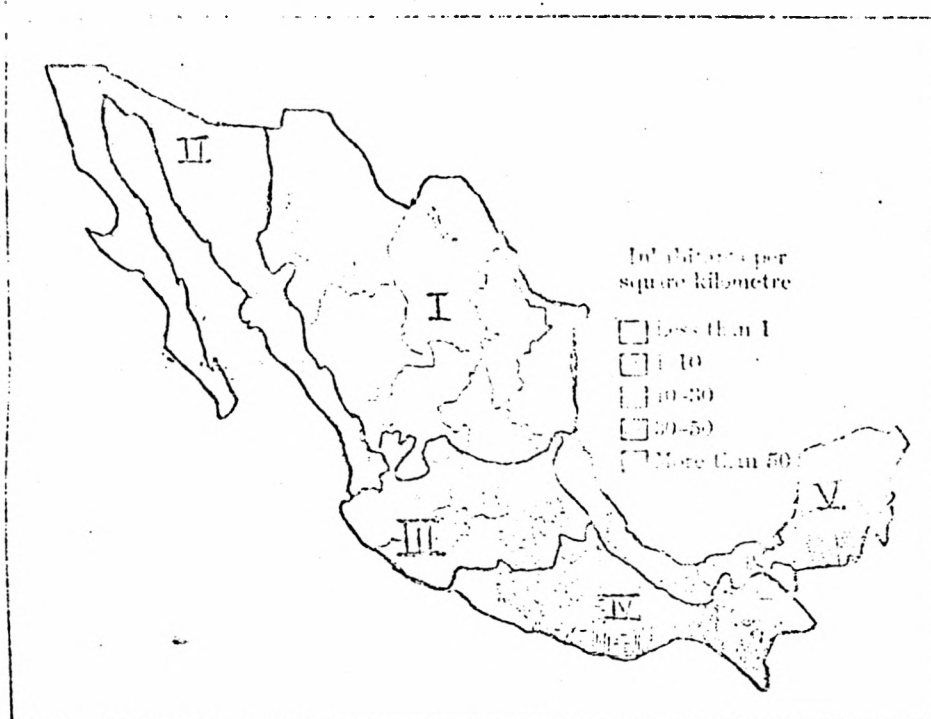
TABLE III*
MONOLINGUAL AND BILINGUAL INDIANS IN MEXICO BY ZONE. (1960)

Division of Country	Monolingual Indians	Bilingual Indians	Total
Northern Zone	53,608	119,332	172,940
Northern Pacific Zone	7,860	36,202	44,062
Central Zone	292,377	562,386	854,763
Southern Pacific Zone	552,164	713,517	1,265,681
Gulf Zone	198,946	493,862	692,808
Totals:	1,104,955	1,925,299	3,030,254

*Source. Indians in the Hemisphere Today: Inter-American Indian Institut Mexico D.F. 1962, pp.67-73.

20. See Appendix VII for detailed breakdown by state and linguistic group.

FIGURE 18
INDIAN-SPEAKING POPULATION (1960)



Index: I Northern Zone; II Northern Pacific Zone; III Central Zone; IV Southern Pacific Zone; V Gulf Zone.

*Source: Anuario Indigenista, Inter-American Indian Institute, Mexico D.F. 1962, p.71.

From the map and data it can be seen that the greatest density of the indigenous population is located in the central and southern states, particularly Yucatán, Oaxaca, and Chiapas. Several large groups such as the Maya, Zapotec, Tarasco and Otomí still occupy the regions in which they lived at the time of the Conquest. The Aztec (Nahuatl speakers), are now scattered over most of the states of the Republic.

The survival of compact groups of indigenes in the south-central and south-eastern parts of the country is owing

to two major factors; first, the pre-Columbian organization of native peoples and second, the ease or difficulty of access and development of the territories inhabited by the aboriginal population. In the regions where the indigenes lived a sedentary existence and their economic and cultural organization had developed, the Spanish conquerors simply replaced the native rulers and kept the Indians as a source of manpower for the colonial economy. On the other hand, where the indigenes lived in a nomadic or seminomadic condition and where their density was slight, they rapidly disappeared. In some instances the preservation of nomadic indigenous groups was due also to the fact that the mountainous areas, being less accessible and less coveted by the Spaniards, were not affected by European culture until a much later stage.

A considerable though numerically uncertain percentage of the population speaking Indian languages had already been more or less integrated into the economic and labor system of the country, mostly owing to the common land system of agriculture introduced under the agrarian reforms of the revolution. Nevertheless several large groups live outside that system in a state of tribal organization and geographical and cultural isolation, usually accompanied by great poverty (the Otomí, Tarahumara, Lacandón, Tzeltal and Tzotzil groups in particular).

In 1960, 93 per cent of the persons speaking indigenous languages were concentrated in the following three regions: Central, 28 per cent, Southern Pacific, 42 per cent, Gulf 23 per cent.

In the Northern and Northern-Pacific zones there were only 6 per cent and 1.5 per cent respectively.

The distinction made in the preceding tables between monolinguals and bilinguals is a useful measure for an index of acculturation, although it should be taken as only one of several indices in that process (others being use of western dress and implements, etc.). The point best made is in the change over time in the numbers of mono- and bilinguals, to observe in which direction the process is going. The decrease of monolinguals over the twenty years between 1940 and 1960 indicates that there is greater contact between the indigenous people and the mestizos, and that possibly the attempts to bring Spanish to the indigenous communities is having some impact.

TABLE IV*

Year	Monolinguals	%	Bilinguals	%	Total
1930	1,185,162	52.6	1,064,234	47.3	2,251,086*
1940	1,237,018	49.0	1,253,891	51.0	2,490,909
1950**	-----	----	-----	----	2,445,969
1960	1,104,955	36.5	1,925,299	63.5	3,030,254

*Total includes another 1,690 persons speaking two indigenous languages but not Spanish. Unless otherwise stated bilingual means Spanish and one indigenous language.

**Monolingual and bilingual figures for 1950 not available.

Apart from these gross figures evidence of declining monolingualism is apparent in each of the five regions of the

- *Sources: 1. Indians in the Hemisphere Today: Inter-American Indian Institute Mexico D.F. 1962, pp.67-73
 2. Indigenous Peoples: ILO, Geneva, 1953, p.54

Republic. In 1940 monolingualism predominated in the Northern and South-Pacific zones (57 and 61 per cent), but by 1960 this was reduced to 31 and 44 per cent in the respective areas. Although bilinguals predominated in the remaining zones in 1940, the degree of increase by 1960 is significant. In the North Pacific zone bilinguals increased from 76 to 82 per cent of the total indigenous population, in the central zone the increase went from 56 to 66 per cent, and in the gulf zone the growth went from 62 to 71 per cent.

The growth of the indigenous population in the twentieth century, while hard to measure because of considerations mentioned earlier, appears to be steady, although indigenes have declined as a percentage of the total population.

TABLE V*

INDIAN POPULATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL IN SELECTED YEARS

Year	Total Population of 5 years or more	Persons of 5 years or more Speaking Indigenous Languages	%
1900	11,673,283	1,783,708	15.3
1910	12,984,962	1,678,022	12.9
1921	12,451,439	1,892,538	15.2
1930	14,028,575	2,251,086	16.0
1940	16,778,061	2,490,909	14.8
1950	21,821,032	2,447,609	11.2
1960	29,146,382	3,030,254	10.4

The 1930 and 1940 censuses give figures of 340,068 and 454,176 respectively for the indigenous population under five years

*Sources: 1. Indians in the Hemisphere Today: Inter-American Indian Institute Mexico D.F. 1962 pp.67-73
2. Indigenous Peoples: ILO, Geneva, 1953, p.54

of age. These figures are not offered in the information provided in later years, so that only an estimate of approximately 500,000 indigenous children can be offered for those dates. The growth of the indigenous population may however far exceed this, since there is no apparent information concerning the number of Indians not taken into consideration because of factors such as rural-urban migration, which lead to their acculturation and accordingly their disappearance from the census-takers' figures.

(2) The Indians of Mexico: Indigenism's Reinterpretation.

The defining of Mexico's aboriginal population acquires major significance when the issues of policy formulation and implementation arise. The different means of tabulating the indigenous population for a census have served as one means to locate and identify groups of indigenes, but a clear definition, applicable to formulating and implementing an indigenous policy is not readily apparent in the methods of the census-takers.

The major difficulties inherent in defining the Mexican Indian and the indigenists' resolution of those difficulties are as follows:

First, miscegenation has been so widespread in Mexico and Latin America that it is impossible to tell whether or not an individual possesses certain somatic characteristics which classify him as an Indian. Consequently somatic characteristics can only be considered as one, and certainly not the most important of elements.

Second, is the element of culture. There are obvious differences between Indian and European culture that make it easy at any given moment to identify one or

another element of material and spiritual culture and classify it; yet consideration must be given to the fact that many cultural traits in their present form are in fact mestizo, namely that they derive from the impact of Hispanic on indigenous cultures. Furthermore, the use of an implement of indigenous or European culture does not alone suffice to define the user as Indian, European or Mestizo. Nonetheless, as with somatic characteristics, cultural elements while not in themselves separating Indian from European must be considered as a partially contributing factor in our definition of an Indian.

One cultural component more important than most which deserves special mention is the linguistic one. Language, especially the maternal language, is one of the main guides for determining whether or not an individual can be considered indigenous. However, because certain indigenous persons speak more than one language, the analysis should be extended further.

The most important of all criteria in defining the Mexican Indian, is that the individual should consider himself one. In the absence of a purely legalistic and formal definition this is the main criterion to be adopted. One who feels himself to be part of an indigenous community, accepting the total culture of the group, its ethics, sense of the aesthetic, social and political relationships, one who is to a great degree a collaborator of the group in both his actions and reactions, can best be considered in Mexico an Indian.

Unfortunately when dealing with a group so long socially oppressed and often considered inferior, the individual with whom one comes in contact obscures his group identity when relating to an outsider, in this manner making the most definitive trait of an indigene the most difficult to investigate. 20

The dilemma posed by the above considerations has in part been resolved by the indigenists, since they maintain that the precise definition of what constitutes an Indian is not all that important for the goals of indigenist policy since "what matters from the points of view of culture and society, the viewpoint of anthropological theory, applied anthropology and

policy, is not the Indian as an individual, but the indigenous community."²¹ The community is conceived as that body of individuals living in a defined cultural milieu who possess problems different from those experienced by the mestizo's residing in both the cities and countryside of the nation. In other words, the definition of "Indian" in Mexico applies to the members of certain communities whose continued existence within those communities' cultural and physical framework is threatened by the inevitable growth of the modernizing sector of society, and whose problems the indigenists are trying to resolve.

21. Ibid.

B. THE NATIONAL INDIAN INSTITUTE (INI).

The recommendations of the 1940 conference which led to the establishment of the Inter-American Indian Institute, reiterated earlier suggestions for the founding of national indigenous institutes in the participating countries.

Mexico, during the Cárdenas administration, had taken steps in this direction by creating the Autonomous Department of Indian Affairs (DAAI), but the department fell prey to inter-departmental rivalries over areas of jurisdiction and financing, and in 1947 became relegated to a lesser role as the Directorate of Indian Affairs in the Department of Education.

A law passed on November 10, 1948, created the Mexican National Indigenous Institute (INI), "to research, plan, promote, assess and implement" methods for improving the quality of indigenous life throughout the nation. It was to become "the coordinating and directing" government agency in the nuclei of indigenous population where government action took place.

(1) Ideals of Policy

The ideals and basic programs of indigenism are summarized in the following fourteen principles outlined by a former director of the INI. They represent the guidelines and fundamental policy statement of current Mexican indigenist policies.

1. The Indian problem in Mexico is not racial. The distinction between Indians and non-Indians is a matter of culture... Mexican society rejects all discrimination which is racial in origin.
2. The Mexican government affirms that the Indian possesses the same inherent abilities as any normal human being to

modify his mode of existence. His current limitations are the result of historic and social factors, not congenital. The other part of the population is responsible for this condition.

3. The Indigenist program does not refer to the individual as such, but concerns itself with the Indian as a member of a community. As long as the Indian remains a member of the Indian community, he is the responsibility of the Institute.
4. Acculturation of the Indian communities must always be for their own benefit and not for the benefit of those attempting the acculturation.
5. Action programs should be based upon a region of which the indigenous community is a part: the isolated development of a community is not possible; the development of the whole zone to which it belongs must be carried out at the same time.
6. Any action program proposed for an Indian community must not only be accepted by the community but must have its active collaboration or participation.
7. All things in an Indian community which do not stand in the way of its development and a better life should be respected.
8. Indigenism does not claim to possess a monopoly on life-styles. However excellent we conceive our own to be, it will never be forced upon the indigenous population. Our only possible course of action is to find out what a community's aspirations are and then attempt to implement the modifications they desire.
9. Social phenomena do not derive from a single cause, therefore integral action is essential to bring about a cultural and economic transformation in a community.
10. The Institute attempts to keep before the indigenous communities the notion that they are part of a larger society which is the Mexican nation. Indigenism's purpose is to supply the Indian communities with the necessary elements for their transportation and integration since the INI does not wish to perpetuate the communities' isolation from the larger society.
11. It is not the Institute's purpose to maintain its tutelary role in its relationship with the indigenous communities indefinitely; rather the policy and programming is designed to awaken in the Indian community the idea that transformation and development can be achieved.
12. The system of separating the Indian communities from other ethnic groups, and of prescribing areas in which they must

remain is contrary to the Mexican view of the problem. However treating the indigenous communities in a different manner from other communities is justifiable given their special cultural needs.

13. The Indigenist program should not provoke unnecessary tension and conflicts within the community. Acculturation is a form of education and its tempo should be decided by the ability of the person being educated not by the whim of the educator.
14. Political action in the field of indigenism should not be based in immutable principles, but should rather be subject to investigation, test and controlled experiment.²²

The terms in which Mexico's indigenous policy is stated above, represent the ideal and not always the actual manner in which policy is implemented. Customary restrictions of financial and human resources, as well as human failings, have inhibited the full realization of the Institute's program. However, it can be asserted that the organization has had significant impact on more than half of Mexico's Indians. How that impact is made and an evaluation of its effects are the subjects of the following and the concluding sections of this paper.

(2) Who Interprets Policy?

'Interpretation' of all policy affecting indigenous people is vested in the INI, and consists of on-going revisions both in the field agencies (Coordinating Centres) where policy is applied directly, and in the Executive Council of the Institute itself.

The Institute is not administered as a traditional government department, rather it is considered a decentralized agency of

22. A. Caso in Comas, J., 1964, pp. 339-347.

the Federal Executive and as such is directly responsible to the President of the Republic. The legislative act creating the INI gives it particular jurisdiction over Mexico's indigenous communities, a budget, and the power to acquire and administer funds. By the provisions of Article 12 of its charter, it also has the authority to procure from any government department the necessary collaboration to implement any one of its projects. Article 12 states that any government department solicited to conduct work involving the indigenous population must set aside a portion of its budget for INI projects. These funds may not be diverted to any other purpose.

Seen in this manner, the role of the INI is to ensure that many and not just one branch of the federal government cooperate in providing assets and resources to resolve problems affecting the indigenous population.

For this reason, the departments and other institutions which work in contact with the native population of Mexico, are represented on the highest organ of the INI, the Executive Council. This body consists of a director appointed by the President of Mexico and representatives from the Ministries of Public Education, Health, State Agriculture, Hydraulic Resources, Communications and Transport, Public Works and Agrarian Affairs. Included also on the council is a representative of the Ejido Credit Bank and the heads of four cultural institutions; the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH), the National University of Mexico (UNAM), the National Polytechnic Institute, and the Mexican Anthropological Society. The National

Confederation of Peasants (CNC) is also represented, but does not have a vote.

Whether or not certain programs are to be undertaken is decided by the Council, subject to presidential approval. A technical commission consisting of representatives from the field, and from such ministries as Communications, Health, Legal Affairs, Agriculture and Construction, submits proposals to the Council under the Director in Mexico City for approval. The President, on approval of programs, decides on the budget required and includes this in the general budget of the Republic which is in turn charged out to the accounts of the various ministries and departments.

The Council of the Institute has an annual external audit made of all activities and submits monthly reports to the Secretary of National Assets and to the secretary of the Presidency of the Republic.

The highly centralized nature of the Mexican political system is also reflected in the hierarchical structure of the INI. Consequently, while modifications and adjustments in individual programs may initiate with field workers and be approved by the Executive Council, fundamental policy revisions are in the hands of the most senior government and INI officials. Since the formation of the Institute in 1948 there have been no over-all revisions of policy which depart from the goals expressed in the fourteen "Ideals of Indigenist Policy". While there are wide differences of opinion within the INI as to how the indigenous question might best be resolved, "official"

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indigenism as postulated by the first generation of indigenists still prevails.

(3) Field Offices of the INI: The Coordinating Centres.

Since 1948, the INI has been responsible for those persons who reside in what are considered "indigenous communities", decided upon on the basis of numerous criteria which distinguish them from mestizo communities. These include language, material and physical culture, magico-religious interpretation of disease, and traditional economy to mention a few. Because of the limitations of government resources, not all of these indigenous communities receive direct benefits from the INI, but the program which it sponsors has grown dramatically in the twenty-four years since its inception.

(a) Units of Analysis

The theoretical base for the field programs of the INI evolves from the work of applied anthropologists such as Gamio, Saenz and Caso, who, through their work with the rural schools, saw the possibilities of community development programs evolving from the schools into other aspects of community life. Gamio and Saenz both stressed the necessity for integral and coordinated action; Caso's contribution lies in the identification of the Indian as a member of an "indigenous community", which has made the community the base unit for defining the indigenous population.

The Director of the INI and the President of the Republic establish annually a number of institutions called "Indian Coordinating Centres" in regions with high concentrations of indigenous population

to provide basic programs and services to the residents. Here, schools, athletic facilities, medical centres, experimental fields, other auxiliary buildings and personnel are concentrated in a nucleus to provide services to an area in the form of a regional development program.

The work of a Centre extends from the nucleus to a point where interrelationships between the town (where the Centre is established) and the contiguous rural area end, thus ensuring the region to be a practical unit of analysis. Since the intensity and nature of the relationship of the town (referred to by the Indigenists as a "metropolis") to the countryside vary according to factors such as distance, accessibility, transportation, etc., the region is broken down into four zones, on the basis of which the Coordinating Centre performs certain functions.

The first zone applies to the area immediately contiguous to the 'metropolis', which owing to its proximity receives major saturation by the Centre. In this Demonstration area the Centre is in continuous and direct contact with the indigenous population through the network of services it provides in terms of education, sanitation, legal services, etc. Work in agricultural and economic development occurs mainly within this unit, and projects dealing with the exploitation of natural resources are applied and explained.

The second, or Diffusion, zone refers to that part of the region under the Centre's jurisdiction where there does not yet exist a continuous program of action owing to a lack of resources

in the Centre's budget, or possibly to too high a degree of resistance on the part of the indigenous people. Whenever possible, the Centre extends its services to this area in the form of sanitation brigades, recreational facilities or, should they be needed, legal services.

The third area is based on the place where the Indians contract their labour. This Migration area is established to ensure that indigenous workers are treated and paid fairly when they work for mestizo or other non-Indian employers.

A fourth category, called the Mobilization area, is one where the Centre has had to resettle indigenous groups who have had to move, since factors of soil, climate or too high population density made their former environment no longer capable of supporting them.

This thesis, with a few subsequent modifications that have allowed for the establishment of sub-centres in the diffusion area, establishes the ground plan for the application of the coordinating centres to the problems of indigenous zones. It stems from a lengthy body of theoretical considerations which can be traced back to the 1916 Washington conference where the germ of the concept began, but was developed into an operational concept by Aguirre Beltrán, the present director of the Institute.

(b) Rationale

The Indigenists contend that programs and services to the indigenous areas are necessary not only for the reasons outlined in the fourteen points of Indigenist policy referred to earlier,

but because in spite of the vast changes brought about in the nation through the Revolution, the treatment of Indians by mestizos in rural areas has not changed a great deal since that time. Much in the same way that the indigenous population clings tenaciously to its tribal ways, the mestizo communities themselves are best described as feudal. Here, the mestizos on occasion seek to subjugate and exploit Indian labour unfairly; in some cases they attempt to give them unfair prices for their crops, and charge the Indians exorbitant prices for necessary commodities. Thus the Coordinating Centres are designed to protect the Indian from would-be oppressors, by helping the Indians acquire new skills in their interactions with the mestizos, placing them on an even footing with the latter. It should be added at this point that part of the Coordinating Centres' function is to attempt to change mestizo attitudes towards the Indians by the example they set, and thus reduce tension and hostility wherever it exists between the two groups. This does not mean to say that divisions between mestizos and indigenous people are constant. There is considerable miscegenation between Indians and mestizos, and acculturation as a process does not necessarily hinge on the presence of the INI. When the INI is present, however, the possibilities for injustices are reduced.

Although the INI's program is directed towards producing change and alleviating the poverty of the indigenous people, the multifaceted nature of each Coordinating Centre's program

also affects the mestizo population. In the rural schools, mestizo and Indian children are educated together, and it is not unusual for mestizos in the region to have received the services of INI's legal and medical staff. Hence it is not unrealistic to speculate that the Coordinating Centres at some later date could become community centres for all rural people, although INI literature makes no such assertion.

According to the 'official' indigenists, the Coordinating Centres have so far proven to be the best available means to accelerate the evolution of the indigenous communities without havoc, to bring about the integration of the Indians into the political, economic and cultural life of the Mexican nation.

(c) Scope

In 1951 there was one Coordinating Centre in the entire country. Now, in 1972, there are twenty-two and over thirty sub-centres reaching more than half of the total indigenous population.* More centres are planned each year, and while the development of the program has been uneven (depending on the priorities of the national executive), the latest administration has opened eight in the past two years, accelerating the program far beyond the earlier average of one every two years. The target goal, to establish a total of fifty-two centres, reaching about 98 per cent of the indigenous population could, at that rate, be achieved by the end of this decade.

*See Table ~~gr. 60A, 70~~ VI.

Where the INI does not yet have its Coordinating Centres established, other institutions operating long before the INI came into existence, such as the rural schools and special bodies to deal with particular problems in specific zones, complement the Institute's work in many areas of the Republic. Their role will be dealt with in a subsequent section of this paper.

TABLE VI: COORDINATING CENTRES AND TOTAL INDIGENOUS COMMUNITIES AND INDIANS AFFECTED BY INI (SEPT. 1972)*

Coordinating Centre and State where located	Number of Communities Affected	Number of Indian Affected
1.		
Ocosingo, Chiapas	926	83,337
Lacandón Jungle and El Bosque, Chiapas	808	39,283
Tarahumara, Guachochi, Chihuahua	2,190	21,330
Papaloapan, Temascal, Oaxaca	498	70,221
Lower Mixtec, Jamiltepec, Oaxaca	334	51,071
High Mixtec, Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca	359	81,916
Maya Region, Petó, Yucatán	694	46,904
Maya Region, Valladolid, Yucatán	1,540	63,277
Mazatec Sierra, Huautla, Oaxaca	133	67,030
Cora-Huichol, Tepic, Nayarrit	1,387	10,832
Nahua-Tlapaneco, Tlapa, Guerrero	184	65,582
Tarascan Region, Cherán Michoacan	405	51,182
Nahua-Totonaco, Zacapoaxtla, Puebla	170	70,909
Mixe Zone, Ayutla, Oaxaca	80	40,148
Totals	9,708	763,022
2.		
San Felipe del Progreso, México	503	108,186
Nahua-Popoloca, Tehuacán, Puebla	239	72,193
Juárez Sierra, Oaxaca	239	62,358
Otomí Region, Amealco, Queretaro	357	37,731
Huasteca Region, Huejutla, Hidalgo	3,569	351,520
Zongolica Region, Nahua, Veracruz	224	50,788
Chinanteca Region, Tuxtepec, Oaxaca	641	119,126
Totonaca Region, Papantla, Veracruz	330	67,523
Totals	6,129	869,425
Grand Total	15,837	1,632,447

1. Coordinating Centres created before 1970

2. Coordinating Centres created by 1972

(d) Structure

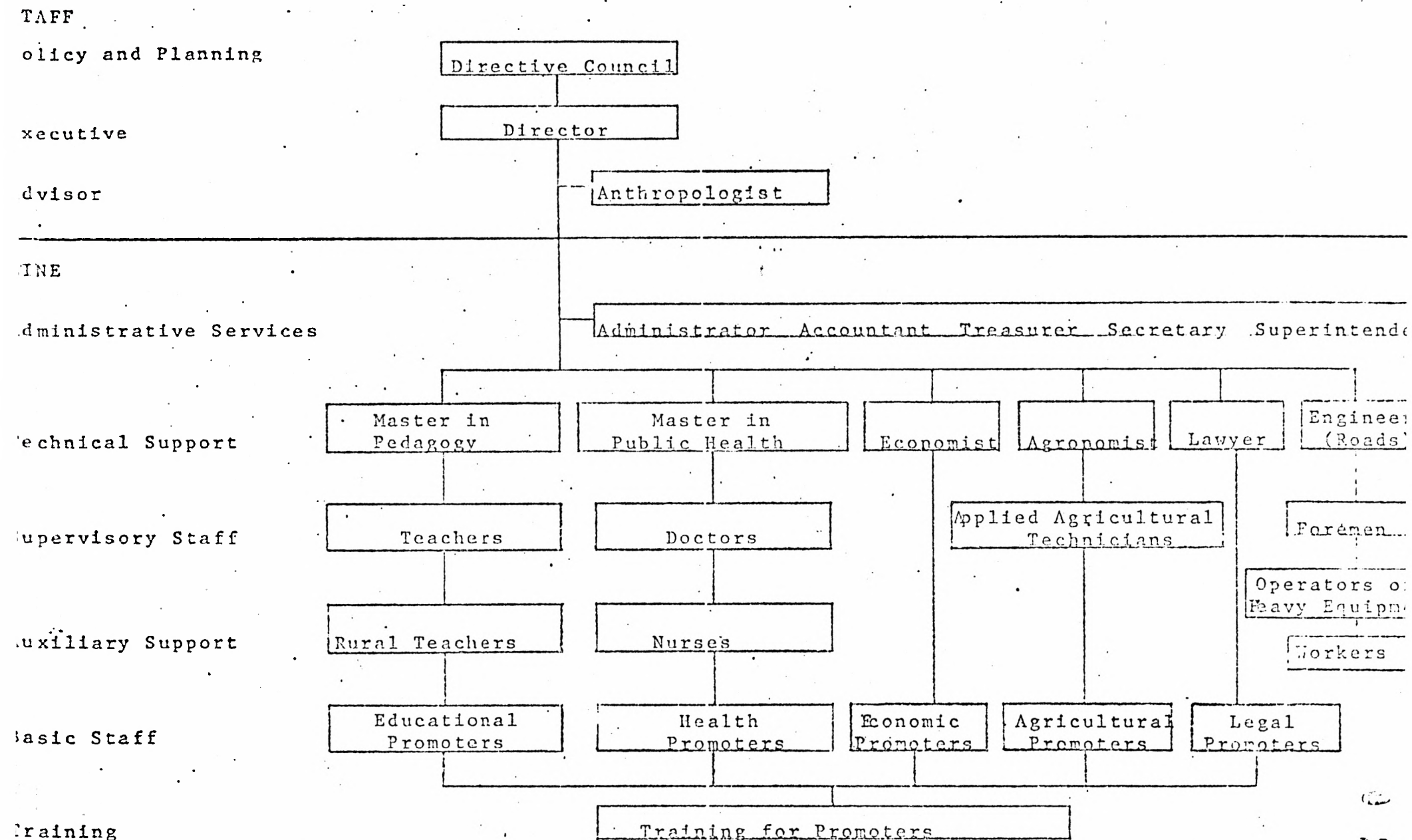
A fully developed Coordinating Centre conducts its work in the region over which it has jurisdiction in six aspects which the indigenists deem essential for community development to take place: Education, Health, Economic Development, Agriculture, Legal Services, and Construction.

In addition, the Centres each possess an administrative and planning division to guide the programs, under the supervision of the Director who is invariably a social anthropologist. The divisions made here are essentially for allocating expertise, and should be interpreted as an explanatory guide. The central tenet of indigenist policies contends that the Coordinating Centre should function in an integral fashion as a coordinated plan for community development, each of the component parts considered as essential as the others for the organism to function properly.

The administrative structure of a typical Coordinating Centre is outlined in the following table (VII). While lines of command are essentially as drawn, it should be noted that not all positions named are immediately filled, but are instead built up over time. Also, personnel occupying these positions are not always located in the metropolis where the centre has its offices. Many of them conduct their activities and reside in the communities within the centre's jurisdiction.

TABLE VII

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE OF A COORDINATING CENTRE.*



(e) Programs and Services

Programs and services provided by the Coordinating Centres are not in themselves a novelty in many of Mexico's indigenous communities. Before the INI was established the rural schools and cultural missions under the Department of Education, as well as programs administered by other agencies and government departments, provided basic services to much of the indigenous population. The implementation of INI programs has been facilitated where these earlier services existed, since the residents are more accustomed to "outsiders" and as a rule are less resistant to innovations in their life style. Where no previous services are in evidence, the Centre's work is understandably more difficult.

The work of these earlier agencies and departments is in some cases "phased out" by the INI as Coordinating Centres are established, but much of it continues in regions where centres do not exist, or where it complements the INI program. Schools in regions of high indigenous concentration are a case in point, since in spite of the presence of a centre, some schools are administered directly by the INI, others by the Department of Education.

Where the Coordinating Centres differ from the agencies and programs preceding them, is principally in their being able to arrange a program of multiple action by drawing on specialists from different government departments. They also coordinate the actions of government agencies working in

regions under the jurisdiction of a centre.

To a greater extent than before, the centres employ anthropological research methods before establishing a course of action, thus reducing the possibility that the introduction of a new element in technology or labour practices should clash with the world view or ideology of a given cultural stage.

The anthropological bias of the Coordinating Centre concept is reinforced by the fact that the director of a centre is an anthropologist. He may in some cases also be and Indian, as are many of the other personnel of the centres. All personnel, however, who are not themselves from the indigenous community, usually the doctors, economists and lawyers, for example, receive special training in the methods of applied anthropology and learn about the society where they are to conduct their duties, before arriving at a centre.

Another aspect of training universally employed by an INI centre is in the use of local people as "promoters" of the programs and services it provides. The use of local residents in programs of acculturation is a widespread phenomenon, not in itself peculiar to the Coordinating Centres. Its significance, however, lies in the extent to which it is applied by the centres. Originally local persons of "higher status" favourably disposed to change are sought out to inform the community of what the "outsiders" are doing in the area and to break down community resistance to the establishment of a school or medical post. After training, some of these individuals go on to become the first "teachers" in a community. As the system develops, the

more able residents receive further training, usually to Grade VI, and then operate as teachers for pre-school and Grade I, teaching the children, through phonetics and symbols, literacy in their native language. Since most promoters are bilingual they also teach Spanish to Indian-speaking children.

As the programs and services of a centre become more developed promoters serve to inform community residents of the programs available to them. Some promoters are now trained not simply to provide pedagogical instruction but are specialized and have technical knowledge in such fields as health, modern agricultural methods, and law. After a period of service with the centre some promoters return to their former positions in the village hierarchy while others, with further training, go on to become fully accredited rural teachers or medical technicians.

The promoters are considered essential to a centre's program, since in addition to providing numerous services, they constitute the primary communication linkage between the community and the centre and encourage further community participation through their example. The role of the promoters will be dealt with further in the following detailed account of the Coordinating Centres to be considered under the following headings:

- (i) Education, (ii) Health, (iii) Economic Development,
- (iv) Agrarian Affairs and Agriculture, (v) Construction and Communications, (vi) Mobilization and Resettling of Populations,
- (vii) Popular Arts, (viii) Legal Services.

(1) Education

Where no previous facilities exist, the establishing of a school within a Coordinating Centre's jurisdiction is preceded by intensive ethnological studies to assess the needs and state of culture of the indigenous people concerned. Community resistance is overcome by the use of informants and these are hired as the initial promoters of cultural change. With training they then attempt to teach literacy in the native languages through phonetics and symbols. Participation is further encouraged by forming an education committee from among the "higher status" members of the community. The committee then serves as a forum on village life and community affairs are discussed. An appraisal of needs is made by INI personnel, and ideally the school soon becomes a form of community centre and the 'hub' of village affairs.

As the school becomes entrenched in community life and as general acceptance is gained, the initial promoter is replaced by another individual - still an Indian, but with more advanced training and conceivably from another community. Replacing the familiar promoter is reputedly accomplished with ease, since the community by that time has accepted the school and now wants not just a teacher, but the best available.

In most communities, overt resistance to schooling is not at issue. The major problems stem from such obstacles as financing and the shortage of qualified personnel. Attendance is inhibited, however, by such factors as the distance the children have to come to attend school, the group's or family's

need for its children as part of the labour force, or cultural taboos which mitigate mostly against females. In the northern and northwestern zones for example, attendance is lower because the population is highly dispersed. In many regions, families migrate to cut sugar cane or pick cotton on plantations and take their children with them. The INI attempts to circumvent this factor by restricting the school period to those months when most of the families are in residence, but even then many children are needed to perform other work. Females are particularly subject to economic pressures in the home at an earlier age than their brothers. In some cases young girls past a certain age are not permitted to come into contact with members of the opposite sex, or outsiders. These factors reduce female attendance to about fifty per cent of male attendance overall.

Education is free, but payment is charged for a breakfast program of milk fortified with vitamins and minerals as well as a form of porridge in colder climates. Less than one penny (Cdn) per day is required for this service, but produce or other goods from the community are accepted in lieu of cash. The centres receive the milk in bulk from a government-sponsored program called the National Institute for the Protection of Infants. How the centres pay the Institute is not clear, but 25,000 children benefit daily from the program.

The only other apparent cost of education appears in regions where the population is highly dispersed and children attend a week-boarding school. The cost of this program to

the parents is one peso (eight cents) per week. What provisions exist for payment is not explained in detail, but again the boarding school accepts produce to feed the children and the Department of Education provides a subsidy.

The schools in indigenous zones throughout Mexico are primarily designed to provide Indian children with preparatory schooling before they reach the first primary grade. They are then frequently assimilated into the regular rural school program. The purpose of the introductory year is to teach the children functional literacy, first in their own language, followed by instruction in rudimentary Spanish. They begin to write in Spanish in the first primary grade.

Depending on the concentration of indigenous population, the children may receive education in a purely "Indian" school after the preparatory grade. Because of the demands for education and the limitations of resources available, however, this is not always possible. The following table should indicate why.

TABLE VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIGENOUS SCHOOL FACILITIES IN SELECTED YEARS

<u>Year</u>	<u>Schools</u>	<u>Centres</u>	<u>Teachers</u>	<u>Students</u>	<u>Teacher/Student Ratio</u>
1952	46	1	46	1,504	1:33
1964	237	6	383	19,009	1:60

* Source. Projects and Realities of the INI, Mexico, D.F., 1964, pp. 34-44.

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The increase in the number of students has clearly outstripped the capabilities of the Department of Education and the INI to provide teachers as can be seen in the escalation of the teacher-student ratio. Data for 1972 were not available.

The percentage of Indian children attending school varies from community to community, reaching 80% in some cases and falling as low as 55% in others. Some of the factors affecting attendance include geography, climate, and the quality of teaching, but more important is the issue of relevance, if the children are to spend the remainder of their days in the "indigenous community". Formal schooling, while encouraged, is not apparently "pushed" past a certain point, since to do so would be to interfere with the economic balance of the communities because children are required in the native labour force. This becomes apparent in the figures showing the percentage of children in selected grades. Of the 55-80 per cent of children in school in the indigenous zones, 50 per cent are in the preparatory grade, about 30 per cent in the first grade, 15 per cent in grade two, only two per cent get as far as the fourth grade, and less than one half of one per cent attend grades five and six. Not all children are accounted for in these figures, since some are to be considered as included in the statistics of the Federal and State schools, boarding schools for Indians and other private institutes. Nonetheless the drop-out rate is high. In spite of this, INI literature considers the program a success, since it feels the intention of its educational program

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to be oriented towards the development of the community, not in making high-school graduates or B.A.'s out of community residents. As far as INI policy is concerned, the three R's are instructed to assist in reducing monolingualism and to facilitate the indigenous population in their dealings with the mestizos and the national society. The over-all decline in monolingualism from fifty-two per cent to thirty-three per cent between 1930 and 1960, is in part attributable to the indigenous educational program.

Other services provided by the centres of the INI in terms of formal education include "Schools of the Air", which allow children in remote areas to learn their lessons through radio programs conducted by a promoter of one of the Centres. The restrictions on such programs are for the most part economic and cultural. The use of radio facilities and transmission by radio are costly, and the program can only be applied to Indian groups in an advanced or accelerated stage of cultural evolution, where radios are commonplace. It is infrequent that in these remote zones the indigenous population should be predisposed to formal education and radios, hence the program is not widespread. In a similar condition are the week-long boarding schools alluded to earlier. These are customarily established in the "diffusion" areas of a centre's region, isolated in an inaccessible zone, and the children come from as far away as fifteen kilometers to attend. The home of a couple is selected as the site of a school, and the children and the promoter live and perform their work there. The couple

care for the children and provide them with food, payment comes from the parents when possible and is subsidized by the centre in the region. Discipline is relaxed and a home environment is simulated to make the children comfortable. It is mandatory, however, that the children return home for the weekends to maintain their contact with the community. In 1964 (the latest figures available) only 5 of these schools, reaching a total of 358 children, were in operation. According to INI sources more are planned, since they have proven more successful in the percentage of students who complete the program (62%), than the regular INI schools (50%).

Other experiments for the more remote regions include what are labelled "Schools of Concentration". In conjunction with the Federal Department of Education and the National Institute for the Protection of Infants, these schools are established in the Coordinating Centres themselves and provide a similar program to that of the "weeklong" boarding schools. The difference between these and the other schools for boarders lies in the fact that located in the centres, they can provide a wider range of resources and offer education well past the primary level. Nine of these schools, educating 2,430 students in 1963 in two Coordinating Centres, now number over thirty and offer basics in agricultural training, finance, crafts and primary schooling to more than 8,000 students.

Although the INI does not view education of an academic kind to be essential to the development of the indigenous communities, the demands for post-primary education are increasing, and the

policy regarding indigenous education reads, "the indigenous child shall have opportunities equal to all other Mexican children, so that in accord with his capacities he may attend the institutions of the highest level, for his technical, professional or university training."²³ Steps in this direction have been taken to provide secondary and vocational education to indigenes. Most Coordinating Centres now have one secondary school, and some provide vocational training. In the Tarahumara Centre, for example, the INI, with the support of the State University of Chihuahua, the State School of Social Work and the private Palmore Training Centre for Nursing and Obstetrics, trains indigenous students as physical education instructors, social workers and nurses. In the coffee growing region of Oaxaca, the secondary school of the INI operates a program in conjunction with the National Coffee Growers Association, which provides specialized technical training in modern methods of coffee-growing for secondary school students.

The federal Department of Education now allots 33% of its scholarship fund to indigenous children, to provide them with secondary, vocational and technical training. Some graduates from this program are given support to attend the National Polytechnic Institute. Figures on the number of students who attend secondary school or who receive post-secondary education are not available nor are figures on the careers they chose. However, since only about one-half of one per cent of indigenous students graduate from primary school, these advanced programs

23. Projects and Realities of the INI, 1964, p. 42.

are not likely to affect more than 2,000 indigenous youths at any time.

In the areas of a Coordinating Centre's jurisdiction the INI and the Department of Education work in close conjunction in the administering, teaching and planning of schooling. Teachers salaries, including those of the promoter, are paid by the Education Department. The INI is mainly responsible for adapting the curriculum to local needs and determining the demand for educational facilities.

In the areas not administered by a Coordinating Centre, indigenous education is conducted by the Branch of Indian Affairs in the Department of Public Education. The branch is a part of the rural school system, which supervises the more than six thousand rural schools throughout the nation. Approximately twenty per cent of the population reached by these rural schools is considered indigenous. The teacher-student ratio here is little better than in the Coordinating Centre schools (1:50; vs. 1:60). About 13,000 rural teachers instruct 700,000 or more students in primary academic subjects, agricultural and livestock methods, crafts and hygiene.

The INI and Department of Education's rural school programs are supplemented by the Cultural Missions established in the 1920's by Moises Saenz. These missions take up short-term residence in rural communities, to improve hygienic and sanitary conditions as well as attempting to upgrade the level of rural economic activity. These are essentially short-term, adult education projects designed to bring about overall improvement

to rural community life. They now number ninety-four, and their work is reputed to affect the lives of some 17,000 Mexicans, thirty per cent of them considered Indian.

Further adult education for Indians is conducted by the Department's thirty-odd Day-Boarding Schools, which provide the last three years of primary schooling, and agricultural, livestock and small craft training to over 4,500 Indians.

Lastly, there are now 676 Literacy Centres in 152 municipalities which teach 13,520 indigenous students Spanish to further their integration to the national society.

Future plans include the addition of five more Cultural Missions, 500 new Literacy Centres, three new Day-Boarding schools, and 1,320 more scholarships to those attending these schools. Eight schools for the teaching of industrial and agricultural work are to be established in different regions where there are high populations of Indians to round out the program.

As presented, the programs of the INI and the Federal Department of Education demonstrate the government's commitment to education for the indigenous population, with a wide range of services tailored for local needs. If there is a goal which has not thus far been stated, it lies in providing the indigenous communities with resources to survive in a rapidly changing society that they will eventually and necessarily become a part of.

(ii) Health

Much of the work in each Centre is concerned with providing

medical care to the region which it serves and encouraging the acceptance of preventive medicine through vaccination and other public health measures. The medical division of each Centre includes a director; a staff of doctors and auxiliary workers in public health; nurses and promoters. The requisites for a promoter in this area are more rigorous than those expected of a promoter in education, as the individual must have a pre-disposition towards changing fundamental beliefs, yet must also enjoy the faith and respect of his community.

The role of the promoter and in particular the anthropologist is essential in this area, as a knowledge of the fundamental magico-religious beliefs of the community where the program is to be implemented is crucial to the success or failure of the program. Since medicine is so basically linked to the religious values of most communities, change is a delicate process.

The INI attitude has been to provide 'modern' cures when possible, but should these conflict with traditional 'magical' cures, the latter prevail.

Since the inception of the medical program in 1951 there have been over one-half million medical consultations in the indigenous zones. The number of consultations has increased with the number of centres, and doctors available, from 1,762 in 1951 to 77,127 in 1964. Massive campaigns against typhus and other communicable diseases have reached over half a million persons. One-third of these have been given DPT shots, the remainder having been vaccinated against typhoid. In addition some 300,000 persons have been vaccinated against smallpox, and 10,000 polio

shots and boosters have been administered. The mixed blessing of DDT has also found its way into the lives of 700,000 Mexican Indians.

Latrines have been built in most communities, as have barber shops, public baths and wells.

Health practices are part of INI's educational program in both adult and child education. This program is reinforced by a travelling puppet theatre, which is used in remote areas to instruct in public health measures. Where the audiences are too sophisticated or too familiar with the puppet theatre, slides, movies and other audio-visual aides are employed.

Thirty-two rural health centres under the direction of the Department of Health and Welfare were opened in 1964 to provide on-going medical care in different regions of the country not served by the INI. Their programs also include instruction in nutrition and improvement in sanitation.

By North American standards, the quality of health care in Mexico is low. There is only one doctor per two thousand people on a national average and far fewer understandably in indigenous zones. In 1964 the medical units of the INI's twelve Coordinating Centres were spread throughout twenty-three clinics. There were nine doctors who were heads of the medical section, seventeen general practitioners, one odontologist, two nursing midwives, two regular nurses, two chemical bacteriologists, forty-seven promoters and fifteen aides. There are no figures available on present services.

The Indian population of Mexico, now about ten per cent of the total population, comprises its poorest segment. They support themselves through the production of corn and other crops such as beans, squash, rice, sugar cane and fruits. Sales of cattle and craftwork account for the remainder of the income derived from their economic base. Generally this is not enough, and to make ends meet Indians contract their labour to plantations and haciendas. The jobs available for them here consist of harvesting pineapple, sugar, coffee, tobacco and chile. They also pick cotton and fell lumber for commercial enterprises. Some Indian lands are rented to private enterprise, which exploits the natural resources (lumber and minerals), adding another dimension of income.

All too often the Indians are the victims of chicanery and double-dealing in these transactions, as mestizo entrepreneurs attempt to short-change them in rents and wages. Given the poverty of the indigenous zones to begin with this is an intolerable situation which INI is attempting to correct.

An estimate of Indian revenue for 1964 demonstrates the poverty prevailing in the "refuge regions" and the subsistence nature of the economy.

TABLE IX*
INDIAN REVENUE ESTIMATE 1964¹

Agricultural Sales	Maize	\$307.35	-----	\$	384.35
	Other	77.00			
Cattle Sales and Revenue from Arts and Crafts			-----		362.06
Revenue from day-labour 2,3.			-----		351.25
Total					\$1,097.66

1. Figures given in millions of pesos.

2. Based on 731,774 indigenous households.

3. Calculated at \$6.00(pesos)per diem for 80 days each year.

* Source: Realities and Projects of the INI. Mexico D.F. 1964, p.

The figures given above represent 0.9% of the Gross National Product, which is distributed among 10.4 per cent of the population. Per Capita income averages out at about \$300, or in Canadian funds roughly \$25 per year. Household income is about \$100 (Canadian) per year.

Within each Coordinating Centre of the INI a division for economic development conducts studies to assess the economic situation and potential of a region, as well as measuring the desirability of introducing fundamental changes in the region's economy. The INI pays for these studies and pays the salaries of labourers employed to implement projects, but other funds are obtained from government departments for capital expenditures such as equipment and seeds. In most cases, however, the communities themselves are tapped for resources to emphasize the self-help nature of the projects.

The goals of the projects are not designed to change the economic base of any given community, but instead to improve the exploitation of the existing resources of a region and to obtain fairer prices for those resources in the marketplace.

The major areas of INI intervention are in the fields of forestry exploitation, rice cultivation, maize sales and coffee sales. With regard to the exploitation of forest resources, the INI has revised the manner in which the Indians can benefit from their holdings. Before the INI intervention most of the forests in indigenous zones were exploited by private firms with the permission of the Department of Forestry. Payments received for the use of the land and the timber passed directly

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to the coffers of the National Ejido Credit Bank, since by Article 27 of the Constitution these lands could be interpreted as "idle" and hence belonging to the nation. The only revenue derived by the Indians came from what they could earn by felling the lumber and other forms of menial labour. Now, the Indians supervise the felling of trees in their zones and sell them to a lumber mill, which in turn sells the finished product to businesses and other consumers. INI supervises the operation and makes arrangements with the mill and the final consumers. This is done to ensure fairer prices for the Indians' labours and produce. In some instances the mill is simply paid for the task of cutting the wood, out of the revenues derived from the final consumers. In all cases the money for the wood now returns to the Indian community. The goal of this operation is ultimately to have the Indians take over the running of the mill itself and supervise the operation from start to finish. In the meantime, the degree of participation of the indigenous communities has risen, as have skills in forestry methods. Since the INI and the Indians are in control over the land which is worked, the irrational defacing of the landscape which characterized earlier exploitations has been reduced.

Maize and coffee sales have improved the conditions of several indigenous communities since the INI has been supervising the sales of these commodities. The centres have coordinated their efforts with several decentralized agencies of state and federal governments that buy and sell agricultural produce, to attempt to circumvent local monopolies and hoarders who gave

the Indians unfair prices for their goods. The National Depository Stores (ANDSA), the National Company of Popular Consumables (CONASUPO), the Mexican Coffee Association and the National Ejido Credit Bank in conjunction with the INI have gone far to improve the prices the Indians receive for their merchandise. The competition offered by these government agencies has frequently forced local buyers to raise their prices. Similarly in regions where there are food shortages, government intervention has reduced the costs of food in indigenous zones and forced local merchants to lower their prices when selling goods to Indians. The point is dramatized by the degree to which government intervention has affected the above mentioned prices and costs. For example, in Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca, coffee speculators were paying \$2.50 (Mex.) for high grade coffee and \$1.50 for medium grade. The government-sponsored coffee association offered \$5.96 for the high-grade and \$4.73 for the medium. Sales of maize to indigenous zones through ANDSA have reduced the price of corn from \$1.25 (Mex.) per kilo to \$0.88.

Credit to indigenous communities has been facilitated by the INI since 1961. Prior to that date, official money-lending institutions had refused to lend money to Indians, considering them a poor risk. Most loans to indigenous communities had been provided by "loan sharks", charging outrageous interest rates, or were made by local monopolists who then purchased the produce for which the loan had been made at very low prices. Since then, the economic division of INI has assessed all projects for which credit is requested, and has submitted its findings to

the lending agency involved, usually the National Bank of External Commerce. With INI sponsorship and high degree of success on the return of loans many indigenous communities have established a good credit rating and expanded their economic output. The monopoly of middlemen has been reduced, or they have been forced to provide fairer interest rates to remain competitive.

The economic division of the INI, in conjunction with the National Ejido Development Fund and the Department of Agrarian Affairs, has assisted indigenous people in investing their resources to improve the conditions of their communities. One example permitted a community to purchase new land, two hundred calves, ten horses and mares, five stud horses as well as twenty tons of maize and two tons of beans for planting. The results were so successful that the following year they were able to expand their crop land by another 103 hectares (250 acres), purchase a tractor and buy \$16,000 (Mex.) of fencing material, medicine, salt and equipment for the animals. While this is an exceptional case, the enthusiasm generated by the success of such an undertaking goes far beyond the material level as it brings a people a new-found confidence in a new way of doing things, making further changes more easily introduced.

Cooperatives have been introduced in a few of the communities served by Coordinating Centres, initially financed by the INI. There are now approximately forty cooperatives in indigenous communities, most of them for the buying and selling of agricultural produce, and several for the transportation of

persons and goods to regional centres and others for the exploitation of forestry resources. Some have shown modest profits, and have served to eliminate middlemen and local monopolists.

The development of a fisheries program has been initiated in three regions to improve the diet of the indigenous people, which is low in proteins. It has also served to provide the population of the area with another recreational facility, and it is eventually expected to provide a new source of revenue for some communities. The shortage of water in most of the country places restrictions on this program.

The examples provided by INI sources would indicate that the plans for economic development in the Coordinating Centres are following a successful course in the development of local self-sufficiency and in some cases even a surplus. There are no means presently available to dispute these facts. It would seem, however, that the overall condition of Mexico's indigenous population has not been significantly improved by the INI's economic program. First, the INI only reaches about one-half of the total indigenous population, and most projects initiated by a Centre are only conducted in the 'demonstration' area of its jurisdiction. Second, given the total number of forty cooperatives for 15,837 indigenous communities, it would appear that there are either reservations about the applicability of "coops" or that these have not "caught on" to any great extent among the native population. The other examples, citing improved

prices for produce offered by Government stores, have in some instances raised incomes, but in themselves are not necessarily effective, either because Indians do not know of them or because they only apply to certain kinds of produce. Furthermore, while government can provide fairer prices than monopolists, this does not mean that Indian self-sufficiency and economic well-being are thus necessarily guaranteed. The extent to which the INI has involved itself with these economic plans suggests that changes in the economic patterns of Mexico's indigenous population are slow in coming, and that the economic condition of the Indians is not likely to improve in the immediate future. Given the poverty of rural Mexico in general, the prospects for immediate improvement are bleak.

(iv) Agrarian Affairs and Agriculture

In the more remote regions of Mexico the implementation of agrarian reforms and redistribution of lands is in some areas still being fought out between the local hierarchy and the poorer residents, many of them Indians. The Coordinating Centres have the responsibility for seeing that the agrarian reform laws are being implemented in and around the indigenous communities. Their task consists of assessing petitions for the confirmation and expanding of communal lands or finding new lands for groups who have had to be relocated, appointing arbiters in the event of disputes and conducting surveys to see that the decisions of the arbitration are fairly implemented.

The process of agrarian reform does not, however, end with

the equitable redistribution of land. In the poorer indigenous communities in particular, the program is prolonged to attempt to change the prevailing knowledge and technology, so the inhabitants might benefit more from their environment. To change technology, however, the motivations and attitudes of the community must also be altered for the new techniques or methods to be accepted and incorporated. But agricultural practices are deeply rooted in the cultures of Mexico's indigenous people. They stem from the pre-Columbian era, and are linked to psychological and magico-religious factors. Accordingly, changes are implemented cautiously, since the indigenists do not wish to implement modern technology without considering its cultural implications.

Nor does the INI attempt to impose an alien pattern of land-holding on the indigenous communities, taking note of the differences in conceptions of property which exist between western and indigenous people. This reinforces the provisions of the 1917 Constitution's Article 27 and the agrarian reform laws modified under the Cárdenas administration which sanctioned two types of holdings, private and ejido. Ejido lands enjoy special protection by the government, since they are those lands returned to Mexico's dispossessed peasants and Indians after the Revolution. Indigenous people may hold either private or ejido properties.

Ejidos may be termed semi-collective in that the community which administers them may do so in a collective or individual fashion. The collective interpretation of ejido holdings is

generally consistent with the property conceptions of most indigenous people. Ejido lands, whether individually or collectively administered, cannot be sold, subdivided or placed under any type of lien by private individuals. (In indigenous zones, they may by special arrangement with the INI be rented out to commercial enterprises in attempts to develop native industry, as shown in the preceding section on forestry exploitation.) They are also the recipients of special government grants, and can obtain financing from the National Ejido Credit Bank. There are no "official" tax exemptions for lands, whether held by Indians or mestizos. Taxation laws are rarely enforced, however, particularly in zones of high indigenous concentration.

Generally, the INI has not interfered with the administration of indigenous lands, considering native concepts of property and tenure to be an intrinsic part of native life. The two major exceptions to this rule of thumb occur when first, the indigenous community's property is a private holding, and second when the economic survival of the community's holdings appears to be in peril.

Since private holdings are not protected by government, the INI encourages indigenous people with private holdings to convert them into ejidos to guard against exploitation or loss to land-speculators or firms. As ejidos, they also have better access to credit. Among more acculturated groups, if there is accentuated poverty, the Institute has attempted to convert the collective method of exploitation into one based on individual production. Among mestizos, ejidos which are divided

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up among the members and then worked individually have proven more satisfactory in economic return than those administered in a collective manner. Whether this individual-versus-collective method will be as acceptable or economically viable among native peoples is open to debate. As ejidos, however, indigenous lands do have alternate courses of action before them, and enjoy greater security than they would as private property.

Other changes, such as those involving the raising or improving of existing strains of cattle and other livestock, which did not become a part of indigenous life until after the Conquest, are more frequently and easily implemented since they are not so deeply imbedded in indigenous culture, their source coming from Hispanic origins. As with all changes, however, those pertaining to livestock are only applied when it is felt they will make a positive contribution to the quality of indigenous life.

Anthropological studies precede all changes to avoid the possibility of a clash between the introduction of new elements and the prevailing world-view of the culture in question. What these studies have also revealed is the difference between the agricultural practices of different groups which render the application of a general agricultural program for indigenous people ineffectual. Hence, much of the work conducted in indigenous zones before the INI was established, by the Department of Agrarian Affairs which did not take cultural variables into account, has had to be re-evaluated. Since then the INI claims that its agricultural program has "established

special norms of action taking into account the details and characteristics of the Indians, as well as providing for changes whose rhythm of progress is consistent with the speed at which acculturation can be undertaken, realizing that agricultural activities constitute an integral part of the whole."²⁴

In each Coordinating Centre there is an agricultural division headed by an agronomist and a support staff, the most important member of which is the promoter, who is the critical link between the centre and the community.

The basic objectives of the program are to improve the factors of a community's production for the purpose of guaranteeing the population's survival and whenever possible to produce a marketable surplus that will aid the material resources of the community.

The methods used by INI stress that modifications be slight, so that the fundamental agricultural routines and systems of exploitation to which the people are accustomed are not interfered with. If there is to be a change, for example, in the kind of seed used by a community, it must be better with regard to community needs than the familiar one. The new or test seed is subjected to experiment in the laboratories of the INI to test its applicability to a given region. If it is found to have a greater survival capacity than the autochthonous one, it is then planted in the centre's experimental field for further observation. Fields belonging to members of the community most disposed to change are then planted with the test seed to

24. Ibid. P.86.

compare it with the traditional one. The centre guarantees the new seed against any losses the farmer might incur and, according to INI information, the Centre has never had to pay on its guarantee. From here it is hoped that the virtues of the new seed will become apparent throughout the community and that it will replace the old. In the selection of the new variety, primary consideration is given to its survival capacity in the face of flooding, drought, or poor soil conditions, rather than high yield, since survival is considered more important than surplus. The failure of a new method or seed could spell disaster to the entire project.

Another consideration in the INI's agricultural program is to utilize the familiar to bring about change, rather than the unfamiliar. With livestock for example, the improvement of existing strains is preferred to introducing new breeds or species, although this is permitted later when resistance to change is less and there is greater confidence in the Coordinating Centre.

As mentioned earlier, credit for agricultural pursuits is available, and according to INI sources, no 'gifts' are made to the indigenous communities.* Barter is acceptable for certain items.

The accomplishments of the INI in this aspect of its work vary widely from region to region, depending on factors such as soil and climate and the responsiveness of the indigenous communities with whom they are working. Diversification and

*Evidence to the contrary was witnessed by two Canadian officials visiting Mexico, indicating inconsistencies between the ideal and real in policy.

increased production of crops such as corn, beans, squash seem to be the main aspects of their work, although vaccination of cattle and improvements in the strains of chickens, pigs and goats are also mentioned. Soil erosion in some areas has been reduced by the Indians' acceptance of planting a new kind of ground cover. Short-cycle seeds have been introduced in regions receiving short seasonal rain supply, and fruit production, while initially resisted, is now widespread in most indigenous communities.

On-going assessment of the innovations introduced, conducted by the agronomist, round out the agricultural program and allow for changes to be made when necessary.

As with Economic Development, the extent to which these programs are applied is the principle measure of their success or failure. Budgetary restrictions again inhibit their application on a wide scale, most recipients who benefit being the residents of the "demonstration" zones of a Centre's jurisdiction.

(v) Communications

The Regions where most of Mexico's indigenous population live have been appropriately labelled "refuge regions" by one Mexican anthropologist. As such they are located frequently in the most remote and inaccessible parts of the country. A large part of INI's program has been devoted to extending the influence of its Coordinating Centres from the metropoli where they are located into the surrounding area to link the various communities of a region to one another. This is done to increase interaction between them, to make access possible for the establishment of schools and medical services, and to allow for the transportation of goods in and out of the "refuge regions".

The roads in these zones are referred to as penetration breaches, designed to open up the countryside and to link as many small villages to each other as possible. As a result they are serpentine in direction, and because they are solely for the use of the communities' residents, are rarely wide enough to allow for more than one lane of traffic.

Equipment such as bulldozers, trucks and drills, provided by the Departments of Highways in the different states, are operated under INI supervision. Labour is recruited from the residents of the region. For the most part indigenous people have not adapted to the fixed schedules of highway construction. The costs involved have limited construction to about twenty kilometers each year. As with most innovations, initial

resistance has given way to demands for more roads in indigenous regions than were ever anticipated.

Although the roads are impassable in some regions because of flooding several months each year, construction has apparently been good enough in most cases to require only minor maintenance. In the ten years that INI has supervised the program it has acquired approximately \$4 million (Mex.) worth of equipment in the form of jeeps, pneumatic drills, dump trucks, and tractors with bulldozing equipment, to maintain these roads.

Other communications facilities include telegraph and telephone lines in one region linking approximately a half-million indigenous persons to each other; how much these facilities are made use of is not pointed out in the literature available.

(vi) Mobilization and Resettling of Indigenous Populations

In spite of the best intentions of the INI and other agencies working with indigenous people in Mexico, there have been circumstances which on occasions have led to a clash of culture. In these clashes it has invariably been the indigenous people who have had to give way to the will of the majority culture, indigenists or no indigenists.

The construction of the Miguel Alemán dam in the Papaloapan region of Oaxaca (1954-62) has been one such case*. The reason given for building the dam according to official sources was that annual flooding of the Tonto river posed a grave menace to the inhabitants residing along its banks. The creation of

*This account of the Miguel Alemán Dam and its impact on the Indian is found in Realities and Projects of the INI. Mexico D.F. 1964, pp. 121-131.

a dam would prevent the annual flooding, and provide hydro-electric power for the regions as well as creating an irrigation system for the mestizo farmers living in the lower valley.

The fact that the creation of the dam would upset the life style of 22,000 Mazatec Indians and result in the forced migration of 14,000 members of their group appears to have made little impact on the planners of the project. This lamentable situation was compounded by the fact that many of the region's inhabitants had only just received ejido lands after a lengthy court battle, and were now having them almost immediately expropriated. Opposition to the plan among those to be affected was understandably high. The attachment to the land felt by indigenous people, more significant than possession in the "western" sense, and the damming of the river, until then navigable, broke the basic chain of communication between the Mazatec communities and upset the hub of their socio-economic life which centered on the river.

The INI was included in the project to supervise the relocation of indigenous people. "Information" brigades consisting of INI workers and promoters began to inform people of what was to come and attempted to convince them to move. A new zone, to be located at the eastern end of what would soon become a lake, was offered to those who would move, lands to be assessed at an equal value to those lost. Compensation for goods which could not be moved was promised. Initially about fifteen per cent of the population responded to the offer. The

remainder, seeing the waters of the lake rise very slowly, refused to believe their homes would ever be affected and would not move to the new site.

Community life disintegrated as families left their lands and moved to a new location, often finding the promised housing in the new area unfinished, the land surveys incomplete, and on occasion the new land unsuitable for agricultural purposes. In some instances the newly-moved proprietor found his land unsatisfactory for other reasons, psychological, cultural, or emotional because he simply did not like his new environment.

Not only the Indians but sometimes mestizos opposed the move. The latter opposed it because they were being deprived of a cheap source of labour, or an Indian owed them money or a service and in the reshuffling of people had successfully gotten lost.

In spite of the opposition the water continued to rise, drowning all moral and physical obstacles in its path. After four years the program had more or less successfully relocated fifty per cent of the population, but now the land set aside for the migrants was completely used up. New relocation zones had to be established. A second and a third zone were successively established within about thirty kilometres of the original site but these too proved insufficient, requiring a fourth and then a fifth zone later. The last two could only be found over one hundred kilometres away and involved moving the inhabitants and their possessions by train and bus, vehicles

with which they were then completely unfamiliar, adding to the general disintegrating and disculturating effects of the project.

Persons moved to the first and third relocation zones sometimes had to be moved again since the new lands were inadequate. Once finally resettled it was discovered that sometimes antagonistic groups had been placed side by side, aggravating the tension. Not until after the relocation had been completed did it also become apparent that in addition to the four different indigenous groups who had lived in the original area, there were differences between villages with regard to dialects and intonation, presenting communication problems between new neighbours at best, open conflict and hostility at worst.

In this project, even the anthropologists appear to have been overwhelmed, not to mention the government itself. Housing frequently proved of inferior quality, construction materials did not arrive and neither did the clinics, schools and other facilities. Other shortcomings cited included the impassability of roads in times of rain, suspension of payment for goods lost or damaged, and the lack of surveys to determine precisely what land belonged to whom.

According to INI reports, the accomplishments of recent years have since ironed out many of the "bugs" and the population has for the most part adapted to their own territory. Centres for community development have been built, loans made, new

agricultural methods introduced and the issues of land appropriation and compensation settled; but details are lacking and questions concerning the full effects of this "guided" or, better, "enforced" acculturation remain unanswered.

(vii) Popular Arts

The sponsoring of indigenous arts is conducted by each Coordinating Centre and receives support from the National Patronage of Popular Arts and Crafts, a body composed of representatives from the INI, the National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) and the National Museum of Popular Arts and Crafts. The Patronage is responsible for the formulation of policy with regard to popular arts and provides technical assistance and support to indigenous artists throughout the nation via the INI. Loans to support popular arts, from the National Bank of External Commerce, totalled \$20 million (Mex.) by 1970 and reached over two million persons, many of them Indians.

Materials of superior quality are made available for artists and craftsmen, and training is provided to would-be artists by other artists residing in the communities. These teachers or art promoters are paid by the Patronage for instructing their skills. Textile- and reed-weaving, silver- and bronze-working, pottery, yarn-paintings and the making of traditional statues and furniture are the major but by no means all of the many crafts found in indigenous communities.

Exhibitions of popular art are common all over the country and are frequently shown throughout the world. National pride in indigenous art is probably nowhere more exalted than in Mexico and consequently its perpetuation is highly encouraged.

(viii) Judicial Responsibilities of the INI

The law which created the INI also included provisions for the resolution of legal conflicts. The legal staff of the INI act under the direction of the judicial branch of the Institute, but may be called to a Coordinating Centre at the director's discretion. The director's intervention in disputes is common since he is familiar with the problems between communities of the region in which he works. It is not uncommon, when the centre enjoys the support of the communities, for the director to be asked to arbitrate disputes, and for his judgement to be upheld.

The majority of problems requiring legal solution derive from issues of land tenure. In those instances when indigenous people do not have sufficient lands, forests, or waters to meet their needs, the legal teams of the INI intervene on their behalf to obtain a presidential order for the dotation of ejido lands. The institute's legal teams see to it that the necessary documents, titles and deeds are in order. Procedures are further facilitated since surveys conducted by INI crews are considered "official" by virtue of an agreement with the Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization.

When requested by the Indians, conversions from private to ejido landholdings are conducted by the INI's judicial officers, in conjunction with the state agencies and the Federal Department of Agrarian Affairs and Colonization. The Indians then receive titles accrediting to them the lands which have been theirs since time immemorial.

The legal department's duties extend to making the necessary arrangements with lending agencies on behalf of the communities, making contracts for the exploitation of resources, training promoters in legal affairs particularly of an agrarian nature, and defending indigenous people accused of crimes against mestizos or other Indians.

Crime among indigenous people varies from region to region, group to group. In all instances indigenous people have their own means of dealing with their problems; consequently the INI legal staff conducts most of its work in areas where the indigenous population comes into contact with the national culture. In Chiapas, for example, the Indians were for a long time persecuted by the State government which attempted to prevent the Indian production of aguardiente, a local liquor. The government was acting on behalf of local commercial producers of aguardiente, who did not want competition from the Indians. The supreme court ruled in favour of the INI's legal staff, who contended that the making of aguardiente was a part of the Indians' culture and should not be restricted. Most other cases involve the defending of indigenous people

against charges made by mestizos who have contracted Indian labour, or resolving disputes over land possession between Indians and mestizos.

How successful this indigenous "legal aid" really is, is difficult to determine. That it exists, free, as a service to the indigenous population of Mexico attests to its intention. Figures provided by the INI show that the services are being used more each year, particularly in terms of consultations of an agrarian nature with the communities. The use of INI legal staffs in civil litigation has in most areas increased about ten-fold since its inception in 1950, indicating that it has "taken" very well among the indigenous population. Criminal cases have remained constant in the different areas cited, suggesting that either a rising crime rate is not a factor in indigenous communities or that most criminal cases are handled by local indigenous hierarchies and will continue to be handled in this manner.

C: OTHER AGENCIES AND DEPARTMENTS

While the INI is the official policy-formulating and implementing body of Mexican indigenism, there are many programs initiated and run by other organizations. Since the INI's founding charter states that it shall have jurisdiction over all indigenous people, it does in many instances share personnel with these other programs and in some instances comes to dominate a project as it expands the base of its operations.

In the following pages, an outline of the other programs affecting indigenous people and the relative degree of INI involvement will be offered, to emphasize the multifaceted nature of work being done.

1. Functional Government Departments:

The cooperation between the INI and the departments of the Federal Government has been mentioned in the previous section but certain points should be elaborated here.

The Department of Health and Welfare provides personnel and resources to the INI but simultaneously runs over 500 Rural Centres of Social Welfare, many of which operate in indigenous communities not yet serviced by the INI. The personnel consist of doctors, nurses, nutrition experts, sanitary engineers, epidemiologists, etc., who attempt to improve sanitary conditions through services and training. Their main limitation is the size of the program, which restricts the number of specialists in a centre to three individuals.

u

The Department of Hydraulic Resources has undertaken several projects in zones of high indigenous concentration, such as the Papaloapan Dam project mentioned earlier. A commission formed for the undertaking, as pointed out, involved the INI, and subsequently a Coordinating Centre was established in the region due to the vast difficulties which the project created. In another case, in the Tepalcatepec region of Michoacán state, there is as yet no centre established, and a commission for the irrigation and damming project made up of representatives of the Department of Hydraulic Resources and the INI still supervises the area as a specialized commission. A similar example exists in the Indian Association of the Valley of Mezquital, a project established in 1951 to alleviate the chronic poverty of the Otomí Indians. Similar to the INI Coordinating Centres, this is a special state-federal inter-departmental project, responsible to the Governor of the State, and involves the federal departments of Education, Agriculture, Hydraulic Resources and Communications. An INI-trained anthropologist directs the project, but INI involvement is minimal. Conceivably the success of the project has not required further INI supervision. The Inter-Departmental Commission for the Yaqui Region, 1951, to improve irrigation and water resources, to make loans available for agriculture, and construct schools and roads in the northern Sonora desert has not employed INI facilities or personnel since its inception. Although it appears to be a developmental program, the INI literature on the

subject states that its operations are a secret to them and that consequently the goals of the project do not seem oriented to the integration of the Yaqui people into Mexican society. Further information does not appear to be available.

" The closest collaboration between the INI and a government department exists between the Institute and the Department of Education. The relationship is attributable to many factors, the major one being that the programs for indigenous communities are an offshoot of the earlier programs of rural education applied to indigenous zones. This symbiotic relationship is more apparent than ever today in that the Director of the INI is simultaneously Subsecretary of the Education Department's Indian Affairs Directorate. The directorate supervises "pilot" education projects in indigenous regions as well as the schools of indigenous zones and the missions of Indigenous Improvement, which consist of travelling bands of specialists in different areas. The Missions of Indigenous Improvement are essentially a part of the Cultural Mission program, applied to indigenous zones. The Cultural Missions consist of teachers, doctors, technicians in agriculture, carpenters, and instructors of art and regional crafts, who travel to various communities to establish action committees in adult, vocational and educational training. The Missions differ from Coordinating Centres in that they do not stay permanently in an area, moving on after a period of approximately six months, leaving behind a small staff of usually three members to follow up the work.

u The support of local and regional agencies, not federal ones, is utilized in their work; they affect a much smaller group of people, and their impact is understandably less than that of a centre. The Missions today number about seventy-eight and there are twelve additional Missions for Indigenous Improvement. When a centre is established in the region, their work is no longer required and they establish a new work zone.

u The Missions are supervised by the Department of Education's Literacy and Extracurricular Education Branch, and work mostly with rural mestizos. When working with indigenous people, however, an anthropologist is included in the team to deal with cultural differences. As mentioned, the Missions are not as effective as Coordinating Centres, but they serve as a stop-gap until better facilities can be established. They also serve to pave the way for establishing a centre in the information they can provide to the INI concerning the inhabitants of a region, and in breaking down initial resistance to outsiders and change. Much in the same way that the early rural teachers on horseback, commuting from region to region, paved the way for the rural school, the Missions can be regarded as an advanced guard for permanent facilities such as a new school or a Coordinating Centre.

u In addition to the Missions, the Department of Education has some fifty Advancement Brigades consisting of administrative personnel to ensure that a community (indigenous or mestizo)

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has access to the services of non-specialized dependencies of local, state and Federal governments. The Brigades are best viewed as filling a watch-dog function for other agencies to improve the service available to the rural population.

Similar brigades, labelled for material, civic and moral improvement under the auspices of Secretary of State, conduct their operations throughout rural Mexico. Their impact has been mostly in mestizo towns, where with local authorities civic improvement projects are undertaken. Initially some of these brigades worked in indigenous areas but their duplication of the work of the Cultural Missions or the Coordinating Centres and their lack of expertise with Indians soon led them to play a minor role.

One last item refers to the role of the Department of Justice, which in addition to the legal officers contracted to the INI, has twenty-six offices for indigenous legal-aid in different regions of Mexico. The extent of their impact is not elaborated upon in the literature available.

2. International Agencies:

The parent organization of the INI is the Inter-American Indian Institute, founded in 1940 by an Inter-American Conference held in Pátzcuaro, Mexico. The goals of the IAI as stated in their charter, are to "comprehend the reality of the Indian community on the Continent in its various cultural and ecological contexts and to further its integral

socio-economic development."²⁵ To this end, the body works with national and other international agencies attempting to get the governments of the member states to promote programs of integral community development in indigenous zones. It is in this sense responsible for the establishing of national institutes in all the nations of continental Latin America, with the exception of Uruguay and Guyana, the latter holding observer status as does Canada.

The IALL is a specialized body of the Organization of American States, and as such works in close concert with the other specialized bodies of that organization, such as the Inter-American Economic and Social Council, the Pan-American Health Organization, the Inter-American Council for Education, and others which reinforce the integral nature of its work.

u The headquarters of the IALL are in Mexico City, where the Mexican government contributes all the facilities (buildings, telephone services, and all materials required for the maintenance of a Head Office) as well as ten per cent of the organization's total budget (\$100,000 U.S. in 1971-72). Financing is probably the IALL's greatest problem and were it not for the U.S. contribution which accounts for sixty-five per cent, the Institute would be able to do little effective work.

v The program of the IALL began by attempting to get member nations to establish National Indian Institutes, a venture which has been successful in most cases, none of them, however, quite as extensive as Mexico's INI. It has since undertaken

²⁵ Inter-American Indian Institute. 1962 p. 5

numerous research projects to resolve specific indigenous problems, beginning with a study of medical beliefs and practices of indigenous populations afflicted with onchocercosis in Mexico and Guatemala. In cooperation with the Mexican and Guatemalan departments of Health and Welfare and the Pan-American Health Organization, a committee for the eradication of the disease was established and has since reduced its effects in most areas. In 1950 studies of the Mezquital Valley were conducted by the IALL at the request of UNESCO, which led to the establishing of the Indian Association of the Valley of Mezquital by the Mexican government.

Probably the most important work of the IALL is in the programs it has created for the training of experts on Indian affairs who can introduce new techniques and methods in Indian communities with a view to improving their economic and social condition. In collaboration with UNESCO and later the OAS, several of these programs have provided scholarships to many students from different Latin American countries to come and study in Mexico. The program, which began in 1950 as the Regional Fundamental Education Centre for Latin America (CREFAL), was designed to train teachers for the purpose of providing fundamental education in the rural areas of their own nations. The CREFAL centre was established in Pátzcuaro, Michoacan state, where the students received training in the following areas considered "fundamental" or "essential" by the program: education and the community,

applied literacy, audio-visual aid use, rural economy, health, recreation and theatre. The eighteen-month program involved six months in which groups of seven students under the direction of two professors of fundamental education and community development spent working in neighbouring indigenous communities. In the past twenty years about four hundred students have been trained by the centre and their work has helped the Tarascan communities to improve the quality of their housing, schools, and agriculture. The program has also led to the building of social centres, the introduction of electricity, better water facilities and the creation of local theatre and health groups:

" A similar program was begun in 1960 under the auspices of the OAS, UNESCO and the Mexican government. Project 104, as it was called, provided scholarships to sixty-two Latin American students to attend a two-year program in community development training in Mexico. The program involved course work taken at Mexico's National Institute of Anthropology and History (INAH) consisting of applied anthropology, social anthropology and personality, social organization, social and cultural change and field work methods. Nine months of the time was spent in field work under the direction of INI field staff and other government departments working with indigenous people.

" The program has since been revised as Project 208, and has followed the same format, with the exception that its

facilities have been relocated to an INI coordinating centre in Chiapas state. Since early 1972 this project has become a permanent program called the Indian Anthropological Institute which continues to dedicate itself to the training of "indigenists" from most Latin American nations.

The IAI also publishes the triannual "América Indígena" and "Anuario Indigenista" (Indigenist Yearbook) containing articles by eminent anthropologists and educators from the member nations of the IAI and the IAI staff itself; which serve to provide new ideas of a scientific nature that could help to affect the prominent and chronic problems of indigenous people. Problems such as land reform, Indian migratory processes, the resettling of aboriginal populations, critiques of policy as well as ethnologies of various groups make a valuable contribution to the flow of communication between "indigenists" everywhere.

Communication and the exchange of ideas, the resolution and adoption of measures, are further enhanced by the on-going series of conferences of international agencies with which the IAI is associated, in addition to the conferences of the IAI itself.

3. Private and Semi-Private Agencies:


"The much-publicized and global nature of the work undertaken by the international agencies often clouds the work of smaller groups whose labours are more direct and

specialized although restricted by limitation of finance and personnel. The Summer Institute of Linguistics from the University of Oklahoma has been working in Mexico since 1935 in conjunction with the Department of Education's Directorate of Indian Affairs. Its immediate objectives are the study of aboriginal languages and the preparation of vocabularies, grammars, and bilingual texts, yet it has been always linked to a program of acculturation that has provided instruction in education, hygiene, the improvement of agricultural practices and community development in general.

Religious organizations, while principally dedicated to the disseminating of their doctrines, have also provided for the needs of indigenous people in various parts of the nation. The Catholic Jesuit missions have established boys' and girls' boarding schools in indigenous regions and conducted literacy campaigns, schools of arts and trades and medical services.

The multifaceted nature of the organizations working with indigenous people in Mexico has led to problems of coordination, duplication of effort, jurisdictional squabbles and on occasion agencies working at cross-purposes with one another. Since the creation of the INI, however, there is considerably less confusion in the programs than before. The expansion of the Coordinating Centres, which has in the past incorporated pre-existing programs, will continue to

develop until the better part of the indigenous population falls under its jurisdiction. Even in the face of duplication of effort and coordinating problems, the presence of the different agencies is fostering the acculturation of the indigenous population of Mexico, which is the main goal of Mexican indigenist policy.



III. CONCLUSIONS.

A. THE MEXICAN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Mexico's indigenous policies are more readily understood when presented within the framework of the political system in which they are operative. The problems encountered by indigenism are in many ways representative of more general economic and social problems of the total society, and are, in spite of the INI, still closely tied to national development goals with regard to the rural sector.

The continuing spectre haunting Mexican policy-makers is how to go about resolving the dichotomy between the urban, "developed" sector and the still-parochial world of the peasants and Indians. It should be readily apparent that this is the hiatus which impedes both the economic and cultural development of the nation. As matters now stand, many of the nation's citizens are beyond the reach of the benefits to be derived from modern science, and the perplexity lies with the fact that the task so clearly seen often appears greater than the competencies and resources of the nation.

1. The Role of Government in Mexican Society.

The ever-increasing role of government since the Revolution stands in marked contrast to the general disinterest in the nation's welfare manifested by governments preceding it. Regimes preceding the Revolution are best noted for their preoccupation with self-aggrandizement and self-perpetuation; those following it, with reducing the more blatant economic disparities and ameliorating

the more pronounced social incongruities among the people.

4 The system by which Mexico has been governed for most of this century manifests tendencies which are at once democratic, authoritarian, and at times socialist. The democratic aspects appear at once on a superficial over-view of the system. Elections are held regularly in which political parties -- government, "official" opposition, and smaller parties -- campaign for power every six years: the elections are "open" in that universal suffrage is practised; the 1917 Constitutional law prohibiting a president from succeeding himself, has been upheld without exception since the Revolution. Usurpation of power by coup d'etat or other illegal methods has not been a factor of Mexican political life since the Revolution. Generally speaking, the fundamental cornerstones of a democracy manifested in the four freedoms -- worship, speech, press and assembly -- guaranteed by the Constitution, have also been upheld.

4 Beyond this point of analysis, however, the resemblance between Mexican "democracy" and democracy as practised in Western Europe and North America becomes clouded by the appearance of elements of a more authoritarian nature. Since 1928 when it was founded, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) has dominated Mexican political life from a federal to a municipal level without interruption. The "official" opposition has never once had the opportunity to form a government, nor does it have significant influence in policy decisions. Its weak numerical representation in both the federal and state legislatures testifies to the fact that it does not represent a threat to

PRI hegemony and consequently its presence is tolerated. At present it serves to provide a token manifestation of democratic principles in a system which in reality is more authoritarian than it appears on the surface.

The authoritarian manner in which most political power is vested in the PRI is reflected in a concentration of this power at the most senior levels of the party's organizational structure. From the President of the Republic and his informal cabinet, or what is popularly called the "revolutionary family", which consists of former presidents, senior civil servants and party personnel, military leaders, and personal advisors, policy decisions come down to the rank and file. The "family" also exercises great power, in that it makes all senior appointments of a political nature, including governors of states and mayors of major cities.

Political control by one party, in spite of its authoritarian nature, has not given way to a static one-man dictatorship as is so often the case in other Latin American countries. The party has generally been flexible enough to avoid the building up of unmanageable pressures by periodic shifts of party control among left, right, and centre groups. This factor, which has resulted in a zig-zagging path, were one to trace the widely divergent course of different policies over time, appears to contribute to conditions of political stability and economic growth in Mexico that are unparalleled throughout Latin America. These contrasts in national priorities

from one president to the next are such as to resemble shifts in power between major parties in North America or Western Europe. The Cárdenas period between 1934 and 1940 represents the farthest which the PRI has gone to the "left", while the period from 1950 until the mid-1960's focused more than any other on industrialization and the development of a national-capitalist sector.

Because it has generally continued to adhere to the fundamental principles for which the Revolution of 1911-1920 was fought, and because of its chameleon-like qualities mentioned above, the PRI has managed to retain widespread mass support throughout Mexico for close to fifty years. This popularity has enabled the PRI, once again in contrast to the political realities of other Latin American countries, to exercise its control over the country firmly, but without resorting to dictatorial measures or giving the military substantial influence over civilian affairs. One conceivable exception to this rule will be mentioned in the next section.

The PRI exercises considerable control over the different organized interest groups which attempt to exercise their prerogatives on government. The major unions, the peasants' union (CROM) and the worker's union (CTM), for example, accounting for most of the nation's organized labour, are both closely affiliated with the PRI. While it may be argued that both these organizations have direct influence on labour policies by virtue of these close ties, they are largely

run by the PRI, which thus enhances government control over what are traditionally major disruptive elements in all Latin American societies.

In addition to political controls over society as a whole, state intervention in economic affairs is significant. This has resulted in a substantial and dynamic public sector which includes part of agriculture, the transportation system, the electric power and oil industries (expropriated from foreign firms, most of them American, during the Cárdenas period), and a considerable portion of the financial institutions. This is not to say, however, that a private sector does not exist. Although confined mainly to the urban areas, it survives profitably, dominating manufacturing, trade, and real estate activities. Protection for indigenous (national) capital over foreign, low rates of effective direct taxation of incomes and profits, and a high tolerance on the part of government for monopolistic positions in business, all contribute to an environment favorable to private enterprise. Generally, however, the persisting pronounced inequality of personal incomes, particularly in a consideration of the rural and urban sectors, demonstrates the profound imbalance of development in Mexico and points to the need for further and persisting programs of rural and regional development, such as the one which is the subject of this paper.

Government in Mexico, therefore, has assumed the responsibility and engages actively in the social, economic

and political development of the nation. It defines national priorities and channels and directs development to different sectors as it deems fitting.

2. National Priorities and the INI

The creation of the INI as a decentralized agency of the Federal Executive, rather than having it constitute a regular government department, has made it particularly susceptible to policy changes occurring when administrations pass from one president to the next. The period in which the INI was created was not as oriented towards social goals as the Cárdenas administration which preceded it. Instead, the INI began its operations in an environment inauspicious to its purposes. A reduction in exports at the end of World War II required the stimulating of an internal capital-development program, which reduced the budgets of more socially-oriented policies. This coupled with its already-small budget, because it represented a "pilot" program, threatened to eclipse the fledgling Institute.

Originally, development of the program was slow. The annual budget grew from \$750,000 (Cdn.) in 1950 to about \$2,000,000 by 1964, but while representing a substantial increase in over-all percentage growth, these figures do not account for a substantial degree of inflation on the Mexican peso, nor a significant devaluation of the peso in 1955. The amount also appears infinitesimal when contrasted with the

billions of dollars allocated to hotels, roads, airports, marinas and tourist facilities in the same period. When broken down on a per capita basis, divided among Mexico's three million indigenous people, the average of the budgets for these years (1950-1964) comes to less than eight cents per Indian per year. Budgets were also reduced in the other agencies working on occasions with indigenous people, in such fields as education, public health, and agrarian affairs.. In short, all social priorities were restricted in this period.

U It was factors such as these which led to widespread criticisms of government policies in the mid-1960's, and finally erupted in the strikes and protests of 1968. Overt opposition to government manifested itself in the major cities, mostly in Mexico, D.F. Here, the discontent reached its climax in a bloody confrontation between law-enforcement authorities and protestors, in which several hundred people lost their lives. Many of the protestors were students, but others were the lower-middle class residents of a housing project where the major violence took place. Not since an early rebellion against the revolutionary government in the late 1920's had Mexico experienced such a shock, and for the first time the PRI's over-reaction to a protest sparked widespread hostility and discontent against the government from different sectors of society.

U Whether this reaction caused the government to review the orientation of its policies; whether Mexico's high international profile during the '68 Olympics contributed to a change of orientation; or whether the policy priorities were about to be changed anyway in view of Mexico's relative affluence at the time - are all open to debate and subjective interpretation. Nonetheless, national priorities have been subsequently moving more towards

socially-oriented goals than before, indicating that in one way or another the system is somehow "responsive".

a) To the INI, the change has meant a doubling again of the annual budget bringing it to a figure of between \$4.5 - \$5 million (Cdn.) per annum. With these increased funds twelve new Coordinating Centres have been built, bringing their total to twenty-two. This has extended the coverage of the Coordinating Centres' facilities and services to include about 1,500,000 indigenous people representing about 50% of the total indigenous population.

a) Fundamental revisions of INI policy have not been undertaken in any period since the INI was founded, by any of the Mexican presidents. Policy itself is seemingly affected only indirectly by the allocation or restriction of funds, and not in a direct manipulation of the Institute by those not actively involved in the direct process of integrating the indigenous population into national life. Political considerations probably carry some weight in the selection of the INI's director, who is appointed by the President, but the primary consideration so far seems to have been oriented more towards the incumbent's capabilities as a cultural anthropologist than his political leanings.

B. INDIGENOUS POLICY AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The previous sections have attempted to show that Mexico's political system, in controlling both its people and its agencies, is to be regarded as being highly centralized,

authoritarian and to a degree paternalistic. Consistent with this form of political control, Mexico's indigenous policies manifest tendencies which by foreign standards appear to be applied after a similarly dogmatic fashion.

As previously mentioned, no fundamental policy changes have occurred since the INI was founded, the dictation of over-all policy principles and any changes which may result from them resting with senior INI officials. Within the agency itself, many opposing points of view and criticisms of current policy exist representing, if nothing else, a healthy intellectual climate. Nonetheless, a part of the focus of the 1968 revolts revolved around an intellectual criticism of "official" indigenous policies.* Much of the criticism represents a generational and ideological conflict between the senior INI administrators, too-long accustomed to the capricious changes of government priorities dating from the Revolution, and younger critics for whom the Revolution and its goals seem to hold little meaning, who are questioning "the system" in its entirety, and who too frequently seek to apply utopian solutions to highly complex problems.

Criticisms of policy, therefore, seem to stem more from a reaction to the government in general than against the INI in particular. The central claim is that "official" policy as propagated currently is little more than one of many tools employed by government for the manipulation of

* It should be mentioned in clarification, that at no time did the revolts principally focus on indigenism directly. Nor was there any manifestation of unrest oriented towards government on the part of Mexico's aboriginal population. The uprisings, strikes, protests, riots, killings, etc., were entirely urban and to a degree represent the Mexican equivalent of the "radical"-vs-"establishment" equation.

marginal peoples. Anthropologists who formulate and implement these policies are considered the knowing or unwitting stooges of the power-oligarchy employing scientifically developed methods to control the Indians. To these critics the indigenous problem is one of class struggle that cannot be resolved until a general reconstruction of society as a whole is undertaken, a factor which detracts from more legitimate criticisms by aiming at societal problems in general instead of focusing on those faced by ethnic groups of a tribal and pre-class nature in particular. It is possible that this "holistic" approach holds certain answers for the problem at hand, yet it implies changes of a nature that would indubitably plunge Mexico into another "revolution", which does not at this stage seem to be within the power of any group to undertake.

31. "Guided Acculturation" and the Ends of Policy

Indigenous policies as they currently exist, however, have continued to undertake what is called the "guided acculturation" of the indigenous communities. This process is defined as:

... a process of guided change occurring from a contact between groups participating in different cultures and in which each group is expected to learn something from the other without either one becoming overwhelmed by the other.²⁶

Yet the policies go beyond this to proclaim a more final goal:

"The clear and definitive end which we propose is to accelerate the evolution of the

26. Gonzalo Aguirre-Beltrán, 1957, p.49

indigenous communities in order to integrate them as soon as possible-- without causing a disorganization in the communities themselves-- into the economic, cultural, and political life of the nation; that is, our purpose is to accelerate the change, otherwise inevitable, which will bring the indigenous community to transform itself into a Mexican community, and the indigenous region into a Mexican region with characteristics similar to these of the other regions of the country. 27

The justification for such a policy is provided:

There is no question, that even without the intervention of indigenist action, that acculturation as an inevitable phenomenon which modern means of communication have made possible will continue its march. The power of exploration and the persistence of the industrial culture will not yield before physical obstacles or ethnic boundaries, even when these represent the most primitive cultures. Yet it is also evident that without indigenist action, the socio-cultural experience which the Indian groups will have to undergo, could turn into the disorganization of a subordinated people rather than their productive integration into mestizo culture. Examples of the disorganization and extinction of indigenous groups, particularly the jungle-dwellers in their uncontrolled contact with the national culture can be pointed out in all the mestizo-American nations. 28

27. Alfonso Caso, 1958, p. 77

28. Gonzalo Aguirre - Beltran, op cit., p. 141

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While such directed policies might not be considered consistent with concepts such as self-determination and group liberties as they have come to be defined by Canadian native people, opposition to the indigenists' program on the whole throughout Mexico is minimal. Where native people tend to reject assimilation they do so from a tribal perspective, that is, as Yaqui, Lacandon, etc., and not from the all-embracing conception of themselves as native people united against the majority culture.

Among the qualifications indigenists attach to their policy the major one holds that because the assimilation is to be conducted over time, new cultural elements can be absorbed without traumatic consequences. It is also cogently argued that the assimilation intended is not quite the negative experience it is attributed to be by activist groups in North America who claim that the process is tantamount to cultural genocide. The difference, it seems, is Mexico's over-all acknowledgement of its aboriginal heritage, reflected not simply in policy but in the faces and the life-styles of most of its people. While the major cities may be termed "modern" in a North American - Western European sense of the term, the villages and towns, the rural environment in general, consists of a patchwork of varying and dynamic combinations of mestizo-Indian qualities which give the nation its distinct identity. Thus, the Indians of Mexico are not being assimilated into a totally alien culture.

By restricting its indigenous policy to the rural environment, the Mexican program seeks solely to remove the limitations formerly imposed by outsiders upon the Indians, and to supplement rather than reject or exclude the aboriginal heritage.

Native people who voluntarily go to the cities, not those who receive the INI programs, are those who stand the greatest chance of losing their aboriginal heritage since they are breaking tribal ties by their actions. According to the INI

these native people are choosing to become Mexicans by a process of "spontaneous" acculturation, a process which they view as dysfunctional when applied to all native people, yet which they cannot overtly oppose since it contributes to the process of assimilating the native minorities. However, the INI does not endorse rural-urban migration of native peoples and there are no other special services for aboriginals who chose this option.

2. Anatomy of Policy: The "Encogido" Syndrome.

When compared to the indigenous policies of other nations, the intent of Mexican indigenism presents a more positive approach than most to contend with the issues comprising the Indian question. Nonetheless, the Mexican policies may have certain consequences not acknowledged in the INI literature that might be raised here.

It has been argued by some anthropologists and critics of "programs-to-assist-minorities" projects, that attempts by agencies similar to the INI may in the long-run create more problems than they resolve. In broad terms, the thesis holds that the process labelled "community-development" which is created by national and international agencies to assist under-privileged minorities may contribute to a perpetuation of the conditions which keep those minorities in a subordinate position, rather than creating the dynamic situations that will lead to their true self-determination and liberation. Too often the provision of services, which sui generis implies a degree of paternalism, does not undertake meaningful change and serves to create new dependency relationships wherein the program-recipients consciously stereotype themselves as inferiors in order to continue receiving the donor-agency's services. Thus, it is argued, a sanction becomes operative which mitigates against the very changes that the community-development programs are supposed to be bringing about. This condition has been called the

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"Encogido" or literally, "humbling" syndrome which results as a consequence of many well-intentioned albeit ineffectual community-development programs.

Our intention in employing the "encogido syndrome" is to ask where it might apply to the Mexican indigenists' program and how it, along with other factors, might work against the successful assimilation which the indigenists claim will result from their policies; and, second, whether this assimilation, should it result from the INI's policies, will bring lasting and meaningful changes to the lives of Mexico's aboriginal people.

From the generally paternalistic tangent which Mexican indigenist policies appear to follow in general it would seem that the encogido syndrome may be a real possibility for the program in the long-run.

The indigenists claim that their policy does not encourage dependency, since "gifts" do not constitute an element of official policy and community participation and community resources are employed in all programs. Yet dependency is a psychological variable, one that can be induced through the provision of intangibles as much as through the providing of material and physical resources. Hence, the use of INI specialized personnel in such areas as law, agronomy and economic development may of itself inhibit the development of native specialists in these areas over time. The promoter system does, of course train native people, but such training is generally limited in scope and native personnel appear to always work under the direction of an INI over-seer. In this sense, therefore, since the native promoters occupy a subordinate position in the INI hierarchy they could be said to represent one example of the encogido syndrome at work.

* The term "Encogido syndrome" derives from the work of Charles Erasmus, an American anthropologist who has conducted extensive studies on the process of community development in Latin America. The application of the encogido syndrome to the work of the INI is not made by Erasmus in his paper. The authors of this paper advance the thesis here as one of several tentative hypotheses regarding some unmentioned consequences of indigenism.

The selection of promoters may again reinforce the encogido syndrome as community development workers may avoid the more assertive elements of the community in favor of more polite and servile individuals. The independently successful or more self-confident individuals might prove uncooperative, rude, or even menacing to the agency workers trained in the "techniques" of cooperation. One might argue, therefore, that the reinforcement of cultural stereotypes is as important for the community-development workers as it is to those on whose behalf they are working. Furthermore, the government workers whose economic and political opportunities depend upon the bureaucracies which support them may seek (albeit unconsciously) to perpetuate or reinforce the minority's sense of inferiority in an adaptive strategy to maintain both their systems in a symbiosis that might seem parasitic to the cynical. Thus, the consequences of "guided" acculturation may extend beyond assimilation into perpetuating the Indians' inferior status indefinitely.

An alternate consideration in the INI's interactions with native people is that in time there may be a reaction against such a paternalistic policy which could follow from the "successful" evolution of indigenism in the future. At present, the more than eighty different linguistic groups which make up Mexico's aboriginal population have yet to form their own interest associations on a regional or let alone a national scale. Possibly the formation of such associations may not prove necessary if government continues to play a highly benevolent role. Yet accompanying the "successful" evolution of the INI's program, should this occur, will be the parallel development of a "revolution of rising expectations" among native people which could eventually result in their alienation from the INI. The Indians may want to assure their felt-needs for themselves and the agency may not be able to respond to native demands. The assertion of felt-needs conceivably different from those perceived by government in such a centralized nation

Conversely, it may be argued that the encogido syndrome will prevail and that with it the process of assimilation may outstrip the development of self-determination, perpetuating the Indians' inferior status.

In a broad sense the INI's program may also contribute to an encogido condition in the rural nature of its policies. It has been stated by the indigenists that their goal is to make the Indians into rural mestizos, a goal which, given the widespread poverty and condition of most of Mexico's rural inhabitants, does not appear to imply an improvement in the Indians' social or economic condition. The majority of rural mestizos in Mexico along with the Indians still constitute the lowest stratum of society. In fact the rural mestizo may still be considered only semi-literate, semi-educated, semi-Mexican. To a large degree, "campesino" (peasant) is as pejorative a denominator as "Indio" and peasants are as subject to exploitation as Indians when they interact or have dealings with town and city dwellers. Furthermore, the INI's intentions to preserve indigenous culture notwithstanding:

... the acculturated Indian is too often a disappointment... for he has taken on many of the negative qualities of the society that has influenced his change. Mestizos frequently do not have the pride in their persons, nor the traditions, customs, or self esteem possessed by the Indians.²⁹

One might question, therefore, the proclaimed wisdom of the anthropological bias of the indigenists' programs of guided change on the basis of the direction which these changes are meant to take. This raises the additional question as to where the anthropological bias leaves off and the rationale for government's disinterest in indigenous policies and its preoccupation with other matters begins, since the rural orientation of the program and the predilection for "gradual" changes may

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result in the continued exclusion of the aboriginal communities from national life, still in conditions of poverty.

It may prove to be the case that the assimilation which in the long run may result in an improved social and economic condition for Mexico's native people will be that which occurs by spontaneous and not guided acculturation. The allegedly traumatic effects upon native people who seek a new life in towns and urban centres, imputed by the indigenists, may lie more in the realm of history than in fact, as more and more of them undertake such a transition. It is also equally possible that one consequence of the establishment of the coordinating centres in some communities may retard rather than accelerate the integration or assimilative processes not only by not undertaking rapid changes, but in interfering with the natural relationships which already exist between mestizos and Indians. Miscegenation and acculturation processes have in some areas of the republic been going on, again spontaneously, for considerable time, thus reducing the differences between Indians and mestizos. The presence of a coordinating centre may, in some instances, serve to accomplish little more than re-establish the differences between Indians and mestizos by according one group preferential literature treatment over the other. While the INI mentions that its services are available to mestizos who request them, the indication is that the agency does not encourage such requests overtly.

These factors would indicate that the alternatives provided by government through the INI are not sufficient enough to result in an amelioration of the conditions which keep the native people either outside of or dependent upon the majority culture.

It might be argued that the programs of the INI might be applied more widely to all rural people, and that new orientations in policy might be considered. It is at present difficult to foresee a policy which would encourage rural-urban

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crowding which appear to plague most Mexican, indeed most Latin American, cities. Nonetheless, it seems that the interests of the nation are no better served by continuing to produce rural marginals. Conceivably, one middle course open to the Mexicans appears to lie with making opportunities available to indigenous and other rural people as craftsmen, artisans and shopkeepers in different enterprises in smaller towns.

If the INI programs continue to play a major role in the lives of the native aboriginal population (and it is unlikely that there will be a regression to a laissez-faire ideology) the services which the agency provides might have to forego some anthropological considerations to provide meaningful training even on a local level for a world which is rapidly-changing. Institutionalized preferences for household or "cottage" industries which promote self-sufficient skills of a traditional nature, like basket-making or weaving, or the encouraging of "corvee" methods for road-building or other public-works instead of taxation, might prove dysfunctional in a nation like Mexico which is struggling to "develop" its internal markets and its over-all economy^{*}. If, as Mexico develops, there can be a "spill-over" effect from the urban to the rural areas in terms of economic diversification, a marked general reduction in the disparities between these two sectors could result in the improved quality of life for all of Mexico's rural residents.

A central contention of INI policy is violated here, as the argument proposed above implies a fairly rapid, rather than slow, change in the economies of native communities. Again ethnocentricity is manifested in a determination of the Indians' felt-needs and welfare, yet no more so than the anthropological "science" postulated by the indigenists. If indeed such an argument is sound

* The argument again derives from the work of Charles Erasmus' encogido syndrome.

in economic terms however, the indigenists might give more attention to economic considerations for the long-run, which may make available more alternatives for native people and contribute more to their true self-sufficiency, as much as this is possible in the late twentieth century.

Mexico's predilection for socially and psychologically satisfying programs is laudable in an age that too often appears solely concerned with material objectives. In broad terms, however, the Mexican government appears to be attempting to provide its citizens with the same degree of material well-being as is provided in the more-developed nations of the world. For this reason and others, the current program, if it is to assist the indigenous population should consider some other alternatives in economic policy, or be prepared to relax their tutelary hold on the indigenous communities sooner than they expect.

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Madero's Plan of San Luis Potosí

First. The elections for President and Vice President of the Republic, magistrates of the supreme court of justice of the nation, and deputies and senators, held in June and July of the current year, are declared void.

Second The present Government of Gen. Diaz is not recognized, as well as all the authorities whose power ought to emanate from the popular vote, because, besides not having been elected by the people, they have lost the few titles of legality they might have by committing and supporting with the elements the people put at their disposal for the defense of their interests the most scandalous electoral fraud recorded in the history of Mexico.

Third In order to avoid, as far as possible, the upheavals inherent in every revolutionary movement, all the laws promulgated by the present administration and their respective regulations, except those that are manifestly repugnant to the principles proclaimed in this plan, are declared to be in force, with the reservation to amend, in due time, by constitutional methods, those that require amendment.

In every case the obligations contracted by the Porfirist administration with foreign Governments and corporations prior to the 20th proximo (next) will be respected.

In abuse of the law on public lands numerous proprietors of small holdings, in their greater part Indians, have been dispossessed of their lands by rulings of the department of public development (fomento) or by decisions of the tribunals of the Republic. As it is just to restore to their former owners the lands of which they were dispossessed in such an arbitrary manner, such rulings and decisions are declared subject to revision, and those who have acquired them in such an immoral manner, or their heirs, will be required to restore them to their former owners, to whom they shall also pay an indemnity for the damages suffered. Solely in case those lands have passed to third persons before the promulgation of this plan shall the former owners receive an indemnity from those in whose favor the dispossession was made.

Fourth Besides the constitution and existing laws, the principle of no reelection of the President and Vice President of the Republic, governors of the States, and municipal presidents is declared to be the supreme law of the Republic until the respective constitutional amendments are made.

Fifth I assume the character of provisional President of the United States of Mexico, with the necessary powers to make war on the usurping government of Gen. Diaz.

Seventh The 20th day of the month of November, after 6P.M., all citizens of the Republic will take up arms to remove from power all the authorities who now govern it.

Eighth When the authorities offer armed resistance they shall be compelled by force of arms to respect the popular will, but in this case the laws of war shall be rigorously observed, attention being especially called to the prohibition against the use of expansive bullets, nor shall prisoners be shot. Attention is also called to the duty of every Mexican to respect foreigners in their persons and interests.

If the interests of the Fatherland had had greater weight in the mind of Gen. Diaz than the sordid interests of himself and his advisers, he would have avoided this revolution by making some concessions to the people; but, since he did not do so... so much the better; ... the change will be more rapid and more radical, since the Mexican people; instead of lamenting like a coward, will accept the challenge like a brave man, and now, when Gen. Diaz proposes to rely on brute force to impose an ignominious yoke upon them, the people will have recourse to the same force to shake off that yoke, to eject that woeful man from power, and to recover their liberty.

San Luis Potosí, October 5, 1910.

. Francisco I. Madero.

Zapata's Plan de Ayala. Nov. 28, 1911

"...The Revolutionary Junta of Morelos requests the Nation to make a formal promise; To adopt the Plan of San Luis Potosí with the conditions herein attached, for the benefit of the oppressed people, to become the defender of their interests to the death.... we demand; that the forests, lands and waters of the people... usurped by the hacienda owners, "scientific" or political bosses in the shadow of tyranny and venal justice shall return the possession of those immovable goods to the citizens who have title to them...through special tribunals when the Revolution triumphs.

Since the majority of the Mexican people own little more than the land under their feet and suffer the horrors of misery and poverty with no chance at improving their social condition in any way or to dedicate themselves to industry or agriculture because the lands, forests and waters are monopolized in a few hands, for this reason the third part of those monopolies will be expropriated from their owners with prior indemnization in order that the people and citizens of Mexico may obtain ejidos, colonies and legal rural properties or fields for tilling or sowing and that the lack of prosperity and well-being of Mexicans may improve in all, for all.

To carry out these proceedings... the laws of disamortization and nationalization will be applied as they... coincide with those laws on ecclesiastical properties put in force by the immortal Juarez which punished the despots and conservatives who in all time have tried to impose on us the ignominious yoke of oppression and aggravation.

If President Madero and other dictatorial elements of the present and former regime want to avoid the immense misfortunes which afflict the nation, and possess true sentiments of love towards it, let them make immediate renunciation of the posts they occupy...if they do not do so, the blood and anathema of our brothers will fall on their heads.

Mexican people, support this plan with your arms in hand and you will contribute to the well-being and prosperity of our nation."

Emiliano Zapata.

The First Agrarian Law:Article 20 of Carranza's Program

The first chief of the revolution in charge of the executive power will expedite and put in force during the struggle all the laws, measures, and means destined to give satisfaction to the economic, social, and political needs of the land, effecting the reforms which are demanded as indispensable by public opinion for the purpose of establishing a regime that will guarantee the equality of the Mexicans among themselves; agrarian laws favoring the formation of small property, dissolving the large estates and restoring to the villages the lands of which they were unjustly deprived; fiscal laws destined to obtain an equitable system of taxation for rural property; legislation for the purposes of bettering the condition of the rural peón, of the worker, of the miner, and in general of the working classes; the establishment of free municipal government as a constitutional institution; a basis for a new system for the organization of the army, electoral reforms for the purposes of obtaining effective suffrage, organization of an independent judiciary in the federal as well as in the state governments; revision of the laws relating to matrimony and the civil status of persons; measures that will guarantee the strict enforcement of the laws of reform; revision of the civil, penal, and commercial code to make more expeditious and effective the administration of justice; revision of the laws relating to the exploitation of mines, oil, water, forests, and other natural resources of the country for the purpose of destroying monopolies created by the ancient regime and to eliminate and to prevent the formation of others in the future; political reforms that will guarantee the true application of the constitution of the republic and in general all other laws that are necessary for the purpose of assuring to all the inhabitants of the land an effective and full enjoyment of their rights and their equality before the law.

Reform of the Basic Laws of Restitution and Dotation (1927)

The 1927 law did not abandon the principles or the categories of dotation, but clarified them.

1. The category of subject or community to benefit from dotation was changed to read:

"Every populated place which lacks lands and waters or insufficient amounts of these elements has the right to the dotation of them, in the amount and under the conditions set forth in this law."

This included some villages, and the 'acasillados' earlier excluded from the ejido program.

2. The rights of villages were enlarged and extended.
 - a) State agrarian commissions were subordinated to the National Agrarian Commission.
 - b) The procedures for initiating a petition for land were simplified.
 - c) The exact procedures to be followed by the agrarian authorities in cases of dotation and restitution were regulated and defined.
 - d) 'Expropriatable' property was defined to eliminate some of the friction between landlords and villages.
3. The rights of landlords with regard to expropriation were made more explicit.
 - a) Since the number of heads of families determined the amount of land to be expropriated, a new set of rules for taking an agrarian census was devised.
 - b) Landowners subject to expropriation were allowed representation on the census boards to protect against padding and other fraud.
 - c) Properties under 550 hectares were declared not subject to expropriation.
 - d) Rules for the expansion of ejidos were established:

- i. No village could enlarge its ejido until ten years had lapsed from the period of first dotation.
- ii. Amplification could be made only for the purpose of establishing new holdings and not for enlarging old parcels.

The Constitution of 1917

Article 27

Ownership of the lands and waters within the boundaries of the national territory is vested originally in the Nation, which has had, and has, the right to transmit title thereof to private persons, thereby constituting private property.

Private property shall not be expropriated except for reasons of public use and subject to payment of indemnity.

The Nation shall at all times have the right to impose on private property such limitations as the public interest may demand, as well as the right to regulate the utilization of natural resources which are susceptible of appropriation, in order to conserve them and to ensure a more equitable distribution of public wealth. With this end in view, necessary measures shall be taken to divide up large landed estates; to develop small landed holdings in operation; to create new agricultural centers, with necessary lands and waters; to encourage agriculture in general and to prevent the destruction of natural resources, and to protect property from damage to the detriment of society. Centers of population which at present either have no lands or water or which do not possess them in sufficient quantities for the needs of their inhabitants, shall be entitled to grants thereof, which shall be taken from adjacent properties, the rights of small landed holdings in operation being respected at all times....

Legal capacity to acquire ownership of lands and waters of the Nation shall be governed by the following provisions:

1. Only Mexicans by birth or naturalization and Mexican companies have the right to acquire ownership of lands, waters, and their appurtenances, or to obtain concessions for the exploitation of mines or of waters. The State may grant the same right to foreigners, provided they agree before the Ministry of Foreign Relations to consider themselves as nationals in respect to such property, and bind themselves not to invoke the protection of their governments in matters relating thereto; under penalty, in case of noncompliance with this agreement, of forfeiture of the property acquired to the Nation. Under no circumstances may foreigners acquire direct ownership of lands or waters within a zone of one hundred kilometers along the frontiers and of fifty kilometers along the shores of the country....

- VII. The centers of population which, by law or in fact, possess a communal status shall have legal capacity to enjoy common possession of the lands, forests, and waters belonging to them or which have or may be restored to them.

All questions, regardless of their origin, concerning the boundaries of communal lands, which are now pending or that may arise hereafter between two or more centres of population, are matters of federal jurisdiction. The Federal Executive shall take cognizance of such controversies and propose a solution to the interested parties. If the latter agree thereto, the proposal of the Executive shall take full effect as a final decision and shall be irrevocable; should they not be in conformity, the party or parties may appeal to the Supreme Court of Justice of the Nation, without prejudice to immediate enforcement of the presidential proposal....

- X. Centers of population which lack communal lands (ejidos) or which are unable to have them restored to them due to lack of titles, impossibility of identification, or because they had been legally transferred, shall be granted sufficient lands and waters to constitute them, in accordance with the needs of the population; but in no case shall they fail to be granted the area needed, and for this purpose the land needed shall be expropriated, at the expense of the Federal Government, to be taken from lands adjoining the villages in question.

The area or individual unit of the grant shall hereafter be not less than ten hectares of moist or irrigated land, or in default of such land its equivalent in other types of land in accordance with the third paragraph in section XV of this article.

- XI. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this article and of regulating laws that may be enacted, the following are established:
- (a) A direct agency of the Federal Executive entrusted with the application and enforcement of the agrarian laws;
 - (b) An advisory board composed of five persons to be appointed by the President of the Republic and who shall perform the functions specified in the organic laws;
 - (c) A mixed commission composed of an equal number of representatives of the Federal Government, the local governments, and a representative of the peasants, to be appointed in the manner set forth in the respective regulating law, to function in each State, Territory, and the Federal District, with the powers and duties set forth in the organic and regulatory laws;

- (d) Private executive committees for each of the centres of population that are concerned with agrarian cases;
- (e) A communal office (comisariado ejidal) for each of the centers of population that possess communal lands (ejidos)....

Commentary on Article 27

The goal which the authors of article 27 sought was the creation of a functional concept of property rights, so that these rights would be contingent on their use in ways subordinate to the public interest. This is seen in the provisions relating to the Nation's rights over water and subsoil and is present in the actual and potential restrictions placed on the rights of the individual in regard to the surface of the land. The functional nature of property rights is again visible in the manner which it encompasses and gives equal standing before the law to several varieties of property concepts existing in Mexico rather than imposing a single theory on the society. Hence the constitution recognizes all forms of property concepts from those of wandering Indian tribes whose ownership concepts are based on temporary occupation, those of communal groups who hold their lands collectively, as well as those of ordinary private individuals or those under corporate ownership.

APPENDIX VI

A: Socialist Education:The 1934 Amendment to Article 3

The education imparted by the State will be socialist, and in addition to excluding all religious doctrine, it will combat fanaticism and prejudice, for which it will organize its instruction and activities in a form to create in the youth a rational and exact concept of the Universe and of social life.

Only the state, federation, states, municipalities will impart primary, secondary, and normal education.

Primary education will be obligatory and the State will impart it freely.

The State is permitted to revoke optionally at any time the recognition of official validity of studies conducted in private institutions.

Examples from Textbooks in the Cárdenas Era

1. On Ancient History

The social organization of the Aztecs was equal to the Toltecs because the instruments of production were the same.

Among the Mexicans there were two social classes: the nobles and the plebeians.

The noble class was divided into two groups: the warriors and the priests.

The warriors and the priests succeeded in obligating the plebeians to work for them.

Therefore, among the Mexicans, as exists today, there were exploiters and exploited. The exploiters of today are those who possess the instruments of production; the exploited are those who operate the instruments of production in exchange for a salary.

2. On Class Struggle

Insurgency of the proletarian class searching for economic and effective equality.

Creation of a new State that can realize progressive socialization of the means of production.

But above all as supreme and final rule is this norm:
the Mexican reality. That is the progress of the Revolution
rooted in its own land and open to the future.

On Work

My Mexico is great, My Mexico is rich,
my Mexico is beautiful. If it is
beautiful, if it is rich, very rich
and extensive, I want my father, who
works much, to have a little piece
of the land of Mexico.

I want the poor to stop being poor.
I want all men to be equal.
I want my Mexico, very rich and
extensive, to be a strong country
of workers.....

B: The 1946 Amendment to Article 3Democracy in Education

The education imparted by the Federal State shall be designed to develop harmoniously all the faculties of the human being and shall foster in him at the same time a love of country and a consciousness of international solidarity, in independence and justice.

- I. Freedom of religious beliefs being guaranteed by article 24, the standard which shall guide such education shall be maintained entirely apart from any religious doctrine and, based on the results of scientific progress, shall strive against ignorance and its effects, servitudes, fanaticism, and prejudices. Moreover:
 - (a) It shall be democratic, considering democracy not only as a legal structure and a political regimen, but as a system of life founded on a constant economic, social, and cultural betterment of the people;
 - (b) It shall be national insofar as--without hostility or exclusiveness--it shall achieve the understanding of our problems, the utilization of our resources, the defense of our political independence, the assurance of our economic independence, and the continuity and growth of our culture; and
 - (c) It shall contribute to better human relationships, not only with the elements which it contributes toward strengthening and at the same time inculcating, together with respect for the dignity of the person and the integrity of the family, the conviction of the general interest of society, but also by the care which it devotes to the ideals of brotherhood and equality of rights of all men, avoiding privileges of race, creed, class, sex, or persons.
- IV. Religious corporations, ministers of religion, stock companies which exclusively or predominantly engage in educational activities, and associations or companies devoted to propagation of any religious creed shall not in any way participate in institutions giving elementary, secondary, and normal education and education for laborers or field workers....

APPENDIX VII

Indian-Speaking Persons in Mexico by Zone and StateINDIAN-SPEAKING PERSONS OF THE NORTHERN ZONE
OF THE REPUBLIC

<u>State</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Coahuila	12	3,109	Kikapoo
Chihuahua	10,973	30,307	Tarahumara and Tepehuan.
Durango	1,511	4,230	Tepehuan and Tara- humara.
Nuevo Leon	11	2,288	(Isolated individuals of various groups).
San Luis Potosi	41,087	76,750	Huastec, Nahuatl, Pame, Otomi.
Tamaulipas (a)	3	659	(Isolated individuals of various groups).
Zacatecas			(Isolated individuals of various groups).
Totals:	53,608	119,332	

INDIAN-SPEAKING PERSONS OF THE NORTHERN
PACIFIC ZONE

<u>State and other Federal divisions</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Northern Baja California	29	5,487	Yuman dialects.
Southern Baja California		301	(Kiliwas, Papai and Tipai) (Isolated individuals of various groups).
Nayarit	5,324	4,225	Cora and Huichol.
Sinaloa	682	5,189	Mayo.
Sonora	1,825	21,000	Mayo, Yaqui, Seri, Papago, Pima and Opata.
Totals:	7,860	36,202	

INDIAN-SPEAKING PERSONS IN THE CENTRAL ZONE
OF THE REPUBLIC

<u>State and other Federal divisions</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Aguascalientes	3	765	(Isolated individuals of various groups).
Federal District	65	45,040	Nahuatl.

<u>State and other Federal divisions</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Guanajuato	298	3,629	Otomi, Chichimeco-Jonáz.
Hidalgo	101,751	131,588	Nahuatl, Otomi and Tepehua.
Jalisco	2,150	7,950	Nahuatl and Huichol.
Mexico	35,662	134,685	Mazahua, Nahuatl, Otomi and Matlazinca.
Michoacan	12,432	45,867	Tarasco, Nahuatl.
Morelos	710	8,560	Nahuatl.
Puebla	132,621	160,736	Mazatec, Nahuatl, Mixteco, Otomi, Popoluca, Totonac and Zoque.
Queretaro	12,432	45,867	Otomi and Tarasco.
Tlaxcala	2,248	15,904	Nahuatl and Otomi (from Ixtenco).
Totals:	292,377	562,386	

INDIAN-SPEAKING PERSONS OF THE SOUTHERN
PACIFIC ZONE

<u>State</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Colima	2	1,127	(Isolated individuals of various groups).
Chiapas	155,844	225,913	Chol, Maya, Tzeltal, Tzotzil, Zoque, Mame, Tojolabal, Quiché, Lacandon and Nahuatl.
Guerrero	98,999	100,378	Amuzgo, Nahuatl, Mixtec, Tlapaneco, Tarasco and Chontal.
Oaxaca	297,319	386,099	Chatino, Chinanteco, Chocho, Chontal, Huave, Mazatec, Nahuatl, Mixe, Mixtec, Popoloca, Trique, Zapotec, Zoque, Cuicatec, Tlapaneco, Ixcateco and Amuzgo.
Totals:	552,164	713,517	

INDIAN-SPEAKING PERSONS IN THE GULF ZONE

<u>State and other Federal divisions</u>	<u>Monolingual Indians</u>	<u>Bilingual Indians</u>	<u>Languages spoken</u>
Campeche	8,396	27,995	Maya.
Tabasco	2,059	21,460	Chontal.
Quintana Roo	6,148	18,666	Maya.
Veracruz	115,940	196,264	Huastec, Nahuatl, Otomi, Popoloca, Totonac and Zapo- tec.
Yucatan	<u>66,403</u>	<u>229,477</u>	Maya.
Totals:	198,946	493,862	
<u>Total Indigenous Population:</u>			
Monolinguals	1,104,955		
Bilinguals		1,925,299	
GRAND. TOTALS:	<u>3,030,254</u>		

INDIGENOUS POLICIES: CANADA AND MEXICOGENERAL CONCLUSIONSI. The Basic Argument

A brief summary of the genesis and present shape of indigenous policies in both Canada and Mexico might be stated somewhat as follows:

-- Like every other nation of those initially selected for study both Canada and Mexico possess a residue of indigenous people, the inheritance of invasion and conquest by Europeans during the last 500 years. This residue poses for each nation an "Indian Problem", to use the current Canadian term, which may be translated as a failure by the majority to absorb its aboriginal people.

-- The reasons and the circumstances of invasion and conquest, which were dictated by the assessed need for territory and, hence, economic advancement, made "assimilation" the necessary condition for success in achieving the Europeans' goals, and there are still only three means by which assimilation can be accomplished: (a) by extermination, (b) by miscegenation and (c) by education. Today the first two methods, even though employed by all nations at some time or other, have largely been rejected as expressions of deliberate policy (although it is doubtful that miscegenation could ever be described as "deliberate"). Most

nations have come to rely upon education as the only acceptable method of realizing their ultimate purpose.

-- Yet no matter what form policy takes, the end-result, and one stated more or less explicitly in Canada and Mexico alike, will be the disappearance of the aboriginal remnants of their populations -- will be, in fact, extermination of those remnants.

II. Purposes of the Study

It must be acknowledged that the above three points constitute a perhaps over-simplified analysis of policy development. Within this framework, however, it is possible to summarize with similar brevity the purposes of the study:

First: To specify similarities and differences between the two nations, Canada and Mexico, in regard to several selected factors and/attempt to draw therefrom certain conclusions, on the basis of which to make recommendations concerning future action.

Second: Bearing in mind that the ultimate goal of this study is to describe Canadian indigenous policy and to suggest the direction it should take, to use the study as a model for further comparisons of other nations in regard to their indigenous policies.

Comments

Like death and taxes, assimilation of indigenous people is probably inevitable, but it has been conceived within separate frames of reference in Canada and Mexico, and the means by which it will be produced differ in both tactics and strategy in the two nations. The origins were the same: conquest and colonization subdued and subordinated the aboriginal populations and excluded them from participation in the national power structures. In both nations they were considered to be generally inferior, even sub-human, and they have been alienated from their lands, and their life-styles have been rendered devoid of traditional meaning.

But in Canada, race remains the sole basis for perceived differences between Indian and non-Indian, producing an "us"-versus-"them" situation. While barriers are beginning to fall in areas of education and economic development, and even to some extent in government and politics, the obvious differences in colour and in other anthropomorphic features between "Indians" and "whites" remain. Despite the lip-service the majority pay to the new (it is after all, not much more than a generation old) egalitarianism, the sense of difference, with its connotations of inferiority, remains. It influences non-indigenous attitudes towards the aboriginal cultures, the administration of Indian affairs, the application to them of western law, and even the manner in which the accepted interpretations of social and biological science are applied.

in Mexico

The whole complex of attitudes towards Indians is different, where widespread miscegenation has been going on for 400 years and has resulted in an amalgamation of the European and Amerind races and cultures. Racial differences are acknowledged, but they do not constitute the only, or even the crucial ingredient in the formation of attitudes. A "full-blooded" Indian may be President of the Republic (Juarez) or a dictator (Diaz), yet by cultural definition he is mestizo -- that is "Mexican". On the other hand, a person whose Indian ancestry is so remote as to be virtually unnoticeable, may for his own reasons adopt the physical and spiritual life of an Indian (granted, this seldom occurs and may be designated by that least acceptable term, "Indio").

In both Canada and Mexico assimilation is well advanced; yet, despite the apartness that exists in Canada, where the effective criterion is race, it may be argued that the process is further along there than it is in our neighbour to the south. For just to the extent that the Indian in Canada has been directly assisted, albeit paternalistically, to master the technique of living and competing on more or less equal terms with his white contemporaries, to that extent he has permitted the old ways to fall into disuse and be forgotten. As long as racial differences form the basis for distinguishing between Indian and white, there can be little meaningful understanding between the two groups. The phenomenon develops by a sort of geometric progression: the greater the degree of conformity to

are regarded -- and the greater become the pressures to adopt still more of the white way of life.

Mexico's aboriginals do, of course, live a separate existence, but for reasons that lie more in the cultural than in the racial sphere. In this they join with rural mestizos and are lumped with them as "campesinos". If the Indian elects to move into an urban environment, he becomes even more a mestizo, even less an Indian, his mestizo-ism reinforced by the very act of contemplating such a move.

To repeat, the end-result will be in both nations the same: assimilation will occur. The chief ray of light, if there can be any -- that is, if the inevitable disappearance of indigenous people is to be slowed or at least made to seem less painful -- is to be found in the emergence in both countries, though perhaps most noticeably in Canada -- of a new generation of youth which is growing increasingly distrustful of the modern technological and technocratic bias which has been fostered by almost three centuries of "free-enterprise" stated in capitalistic terms. The new skepticism and the current youth-protests against financial profit as an expression of competitive effort and the prime goal of life, has been accompanied by an equally intense distrust of both the ends and the means by which they are assured those ends must be achieved. Among the means employed, youth believes, is an unnecessary conviction that some persons are "naturally" inferior -- and this thesis they more

"equality" depends not so much upon "blood" or race as it does upon opportunity and the extent to which men and women are willing and able to recognize the existence of human differences and to welcome such diversity. If, as seems possible and even probable, such outrageous notions as these continue to gain acceptance, and if the now-young do not revert with age to the old convictions (which, it must be acknowledged, history suggests has had a habit of occurring), then a union between Indian and White may well be possible and the melding of the two cultures will come about in Canada even as it seems to be doing by means of miscegenation in Mexico. In the event, a new breed of "mestizo" may be discovered in our country, and one that is as effective in achieving not only equality but in some few areas superiority, and the assimilation thus represented may be as free of pain and destructiveness as such an event could ever be.

As both means and ends in that achievement, there could be the creation of a body devoted solely to the task of rebuilding Indian identity in Canada as it has already begun to do in Mexico: an institute patterned after the INI, the aim of which will be to bring the two races together while yet helping each to retain its own cultural identity and its own diversity in viable condition.

III. A Catalogue of Comparisons

Differences between Canada and Mexico are so apparent as to obscure the presence of similarities of equal moment. For convenience, differences and similarities are discussed within a context provided by four general areas: (1) climate and geography; (2) demography; (3) history; and (4) culture. However, there is a great deal of overlapping among all four, and institutional structures that have been created as a result of their interaction have to be taken into account. (Such structures are, for example, the State, the Church, stratification of population.)

In addition, institutions evolve their own instruments, political, dogmatic, social and economic, and customary or moretic.

A. Geography, Climate and Population

Contrasts between the two countries in geography and climate could hardly be more striking. Temperatures in Canada range well over 100° fahrenheit and are largely functions of latitude. By contrast, Mexico displays a range of temperature which, while approximately as great, is a result primarily of altitude: the nation extends for some 1,500 miles on either side of the Tropic of Cancer, and within that area lie soaring mountain peaks, snow-covered the year 'round, and swampy, jungle regions at sea level. The index of precipitation is reflected in the terrain in both countries. With a large proportion of its area at least habitable, and most

often arable as well, rain- and snowfall in Canada can be measured within narrower limits than in Mexico, 14/ where it amounts generally to from 40 to 80 inches per year in the southern and coastal regions and rarely to more than 20 inches on the central plateaus.

As might be expected, such factors as these have greatly influenced patterns of settlement in the two nations. The central and south-central plateaus in Mexico support from 25 to 125 persons per square mile, while the northern desert regions and much of the tropical, coastal area seldom find more than 25 persons per square mile, due to extremes of heat and of alternate periods of aridity and humidity. Canadian distribution of population is similarly affected but, as mentioned, this is related more to latitude than to either altitude or precipitation.

On the whole, Canada appears to be more highly favoured than Mexico in the balance between these topographic and climatic factors and the quality of soils and character of vegetation. The once seemingly impenetrable northern wastelands of the Canadian North are receiving renewed attention because of their mineral deposits (oil and non-ferrous metals for the most part), but no comparable, exploitable resources exist in Mexico's less habitable regions. The northern deserts in

14/ Yet in Canada the annual mean precipitation varies from a low of as little as 10 inches to over 100 inches: snowfall in the high mountains of the interior may amount to as much as 700 inches, while in the Central Plateau in the region of Kamloops virtually desert conditions exist. The crucial factor is, of course, that the gross area available in Mexico for use in the production of farm crops is nowhere near that of Canada.

Mexico have shown some capacity for agricultural produce where the land can be irrigated, but generally the quality of soil is low, and the costs of irrigation provide the smallest of marginal returns. In the tropical lowlands some mineral resources have been found, but in no place have discoveries been so extensive as to convert Mexico into a major exporter of such commodities.^{15/}

In demographic terms, Mexico supports twice as many people as does Canada (50 million population as against 22 million); expressed in percentage terms, the amount of land capable of supporting these populations would appear to favour Canada, and when population and the state of agricultural technology in the two nations are taken into account, again Canada seems to be in the favoured position.

The Hispano-Amerind culture of Mexico is traditionally more subsistence-oriented than is the case in Canada with its present progressive-capitalist ethic. The Canadian agricultural economy, based principally upon wheat for export, is highly specialized and capital-intensive, while that of Mexico is largely regional rather than national, is labour-intensive, does not export (except very recently) and is based upon the growing of

^{15/} All the facts are not in regarding Mexico's natural resources and their potential for development. It seems certain that if exploration continues, as will no doubt occur and if, as is also probable, the land is discovered to have greater reserves of both mineral and chemical ingredients than is now supposed, the money necessary for exploitation of these resources will be found. It is perhaps not out of place to refer to Israel's situation, where, since 1947, the desert has literally blossomed and primary production is already giving ground to production of finished goods.

traditional foodstuffs which are generally of a starchy nature and are, by Canadian standards, capable of providing only an impoverished diet. The trinity of Mexican agriculture is decidedly aboriginal in origin: maize, beans and squash are grown usually for local and individual consumption and form the basic dietary pattern throughout the nation. More recent additions, in the forms of fish and rice, are becoming more popular in even isolated regions, while chicken, goat-meat and pork provide quasi-traditional staples for the more fortunate.^{16/}

Mexico is decidedly more rural than Canada in terms of population distribution. Unlike Canada, whose rural population does not differ too greatly from the urban society in life-style, there exists in Mexico a far more marked distinction in the cultural elements identifying the locality of individuals. In short, the Mexican nation is characterized by value systems which vary considerably not only in rural-urban terms, but in pronounced regional disparities. The point may be made that such regional distinctions are endemic in the nature of the Canadian society and are highly evident; yet a sense of national identity, however conceived, persists with regard to the nation as a whole. Perceptions in Mexico are more restricted and discern natural features of

^{16/} It would be of value to have dependable statistics on the precise degree to which these generalizations still hold true. While there can be little doubt that in the more remote rural areas (and also in the upper-middle-class neighborhoods in Mexico City!) beans, maize and squash are constants in the diet, yet it is suggested that the proportion of Mexicans who do not have access at least once a week or at least once a month to the ubiquitous chain-grocery stores, are becoming more rare. As a result, the typical North American canned and

landscape, such as rivers, mountains and valleys as the demarcating variables in individual identity. Such perceptions in Canada relate more to political or other man-made elements -- urban centres, a province or set of provinces (the Maritimes, Quebec-Ontario or the West).

The persistence of such nature-oriented perceptions derives from the considerable influence that the aboriginal heritage continues to exert on Mexico's people. Conceivably, the internal consistency of Spanish world-views, deriving from Arabic sources as they do, may have permitted a continuation of a more nature-oriented view of the world than exists in Canada. 17/

Comment

The relative importance of geography and climate in determining both the distribution of population and the degree of economic development in Canada and Mexico is perhaps only peripheral to a discussion of indigenous policy. However, it would seem that the first, when by geography we mean not only the land's location on the map but its topography as well, is the more crucial.

For not only does geography as location go far towards determining climate, but as topography, with its references to mountains and valleys, plateaus and low-lying coastal areas, it fixes the limits within which human habitation is feasible or even possible. In other words, demography is the handmaiden of geography in both theory and practice.

17/ Here is a concept worth further exploration: Can a useful division be made concerning national vs. regional (or even local) awareness and identification of groups and individuals according to possible indexes of urbanization, industrialization, traditionalism, etc.? (A parallel could be noted, also, between such divisions and the concept of "undeveloped" national

It must be concluded that in most ways Canada is more highly favoured than is Mexico, by reason of both location and topography, as well on account of its size in relation to population.

This favoured position is enhanced by the facts of history.

At the time of invasion by Europeans, the aboriginal population of Mexico occupied what was, even by European standards, a stable, sophisticated and efficiently managed empire, feudalistic in structure and traditional in ideology. Mexico had much more to lose, and lost more, under the rapacious thrusts of Spanish adventurers and a Church which was even at that early date moving towards the Inquisition.

The aboriginal population of Canada, on the other hand, probably only one-tenth as numerous as the Mexican at the time of invasion, was for the most part widely scattered within remote, small enclaves and, but for one or two notable exceptions, without even the most elementary intra-continental connections. While in the beginning the Europeans and the United States
peans in Canada/were as few in number as were their contemporaries in Latin America, they swiftly assumed a dominant position because of the hundreds and thousands who followed them, to settle and raise families, and build homes and communities. Even so, it took the newcomers more than two hundred years to accomplish what had been achieved in Latin America in less than half that time: the subjugation, decimation and ultimate destruction of the aboriginal ethos.

Even so. it may be argued that what was accomplished in

northern North America has been at least as effective, in some respects even more effective, in the long run than all the Spanish effort. As was pointed out, the policy of transforming the Indian into a pseudo-European, rather than destroying him physically by slaughter or by miscegenation, has resulted in an even more thorough-going destruction of his several cultures than has occurred in Mexico. He has been left not even the sense of pride that in Mexico has never completely died and has, in fact, been bolstered by the efforts of the majority there, who have seized upon "Indian-ness" as the expression of a former golden age.

At least one point made by the writer of the preceding notes on "Geography and Demography" warrants further exploration. He contrasts the "regionalism" of Canada with that of Mexico, suggesting that in our country ^{it is} for both Whites and Indians a matter of identification more with man-made phenomena of political, economic or social derivation, whereas in Mexico the natural world and its features -- rivers, mountains, plains -- are determinants for Indian and mestizo alike. Stated somewhat more broadly, this implies that a more advanced stage of assimilation has been attained in Canada than in Mexico.

This is not to deny the existence of regional identifications in terms of natural, geographic features, as the terms "maritimes", "prairies" and "northerners" suggest. Nor is it to suggest that Mexican Indians, for example, do not associate themselves as tribal entities with the states where they

traditionally made their homes (Oaxaca, for instance). Finally, regionalism, in Canada, is a powerful force within the nation, and the strength of the Canadian "self-identity" is at least open to dispute, as recent controversies in the areas of language and economic affairs suggest.

B. History, Culture and the Economy

Striking differences between Canada and Mexico in geography and climate, resource-production and the character and distribution of populations, are root-causes of equivalent disparities between the two in history and culture. This implies a direct, though still not spelled-out or always understood relationship between all three pairs of variables. The relationship exists, however, and in Mexico is sharply revealed.

Other aspects of Mexican culture besides diet are expressions of no less traditional ways of regarding both the physical and

the spiritual worlds, translated into a value-system that, among other features, regards human life and well-being in rather less esteem than has been the case generally in Canada. The roots of such attitudes are to be found deep in the history of Mexico -- in the fact, for instance, that a formerly sophisticated civilization of striking size, depth and efficiency, itself founded upon feudal principles, was conquered, corrupted and at last almost utterly destroyed by the Spaniards. Having subverted the rulers of this empire, the Spanish proceeded to enslave the former subjects, reducing them from a relatively independent population of farmers, who lived and worked on the land in a fashion relatively unchanged for centuries, to slaves, to serfs, bound to the soil by external force to an extent they had never been before. In the process, traditional and on the whole economical and ecologically non-destructive methods of land-use were discarded, and within three centuries much of the land had become barren and unfruitful. Despite, or perhaps because of this drastic alteration of the foundations upon which the traditional Indian economy had been based, the indigenous definitions of land-as-life-giver rather than as commodity have persisted. The former attitude is epitomized in the term "agrarian-reform" as opposed to the Western concept of "land-reform". Agrarian reform subsumes concepts of animism that in Canada are inimical to our convictions regarding the sanctity of property. To the Indian no matter in which nation he may live, individual ownership of land is a privilege, exercised within a framework of community and dependent upon

social rather than upon individual value the land thus produces. (This, in essence, does not differ greatly from the theories of Henry George concerning "social utility".)

The history of Mexico is a tale of such grim and unremitting exploitation that most Canadians are content to accept the partial picture (which, after all, does cover four hundred years) as if it were the total canvas and to ignore, if indeed they have ever been made aware of it, the period only one-tenth as long that extended from the 1930s to the present. Yet within this so-much-shorter span of years, Mexico has changed politically and economically; and changes in the cultural and social history of the nation have kept pace.

Within these recent forty-odd years Mexico has become a mestizo nation, and the Mexican is proud of his Indian heritage. Prior to the Revolution Indian ancestry tended to be played down or at least ignored to the extent possible. It has been only since the 1920s, and particularly since the end of World War II, that the Indian way of life has become idealized and have Indian art forms and crafts, been exploited in world markets.

Mexico has become an industrialized nation since the Revolution, achieving great leaps in this direction at a pace matched by few others in Latin America. In the process it has been beset by ills usually associated with industrialization: vast shifts of population from rural to urban areas, sharp increases in competitive and exploitative drives as aboriginal cultures have decayed, maldistribution of goods

and opportunities, overcrowding within cities, and disease.

Indigenous policies in Mexico have taken their meaning and direction from these factors of change.

Yet with all the so-apparent differences between Mexico and Canada, similarities exist, as suggested in the "Basic Argument" with which this section began. The overall philosophy by which the goal of indigenous policy is defined in both nations, that is, assimilation, implies a kind of "social dualism"^{18/} that is more mythological than real and, expressing

the accepted colonial theories of "lesser breeds" and "the White Man's burden", can for practical purposes be ignored. Assimilation, stated in most palatable terms, becomes a process of transforming the Indian into a "useful member of society", of "civilizing" him, even of "Christianizing" him, although this last has today gone pretty well out of fashion.

Yet no matter how defined or how innocuously phrased, assimilation leads in the end to extermination of those assimilated. Despite semantic differences (as suggested in this paper by the use of the term "integration" as an alternative) the process is one of acculturation, itself defined as a merging of two cultures during which the stronger (i.e., most numerous)

people absorbs during a longer or shorter period of time, the weaker, (or less numerous).

^{18/} In the context of "rural-urban", "undeveloped-developed" dichotomies. See Gerald M. Meier: Leading Issues in Economic Development. Studies in International Poverty. Stanford University Press, 1970. Chapter III, pp. 121-162.

C. Economy and Social Structure

The economic systems of Europeans, particularly in their agricultural manifestations, have had direct and frequently disastrous consequences for aboriginals in both Canada and Mexico.

Spanish agricultural practices were land-intensive. They involved the use of vast tracts for grazing cattle and providing water for the animals. As the cattle multiplied they cut a swathe through the countryside from which it never recovered.

From the beginning the social basis of this agriculture, that each conqueror, however low-born, could in the new colony become a feudal lord in his own right, restricted the lands available for the aboriginal population. The growth of the hacienda meant prestige and, in the Spaniard's conception, vast wealth; but this was achieved at the expense of other rural residents, particularly the Indians. When the Spaniards were finally evicted from Mexican soil they left behind them a land which had flourished under the earlier Indian agricultural methods, but which under the Spanish conceptions of land tenure had become a virtual desert.

Spanish agricultural practices were adopted in very minimal ways by the Indians. The use of the Spanish plow instead of the native hoe, and the occasional use of goats, pigs, chickens and even the occasional donkey or cow by

mestizo, however, in many cases aspired to assume the role of the Spaniard when the latter was evicted. The haciendas did not cease to exist, but were taken over by mestizos and the few remaining criollos, and the institutionalized haciendas persisted in their dysfunctional practices well into the twentieth century.

The Revolution changed much of this, but conceptions of land-ownership still include the hacienda as a goal to be attained by the wealthy. In any event, the result has been that poorer mestizos and Indians consider themselves lucky to have the unfortunate little pieces of land that may constitute their share in the ejido and which the Revolution made possible. To speak of one's "tierra", however poor it may be, is still a great source of pride for the "little man".

Aboriginals today are having their lands incorporated into ejidos by the government, in order to protect the inhabitants from exploitation by hacienda-oriented individuals. One fundamental indicator in distinguishing Indians and mestizos might well tie into this widespread attitude towards land. The growth of the haciendas forced many of the aboriginals into the least hospitable zones of the nation and has resulted in a further impoverishment of the quality of aboriginal life, since the land can barely sustain even the minimal demands which the Indians place upon it.

In Canada, it may be suggested, the fundamental problem is that as the industrial revolution has developed, the atmos-

to be enough.

In Mexico there is no unemployment insurance to speak of, so that while on the one hand it can be argued that community development programs as conducted by the INI may be breeding a dependency syndrome, there is not built into the system the kinds of problems that arise in Canada, where it would seem that many native people are being herded into becoming addicted to welfare.

The traditional modes of economic existence are not possible for either the Canadian or Mexican Indians, and it appears in both instances that, with the exception of fostering native art and, in some cases, implementing new agricultural practices with their built-in limitations of soil quality and conceptions of production, that the North American Indian is a doomed species. Adaptation, here meaning assimilation, at least in economic terms, seems to be the only possible exit. Yet it is precisely this that Canadian Indians are reacting against: Doing "white-man's work" and working in the white-man's industries is considered offensive to many native people. One might wonder, therefore, what good it does to educate, since the end-product however viewed seems to point necessarily towards some form of assimilation, economic or otherwise.

Although unpalatable to some, perhaps one solution for Canada, the wealthier of the two countries, might be the sponsoring of indigenous, household or "cottage" industries for those aboriginals desiring to continue a traditional way of life. Yet if the wherewithal-- the animals, the fish, the

balance to such an extent that it is no longer really possible for the Indian to support himself by hunting and fishing. Even the slaughter of ocean species by international fishing fleets has made it increasingly difficult for Indian people to make any kind of living from the sea. Of late the northern people, the Innuits, have found that the mere presence of aircraft in their regions and of labourers on pipelines and in defence establishments have driven away the caribou, reduced the number of seals and frightened away other game.

As far as agriculture is concerned, the period of Western expansion and the development of commercial farms in Canada's West inhibited the movement of Plains Indians, and the slaughter of the buffalo and other game left them with no means of livelihood.

What are the alternatives left to the aboriginals in Mexico and Canada? In Mexico, native arts are given vast encouragement and support of a financial nature, yet few within the aboriginal population can really make of this a viable economic base. Modifications in agriculture have been implemented by the efforts of the INI and the Department of Agriculture, yet this too is a slow process that still involves forcing upon native people new conceptions of a moneyed economy and a marketable surplus. These alien measures, considered necessary by the Indigenists if the aboriginals are to survive, are making some headway; yet, given the fundamental poverty of Mexico's land and the location of most aboriginal people, it may prove in time not

trees -- no longer exist in sufficient quantities to support this kind of innovation, how then can it be undertaken?

Mexico sees its remaining aboriginals becoming rural mestizos, again an ethnocentric albeit realistic solution to the problem. Culture and ethnicity would be preserved, but the means of support would become western in flavour. Since the Mexican aboriginal's ethnicity does not appear so threatened as the Canadian's, this transition might be made with greater ease in Mexico than here. The dichotomy might again not be so pronounced in Mexico, since the contradictions between aboriginal rural life-style and that of the more "developed" segments of technological society may not finally conflict as much as in Canada; or, again, as with the memory of "White" war being waged upon Indians, the land may appear to have been always as poor and as incapable of supporting life as it now is: the legend of a golden past may not be as pronounced for the Mexican Indian.

A new or improved position for the Indians in both mestizo and Anglo-French societies in the future can, it seems, only come about if the economic disparities between them and the majorities become reduced. Unfortunate as it seems, the only means that appear open lie in the field of some form of assimilation in the economic sphere. One possible, though unlikely alternative which emerges is the not-too-probable development of aboriginal capitalism which, as an internal economy, will be able to support sui generis the aboriginal population by itself. The process, however, implies a further contradiction, in that it would entail the development of aboriginal entrepreneurs, who in turn would probably find

the wider societal market more lucrative than the limited aboriginal one, thus further implying an additional deterioration in native identity and an added schism among native people.

Comment

A concept has been introduced here that ought to be investigated further: that is, that "assimilation" is not a single, unitary process, operating within all areas at an equal pace and with immediately identical results. Rather, it may occur first at the level of economic activity, expand from there into levels of social and political behaviour, and finally, when its course is almost run and a group is ripe for dissolution as a distinct entity, reach into the realms of culture.

Thus, in both Canada and Mexico, assimilation has reached, and in many instances passed, the level of economics as more and more Indians are being forced to adopt the Western techniques of work-for-wages, observance of time-schedules, buying and selling on credit, and falling back upon White-man's law in economic disputes. In doing all this, they have perforce adopted many of the Westerners' social behaviour patterns, as well, transferring the competitive practices of the market-place to day-to-day relationships with their fellows and adopting conventional mannerisms, styles of dress and general behaviour of the majority. They have learned, also, that power in the White society is a function

of wealth and political sophistication (a lesson some of them had been taught centuries before, to be sure, in their own societies, where prestige often rested upon as firm a basis of conspicuous consumption as any Veblen described).

Finally, with changing attitudes and the raising of new ideals (read: Gods) the old ways, the old values, were slowly eroded and eventually disappeared; and the old culture died.

It should not be a difficult task to document this multifaceted progression by reference to the literature of social change and acculturation. To attempt to do so might constitute one of several approaches to the continuing study of indigenous affairs.

D. Politics and Government

Native authority over their own affairs seems to be a feature of both the Mexican and Canadian systems; yet both are subject to the dictates of the laws which govern the nation. Indigenous representation is meagre in both countries, but is more apparent in Mexico than in Canada. In Mexico, ^{the} indigenous question is cultural, rather than racial in its connotations. There is no "Indian" representation as such on a national level in Mexico, yet this is more a question of national priorities deemed essential by the informal cabinet than it is one of official policy. Since the selection of each President is actually made by this group, his predispositions

will determine whether or not he gets into power, for his authority approaches dictatorial limits.

In Canada the same factors may be said to exist, although without the acknowledged behind-the-scenes selection of the top ruler. How many Indian legislators are there? How many Indians hold positions of importance in the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development? Given the absence of Indian representation where it matters in the political life of Canada, one might seek a greater number of individuals sympathetic to or directly involved with aboriginal populations, to have positions of authority in such matters. A few Indianists in DIAND or in the Federal government might make valuable contributions.

The political systems by which both groups of aboriginals are governed are alien, and a favourable policy towards aboriginals (if there can indeed be any such) seems more of a political than a purely administrative issue. In Canada an administration less enamoured of "development" and more concerned with social issues might prove also to be more sympathetic to the ways of native people than one which sees its priorities in terms of gross national product and the "modern" image.

The formation of Indian interest-associations in Canada is one way that native people may gain an ear for their cause, and our democratic system may permit them to be heard. Thus far, however, such associations sound like voices within a wilderness. Mexico's Indians may in the long run be more fortunate.

Comment

This is in some respects a savage criticism of Canadian policy, but one which within the context of this paper is in large measure justified. Within the even larger context of world-events and the apparent direction which protests are taking, it does not seem easy to over-emphasize the urgency of political action, on the part of the majority in the first instance if only to offset and in some measure ameliorate the sort of explosion that all signs suggest to be imminent.

It may be, as some of the more radical of our contemporaries suggest, that time has already run out. The dilemma we are faced with, as a majority and, like it or not, a "ruling class", is to achieve at one and the same time the kind of education that is an essential to political participation in a democracy and the actual introduction of Indian representatives into the political life of the nation. And this dilemma is merely the reflection of that larger one, referred to several times in this paper: -- that political education, no less than other kinds, will be couched in Western terms, carried on under Western rules and by Western methods; and the more such rules and methods are employed, the further into the European world the indigenous person is dragged or driven and the less important his own traditional culture becomes. Yet this, also, can be a part of the whole process by which it is hoped to achieve a relatively painless transformation of the Indian while still retaining at least some of the values that are inherent in his own traditional culture.

IV. Indigenous Policy and the Future

Each of the two nations surveyed in this paper is faced with the task of building and applying policies for dealing with its indigenous people, and differences between the methods by which each has attempted the job are considerable.

First, must be cited the historical and cultural realities of the racial mixture in Mexico. Compared to the separate existence (in multi- rather than in "two"-solitudes sense) in Canada, the Mexicans are overwhelmingly one people, mestizo, and proud of the fact. There is no counterpart to mestizism in Canada, despite the existence here of an enumerated métis population about equal to that legally defined as "Indian". Despite the further fact that the Indian population in both countries is increasing at a faster rate than the non-Indian, percentage-wise the former is in each case becoming an ever-decreasing minority within its society and will in the fullness of years be absorbed by the majority, and thus destroyed. The crucial difference between the two countries is that in Mexico "racial" differences among people are relatively less important than cultural ones. The mestizo is a result not merely of a blending of blood-lines and genes, but of a melding of cultures -- that of the Spaniard, himself an admixture of European and mid-Eastern peoples with the Amerind, be the latter Aztec, Mayan or a combination of these and a score of other tribal lines. The mestizo's view of the world, his habits, traditions and unique characteristics are products of a 2,000-year-old past, often obscure and imperfectly understood even by Mexicans, that have during four centuries been

overlaid by an Iberian heritage that is more superficial than we other North Americans, intrigued by the violent machismo-cult so apparent to tourists, are able to comprehend, let alone accept. It has been said that if you scratch a Mexican, you will find an Indian; yet few outsiders are sufficiently free of inhibitions to grant the truth of that folk-saying.

The qualities of personality discerned in the "average" Mexican are part of folklore, nurtured as much by Mexicans as by non-Mexicans. The Mexican character is another matter. This is terra incognita for most people, Mexican or gringo, and has been approached gingerly, if at all, by those who specialize in such matters.

It is easy to build a sort of mystique about the Mexican, as what has been said above will suggest; it may even be that the "average" Canadian could be described in similarly vague and esoteric terms, acceptable to the Latin American, who is apt to be as bemused by us as are we by him. But in all conscience the Canadian seems to North Americans and to Europeans to be a far less mysterious being; in fact, we tend to take a kind of Western pride in our own straight-forwardness and our own no-nonsense, practical-as-the-day-is-long qualities.

Second, another difference between Canada and Mexico almost as far-reaching as are those between their people, lies in the fact that in Mexico it has been practically impossible since the Revolution of 1910-1920 to separate indigenous policies from politics. The section of this paper dealing with Mexico

has underlined that phenomenon. The Indian in Mexico takes protective colouration from his definition as a campesino, a peasant, a farmer or rural resident (that is, he tends to be overlooked in the compilation of statistics, lumped with rural residents); yet he is exploited by his mestizo contemporaries, even on occasion by fellow-Indians, the extent of such exploitation varying with the degree to which local political overlords are willing to intervene on his behalf in whatever disputes he may become involved. (To complete the picture, it has been argued by the "Young Turks" of anthropology, in and out of INI, that the whole corpus of indigenous policy is in fact an exploitation of the Indian. That argument will ring familiar in Canadian ears, also.)

The movement of "Indigenism" in Mexico may have been fathered by anthropology, but the dam was politics. It early became a habit to relate indigenous affairs to the larger concern with Mexicanization of the political and social landscape. Even most recent events in industrialization and economic development have drawn the campesino, and thus the Indian, into the political embrace, as road-building and irrigation projects and even the expansion of tourist facilities have been placed within the larger context. True enough, this involvement of the lowest strata of society has not much altered the status of any of them, but the peculiar (to North Americans) anatomy of Mexican government, which is an amalgam of apparently incompatible philosophies, democratic, socialistic and authoritarian, has proved in the long run to be less destructive of either society or its citizens than most observers thought probable. It has

been possible under the Mexican system to achieve for both campesino and lower-class mestizo a measure of security that might under other, "purer" systems of government have been difficult.

The Mexican Constitution of 1917 was created almost literally with the campesino in mind. The laws and decrees by which it has been interpreted and implemented have ostensibly been enacted because of the campesino and his desperate need for land. The main thrust of the Constitution was towards "agrarian reform" -- a concept quite different and far less superficial than is our own "land reform". It is the campesino, the farmer, not the urban resident or even the small merchant in his tiny village, who is the land-oriented unit of the population. Land-ownership or land-sharing has been the focus of his existence and has dictated his needs and aspirations for generations. Any policy that bases itself upon land, it follows, rather than on the more sophisticated and "civilized" elements of an urban-industrial society, must be farmer-oriented and will subordinate other philosophies and practices.

Third, still another area of contrast between the two countries, Canada and Mexico, lies in the means, the tools, by which policy is created and applied. The Indigenists in Mexico are overwhelmingly anthropologists by training and have been so since the beginning of the "new" Mexico. They are perforce administrators, also, but their chief role has been to serve as theoreticians. While politicians may guide and restrain their actions and have, in fact, in perhaps too many instances

had the final say in matters of indigenous policy, the framework within which policy is built and within which it is implemented is essentially one constructed of timber from the social sciences. Thus, to cite only one instance, no program for indigenes can be undertaken until the culture and whole way of life of the group to be assisted has been studied and comprehended in its entirety as a separate, unique and functioning whole, possessed of elements suspended in delicate balance that may easily be disrupted and destroyed. The culture is, in truth, seen as the prime feature, the core, of all programs; and, despite the Canadian assertion that our own Indian policy is aimed at the group and not the individual (see the statement in our departmental "Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty"), we seem to have fallen short in some way, here, and to have translated policy into our own, Western vernacular of glorification of the individual, not the community.

There remains one major point to be made.

In the section on Canada which forms the first part of this paper, it was suggested that our "Indian Problem" may be most simply stated in terms of a clogging of lines of communication between Indians, between Whites and between Whites and Indians. Behind this there lies the historic accident that original Indian policy in British North America was hammered out on an administrative-legal anvil, rather than on a social-scientific one. And behind this, again, operative within both the Canadian and Mexican contexts, lies the fundamental paradox of segregation-to-assist or -- to refer once again to the language

of the "Brief" -- the attempt to achieve "inclusion" by means of "exclusion". Out of this grows Erasmus's "encogido syndrome": at what point does the attempt to "assist" people become self-defeating? When, during the process, do the seeds of destruction germinate and the "assisted" become apathetic or antagonistic, the "assisters" imbued with self-righteousness, and the whole society (whose members are paying the shot) reject the entire welfare program and fire their agents out of hand?

It may be, indeed, that there is no way to deflect this seemingly inevitable train of events. Yet, even though the Mexican record is far from perfect, the Indigenists' approach has been attended by a measure of success that is less easy to discern in our own country.

Comment

Major changes in indigenous policy in Canada and Mexico do not appear imminent, but the reasons for this continuity, while similar, derive from different causes.

The hierarchal Mexican political system which guarantees presidential change-overs every six years does not simultaneously replace all of its senior bureaucracy. When these officials have great prestige, their positions come to resemble the tenure existing in more traditional academic situations, and they hold these positions indefinitely. Within their own areas of expertise they tend to wield great power.

Dr. G. Aguirre Beltrán, Director of the INI and Sub-secretary in the Ministry of Education for the General Directorate of Indian Affairs, is only limited by the restrictions of national policy priorities, which alternate between social and economic aspects of Mexico's development. Currently, and until 1976 when a new President will be elected, indigenous and other social policies will be favoured.

Beltrán, like his predecessor, Alfonso Caso, in addition to being a highly competent administrator, is a prominent theoretician of contemporary indigenism. He is a relatively young man, who will in all probability stay at his post until he reaches an advanced age or he may, as Caso did, occupy the position until his death.

While by comparison with other Latin American nations, Mexico

administration in its government service, much of what gets done or does not get done continues to hinge on an adherence to personalist norms of interaction that would be unacceptable in a Canadian context. In the indigenist program, where the best of science and policy become fused, the individual and the institution become closely associated with one another. To this degree Beltrán and the INI become one and the same. Yet while Beltrán may be said to tailor indigenous policy, he is so strongly identified with the movement in both its administrative and theoretical aspects that he appears to assume a corporate identity to the extent that it is perhaps equally accurate to say that indigenous policies "tailor" Beltrán. Thus, while personalist norms may affect policy in significant ways, the built-in safeguard is that the appointment of each INI Director is made on the basis of his contribution to "official" anthropology.

Opposition to indigenous policy is made quite openly and virulently both within and outside of the INI. Most of the arguments imply a generalized criticism of the Mexican political system in toto which, unless fundamental changes appear imminent in the society, are unlikely to be altered.

The absence of a viable alternative to the PRI in political terms renders the system virtually impregnable and enhances the position of "official" indigenism.

It has been argued that for these reasons the fate over time of official indigenism will be to stagnate and catch dust. Nonetheless, buttressed by each regime's proclaimed adherence to the "on-going revolution", Mexican indigenous policies manifest a concerted intent to overcome the subordinate

and disadvantaged position in which the nation's native people find themselves. In spite of the many limitations, most of which appear to be financial, the future orientation of the PRI will determine the nature of indigenist policy, which at present does not appear likely to change.

The processes of assimilation and the paternalistic nature of the Mexican system may be distasteful to Canadians schooled in democratic principles and individual liberty. Canada's native people would also react against any attempts to impose a Mexican system here. But one might ask what overwhelming benefit our democratic principles have had for the native people of Canada.

On the basis of arguments made earlier in this paper, assimilation appears to be an unavoidable reality. Resistance to these processes on the part of many Canadian Indians must necessarily be a reflection of the inadequacies and incongruities of our methods in both past and present, and the very nature of the society in which native people are expected to participate. Such distaste does not appear to be as evident in Mexico, and without becoming overly steeped in guilt we might consider new methods in our entire approach to native people.

Indigenous policy is unlikely to change immediately in this country owing to the entrenchments of traditional administrative practices, from which we have been able to derive a large measure of our pride in "objectivity". We seem to be intransigent in our inability to cut corners and to innovate, without first hammering out a legalistic justification, which

we then place before the public (and the Indians) all in one piece and with great fanfare. This is not the way of native people. The presentation is too ponderous, too terminal in concept. The recommendations made in the 1969 policy paper were well-intentioned and unobjectionable, but the manner in which they were presented led to an outcry. Small yet on-going changes, presented directly to the Indian people for consultation before implementation is suggested let alone begun, followed up by discussion and modification if necessary, should lead to better acceptance. "Poco a poco", ...says the Mexican proverb; and "little-by-little" is a prescription we would do well to heed.

Canadian policy is well-intentioned, generally just and very much concerned with the fate and condition of the native people. The nation is blessed with wealth to such an extent that it could support every Indian and Eskimo in the land on the Department of Indian Affairs' budget; but disharmony still exists between the Department and Indians.

There are certain features of the Mexican experience that might be applied in Canada. For example, whoever performs services for native people should, first, have a positive orientation towards the people on whose behalf they are to work and, second, be specifically trained in methods of implementing change in the interests of native people and, finally, have knowledge about the culture of the people with whom they are to be working.

An implicit value-judgment in the second of these rules involves the determination of whether or not certain actions

are, in fact, in the interests of the native people.

There should be no difficulty in permitting native people in this nation to participate more fully in the determination of their own felt needs. Indian leaders are highly articulate and by virtue of their positions in native societies are fully aware of what is necessary. They should be given greater opportunity to participate.

The three precepts listed above might also be considered to a greater extent in terms of our programs for Education, Community Affairs and Economic Development, especially as they apply to Education.

According to the Reports cited in this study, it appears that educational methods for native children have improved greatly in recent years. The child's cultural heritage as well as his language are being given increased consideration, particularly in the primary years, and the official languages are taught from the perspective of "second" languages in some cases. Reports of "comprehensive study weeks" for graduates of the Ontario Teachers College, in Thunder Bay, Ontario, (in the Toronto Globe and Mail, October 13, 1972), established by the Indian Education Committee of Ontario and conducted by senior reserve teachers and selected resource people, indicate that new teachers receive an orientation to their duties before going to the field. This appears commendable, but one might question whether a week's preparation can be considered to be adequate in preparing what are usually urban, middle-class white teachers for life on a reserve. Similar questions arise from the use of "senior reserve teachers" in these programs,

as one might wonder if they would necessarily provide meaningful insights into a modus operandi for junior personnel.

The point here isn't that Canadians are not trying, but that we ought to do more. If education is to play a meaningful role for aboriginal children, it must employ native people as much as possible, and when these are in short supply the non-Indian teachers must have greater understanding of local conditions and circumstances. Furthermore, education should be biased towards these local conditions and relevant to local needs so that further "dropping-out" and alienation on the part of native children can be reduced. This is not to suggest that the Indian child should be coerced into becoming an intellectual or a professional, but that he should have opportunities which can only be provided if the "schooling" process bears some resemblance to his tangible surroundings.

These considerations could similarly apply in the areas of Community Affairs and Economic Development, and specialists working in the communities or reserves of native people should be centrally preoccupied with the community's aspirations. Again, we are not to be concerned with a "pay-off" or an atonement for past sins, but rather preoccupied with what can be accomplished now.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS

At the beginning of this section three steps in the formulation of policy were outlined, and it was suggested that the same processes have occurred in all nations that have retained any appreciable number of aboriginal people within their populations. However, it was stated, also, that variations in methods and in the tools employed emerged when policy was implemented.

There remains the task of selecting from among these several methods a few which it is believed might with some benefit be adapted to the situation now existing in Canada.

Our declared purposes in undertaking this project, it will be remembered, were two: to make a straightforward comparison of the policies of Canada and Mexico and to apply this technique to the study of other nations and groups of nations.

The following recommendations in regard to Canada are made within the parameters of these two areas.

Recommendation I

That the Government of Canada shift emphasis in indigenous policy from the present legal-administrative base to one more closely approximating that of Mexico, which we have called "social-scientific".

Now it is not supposed that a transformation of the sort advocated is possible easily, all at once, or completely.

amount to a re-ordering of the scale of values by which Western society has lived for centuries, and which is deeply embedded in tradition and sentiment. While the benefit to be derived from regarding the Indian as something more than a unit within a collection of individuals who are to be made "like us" -- for this is surely implied -- and who are divorced from history except as we define history, and who do not possess unique cultures of their own, the expertise Euro-Canadians have acquired through the years in the realms of abstract thought and in matters of management of large undertakings, have their own values which should be shared and put to use in the formulation of indigenous policy.

In other words, in this as in other similar situations, the best of the old must be retained. In order to accomplish this feat, and at the same time to alter so drastically the time-honoured practices of the past, Recommendation I must be supplemented. Therefore:

Recommendation Ia

That selected indigenous persons be offered an opportunity to study, within a formal, post-secondary academic environment, the techniques of management and administration.

However, education in such skills is of a generalized nature, not applicable only or specifically to Indian policy; it should be further supplemented and sharpened. Thus:

Recommendation Ib

That such curricula as may be set up should include courses in Indian history and culture, comparative indigenous policies of other nations, anthropology, and other related subjects.

Further, it appears probable that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development will within the foreseeable future take up an association, as a representative of the Government of Canada, with the Inter-American Indian Institute and establish a Canadian Indian Institute. It is therefore recommended:

Recommendation IC

That whatever existing or newly established agency is used to implement the educational program suggested be a part of, or affiliated with, the Canadian Indian Institute.

Finally, having affirmed through its participation in the work of the IAIL its interest in the task being done by that body, the Government of Canada/demonstrate that interest in concrete form:

Recommendation ID

That member nations of the IAIL should be invited to recommend students from their own citizenry to apply for admission the the proposed training program or programs.

(Note on Recommendations I, A-D:

(Curricula, agents of instruction, administrators, the selection of students, and all other matters pertaining to the establishment and operation of the proposed educational program should be decided by government officials, educators and representatives of native people. If certification following completion of the program is considered necessary, it should be similarly based.)

In regard to the second declared purpose of this study, the following proposal is made:

Recommendation II

That comparisons between other countries in the matter of indigenous policy employ the same directional signposts that were used in this study -- i.e., geography, demography, history and culture.

The nations originally selected for study were the following, listed according to a tentative time-table/agenda:

Guatemala, as a link, or "bridge" to South American nations.

Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, the so-called "Amazon Basin Nations". The last three are designated, also, as "The Andean Group".

Guyana, as a "bridge" to the English-speaking world.

United States, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia.

When each of these nations is surveyed according to our four "signposts, some of the complex interrelationships between them become apparent.

/mainly

Guatemala, for example, is the only Central American nation selected, since it harbours the largest aboriginal population of any, yet is representative of the other small nations occupying that narrow land-bridge which separates North from South America. The position of Guatemala colours the Guatemalan view of the world and emphasizes the minor position the nation occupies in relation to Mexico and the United States on the north and the Latin American giants to the south. A Spanish-speaking nation today, it endured many of the terrors and indignities of conquest. Yet the territory was isolated, covered in nearly impenetrable jungle, and was considered so small and unimportant in the larger scheme of Spanish empire that for several centuries the aboriginal people managed to survive/due to Spanish neglect. Guatemala has become independent, but like its neighbours has yet to make any very effective strides towards joining the twentieth century. It has a record of many revolts and abortive revolutions and thus serves to clarify certain aspects of the Latin American scene.

The Amazon Basin Nations present a range of problems and attempts at their solution that make a simple treatment impossible. In size, geography, topography, composition and distribution of population; in politics and government; even in language -- each is different. Yet all are similar to each other not only by tradition, but by virtue of their access to the greatest river of South America. The dense jungle that covers the greater part of the Basin constitutes the ever-diminishing home of the continent's primitive people. The disastrous effects of European incursions into this area should serve as one theme of the ensuing study. More specifically, the Andean Group of Nations are a subject of considerable interest to several national and international agencies. Since the indigenous policies of Colombia, Peru and Bolivia apply to aboriginal mountain-dwellers of similar cultures due to congruent life-styles, language and means of subsistence, it is considered important to deal with the policies of each of these nations within a single paper.

Guyana is a sport among its neighbours. It is English-speaking and split almost equally in population between African and Asiatic people. Its position on the north-eastern coast of the Continent and on the Caribbean Sea, bordering upon Venezuela and Brazil -- both of which nations carry on endemic warfare with the small country about mutual boundaries -- render it unique in many ways.

Finally, when we come to the English-speaking nations of North America and the western Pacific area, a new factor of geography is introduced: one of these four is, in fact, Asian and is thus related to Guyana. Malaya, indeed, presents a new aspect for consideration, in that Malaysians regard themselves as indigenous to the land and refer to those who were in reality the first occupants as "orang asli" -- that is, "original people".

None of these nations is identical, yet all have elements in common. All were conquered by Europeans, all have within their borders remnants of what were in many cases vast native populations which, in some instances still out-number non-aboriginals. Each has, over the years, built attitudes and practices affecting their indigenous people and each is at some stage in the development of an urban-industrial society.

In order to survey them all and to introduce some sort of order into the process, central markers of the kind referred to as "signposts" are required. With these it may be possible to reach still further conclusions respecting indigenous policy and to make further recommendations as to the content and direction of future policy, on both the international and national levels.

It is one of the firmly held convictions of the authors of this study that unless every nation which must wrestle with its "indigenous problems" recognizes an obligation to share its knowledge in this area and the fruits of its efforts to arrive at solutions to those problems, neither the cause of humanity nor that of survival itself will be served.

This rather dramatic assertion leads to a further recommendation:

Recommendation III

That the Canadian Government implement with the greatest possible despatch its decision to participate in the work of the Inter-American Indian Institute, in order to contribute to the deliberations and decisions of that organization and to avail itself of the experience and knowledge that member nations have accumulated during the more than thirty years of its existence; and that, in recognition of its obligation as a condition of membership in the IAI, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development immediately assume the lead in establishing a "Canadian Indian Institute" to serve as one of the prime vehicles for communication between the several nations and their indigenous people, on the one hand, and Canada and Canadian Indians on the other.

It may not be out of place to add that a wish for this sort of participation has been frequently expressed to the writers of this paper by officials of the IAI.

CANADIAN INDIAN POLICIESFootnotes and Annotated Bibliography

1. Page 2. The literature on Canadian Indians and the several agencies that have dealt with Indian affairs is so voluminous that specific references would extend unduly. The works are spotty from the point of view of scholarship and range over a broad field, from anthropology to politics, law and sociology to straight polemics. The reader is referred to bibliographies in, e.g., Hodgetts and Diamond Jenness (Indians of Canada. Ottawa, 1932 et seq.), particularly.

2. Page 4. Augustus C. Buell: Sir William Johnson. New York, 1903. There are several biographies of Johnson. This was selected for quotation because it is brief and concise, and yet contains the essential material on Sir William's work as Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Colony of New York.

3. Page 5. Douglas Hill: The Opening of the Canadian West. London, 1967. Hill has the merit, as far as the present writer is concerned, of being not only a scholar but an Indian apologist, thus placing him among the ranks of those who are willing to sacrifice peace of mind to acceptance of the realities of the growing Indian self-awareness and political power. No apology is offered for the writer's bias, thus revealed.

4. Page 10. Alexander Morris: The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories.

Toronto, 1880. It seems recently to have become fashionable to denigrate Morris, either directly or by damnation with faint praise. His report remains, nevertheless, one of the most thorough and objective accounts of the treaty-negotiating process now available.

5. Page 11. Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Ottawa, 1970. Presented to the Committee under date of January 20, 1970, by officials of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, viz.: Messrs. John A. MacDonald, Deputy Minister; Jean Baptiste Bergevin, Assistant Deputy Minister; C.I. Fairholm, Senior Policy Adviser; F.J. Neville, Assistant Director, Community Affairs; and L.G.P. Waller, Chief of the Educational Development Division. The report is, with little doubt, the most authoritative statement of Canadian Indian policy, as well as the most recent, now available.

6. Page 17. "Discussion Notes on the Indian Act." Information Canada, Ottawa, 1971. (Reprint of an earlier version.)

7. Page 17. "Statement of the Government of Canada on Indian Policy, 1969." Presented to the First Session of the Twenty-eighth Parliament by the Honourable Jean Chrétien, Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Ottawa, 1969.

8. Page 23. William R. Jacobs: Dispossessing the American Indian. New York, 1972.

9. Page 24. Data from Statistics Division, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, as of December 31, 1970. Ottawa, August 31, 1971.

10. Page 25. Reports on Community Affairs, Education and Economic Development programs, prepared by the Management Information Centre of the Planning, Program Analysis and Special Projects Division, which is part of the Policy, Planning and Communications Branch, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa, 1972.

11. Page 28. Total of I-E Program employees: 5,400 as of March 31, 1972. Data from Financial Management Adviser's Office. Total Indian and Eskimo employees in I-E Program: 948 as of 1972. Data from Manpower Planning Office. Both sources attached to Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Ottawa, 1972.

12. Page 29. Frank Tannenbaum: Ten Keys to Latin America. New York, 1962. Tannenbaum was one of the first of a growing number of social scientists who may be said to have been "socially" oriented (in the sense of "socialistic"), or at least one of the earliest to accept responsibility for the results of scientists' work. He believed (although I have not come across any specific statement by him to this effect) that scientists cannot remain objective and non-committed within the political arena. Since the earliest days of Tannenbaum's work in Latin America, which extends back to the days of the Mexican Revolution, the point of view he maintained has gained considerable respectability until today those who still seek to retain their "purity" are the exceptions and are consigned by many of their younger colleagues to the limbo of "the Old Guard".

13. "National Indigenous Policies in Mexico", by Mr. Sullivan.

and Canada and Mexico were settled upon as presenting an array of similarities and differences easily detailed and understood.

During the last eight months an additional researcher, bilingual in English and Spanish, has been added to the project and given responsibility for preparation of the Mexican portion of the study. The resulting total paper is to be seen as a "pilot", intended to set forth a pattern for future work in respect to other nations. Tentative plans to date envisage development according to the following schedule:

STUDY II Guatemala. (As a "bridge" to South America.)

STUDY III Brazil, Bolivia, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela. (The so-called "Amazon Basin Nations", where crucial events are occurring or are in the making.)

STUDY IV Guyana. (As a "bridge" to English-speaking nations.)

STUDY V United States, Australia, New Zealand, Malaysia.

It will be noted that the two nations added to the original list of twelve (Brazil and Venezuela), are specifically located in the Amazon Basin.

While the areas within which the present study is developed correspond roughly to the five originally used, the emphasis has shifted from an administrative-and-legal base to one that may be called "social-scientific". That is, the problems inherent in formulation and application of indigenous policy have been regarded as not only explicitly national but as generic, in the sense that they are first of all problems of

human relations and social change. Except in a very few of the nations selected for study, indigenous people are demographically minority groups; they are so to be defined culturally and socially, as well, as a result of differences in language, religion, total world-view, and their relative positions at the bottom of the socio-economic heap within the society of which each is a part.

Within this context, the original five areas are amended to read, Geography and Demography, History and Culture, Constitution and Law, Implementation and Programs/Services and Interpretation/Implication, granted that the last-named category is awkward and somewhat obscure.

II. PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT

A few of the most immediate problems faced in preparing the paper might be noted.

A. The Fundamental Dilemma

A paradox that permeates the whole subject-matter of indigenous relations is apparent, once the point of view is shifted from an administrative-legal to a social-scientific one.

First of all, if indigenous people are to be "helped" (an aim usually explicit and professed, and always implicit, in legislative enactments), they must be isolated from the general population -- first, conceptually and then, if policy is to be more than an ideal formulation,

physically and in practice. But this means segregation, which results in the practice of a sort of "apartheid", which is a condition within the present ideological climate abhorrent to those professing a democratic bias. Yet without such isolation, whether called segregation or not, neither social justice nor economic reality can be served.

Second, and perhaps even more serious in its implication, if indigenous people are assisted as justice seems to demand, at what point does a kind of law of diminishing returns set in, and the aid given become self-destructive and destructive of the very people it is intended to serve -- destructive, furthermore, of the people who devise and administer it? Even the most intelligent and "liberated" among us tend to fall victim to a drive towards super-humanity; we become super-powerful in our own eyes, petty dictators in reality and the dispensers of largesse; father-figures, all too often feeling ourselves above error.

One of the students quoted in the latter portion of this paper refers to these phenomena as the "encogido syndrome". The process he describes may be rationalized, and the author of that section of our study attempts to do so, with what success the reader will have to judge. (Unfortunately, similar rationalization of the first part of this paradox, having to do with segregation, is less easy, and may not be possible at all).

B. The Social-Scientific Bias

Aside from the basic problem inherent in attempts to assist indigenous people within a democratic context, justification for the shift from administrative-legal to a broader approach presents difficulties that are not merely semantic. If this more generic approach is to be maintained, it becomes necessary to regard aboriginals as first of all simply human beings, with human capabilities and human strengths and weaknesses, rather than as integers or as symbols of oppression. This is not as easy as we should like to believe, as anyone who has been plopped down for the first time within a community untouched by the pleasant amenities of "civilization" will be able to testify. It requires a far-reaching and extraordinarily subtle shifting and reshuffling of values, especially when the application of aid is involved. The importance of cultural backgrounds, and of social change as continuous and to all intents and purposes an inevitable process, is underlined; it becomes essential that judgement be withheld, that objectivity, tolerance and a large amount of empathy become basic ingredients among those who make and those who implement indigenous policy -- and it is discovered that such reactions are for perhaps a majority of human beings difficult to achieve. This is a challenge, also, and one that has to be met if those of us (mostly "White"), who happen to enjoy reasonable

affluence and some of the trappings of power, are to retain our fortunate positions within a world which is overwhelmingly not "White".

C. Clogged Communications

It is suggested in the study that the much talked-about "Indian Problem" in Canada is first and foremost, and most simply stated, one of communications-breakdown among Indians, among Whites, and between Indians and Whites. The immediate genesis of the statement lies in the absence of clear information by the two writers of this paper regarding plans and programs within the Department in the planning and application of policy. Yet this clogging of lines of information, for whatever reason, obtains in most other areas: within and between Indian groups and associations; within and between other areas of this and other departments and agencies, whether governmental or other; and between Indian and non-Indian individuals and groups at almost any level surveyed. Such failures to communicate are not matters of lack of good will. They are not necessarily intentional. The reasons lie, most probably, within the area of social-scientific concern alluded to under "B" above. In the paper certain suggestions are made as to means by which this blurring of emphasis and its complementary clogging of lines of communication may be attacked.

D. Consultation and Indian Involvement

One of the methods of attack upon both the "Fundamental Dilemma" and "Clogged Communications" problem, it is suggested, could be found in the planning and development of programs with the indigenous people for whom they are supposed to be designed. But it is pointed out that such programs, whether or not indigenous people are involved, leave administration open to charges (on the one hand) of paternalism and (on the other) of attempts to evade legal responsibility by government.

Therefore, it is suggested further, an attempt should be made to provide specialized, professional training for those who will be involved, particularly Indians and Eskimos, whereby policy-makers and administrators, and operative personnel, might be adequately and systematically prepared for their respective roles.

Reference is made to the training program that has been developed in Mexico, and subsequently in other Latin American countries, which has over the years produced specialists known in those countries as "Indigenists". These are "applied anthropologists", "social engineers", at least aware of and, hopefully, committed to the theories of cultural diversity and social change outlined above. In this country we might find it satisfactory to refer to such specialists as "Indianists". Assistance in preparing a curriculum for such training might be sought from persons and agencies both within and outside