FICTIONS OF A SETTLER-STATE:
INDIGENOUS AND IRAQI PEOPLES IN CANADIAN NEWSPAPERS, 1990-2010

by

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A Proviso on Proper Nouns

In this study, I choose not to capitalize the place-names and institutions of white settler-states such as canada and america. This free-play with proper nouns is discussed and explained in my introductory discussion (specifically on page 24), wherein proper theoretical and practical precedence is established. I include this proviso at the outset, however, so that the reader can approach this study with the foreknowledge that the look of this text is intentionally altered to mirror the larger arguments being made. As a white canadian citizen seeking to produce historical knowledge that is counter-colonial, I perform this practice in order to signify my acknowledgement and respect for Native nations, cultures, and peoples on whose land I live as a settler.

Abstract

This thesis interrogates canadian newspaper coverage of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples from 1990 to 2010. I engage in discourse analysis of these primary source materials in order to extricate from them racial sentiments and colonial mentalities, rather than historical truths. First, I compare the coverage of the canadian 'oka crisis' in 1990 to the american imperial invasion of Iraq in 2003; next, I retell the stories newspapers told about northern First Nations reserves and a sanctioned Iraq. My goal is to show that newspapers sketched out the same Orientalist space and Other in each case, and that canadian settler-society understood the reality of its own colonial project in the exact same way as the american imperial project in Iraq. Towards this end, I structure my study around the theoretical concepts of *taking place* and *making space*. In reference to the former, I propose that the coverage of 'oka crisis' and the 'Iraqi insurgency' spoke of a literal and symbolic *taking of place*, wherein white western masculinity was subsuming the Other. As to the latter, I argue that newspaper coverage of the northern reserve and a sanctioned Iraq referred to a *making of space*, wherein the bodies and spaces of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples were literally and symbolically constructed. After showing that this wide array of newspaper coverage told the same essential story about Indigenous and Iraqi peoples, I conclude with a discussion on the ways in which colonial and imperial power and knowledge remain intimately and inextricably bound up within one another.

Acknowledgements

I have had a wide support network that has allowed me to produce this study. First and foremost is the Indigenous peoples of the Ojibway, Cree, and Oji-Cree First Nations on whose stolen land my university campus and community is constructed. In literal and critical contexts, I am only enabled to write this thesis project on canadian colonialism and engage in a dialogue about it because of the patience, scholarship, and steadfast resistance of colonized peoples. Not only have Native peoples of many nations saved my European ancestors from starving, they refused to reproduce and return the sets of violent of relationships that my white canadian ancestors have upon them. I mean to convey much respect and acknowledgement for the ways in which in which Indigenous peoples having fully refuted the Marxist maxim that the "weapon of criticism will never replace the criticism of weapons." Though my position demands a special recognition of the Ojibway, Cree, and Oji-Cree First Nations, I also underscore the extent to which all Native peoples within the claimed boundaries of canada deserve and demand similar consideration.

The ways in which I have come to some level of historical consciousness concerning the history of the lands under my own feet are to no small degree the direct result of a single individual: Dr. Kristin Burnett of lakehead university. Kristin taught me canadian history in my undergraduate work, and organized many of my graduate courses during the production of this Master's Thesis project. As a student primarily interested in pedagogical and postcolonial theories, I relied on Kristin immensely so that I might be able to participate in these conversations in their canadian contexts with a firm footing in their chronologies and contested meanings. Though I must acknowledge Kristin for

having taught the large majority of what I know about colonialism in theory and practice, it is her propensity to listen and engage with me as a student undergoing the learning process for which she deserves the highest degree of thanks. Kristin introduced me to Native scholars such as Maria Campbell (métis), Lee Maracle (Salish Coast Stó:lō), Paula Gunn Allen (Sioux), Andrea Smith (Cherokee), Bonita Lawrence (Miq'Maw), Marie Battiste (Miq'Maq), Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis), Taiaiake Alfred (Mohawk) and Ward Churchill (Cherokee). Kristin supervised this project, and has spent more hours than might be measured reading drafts, explaining different interpretations of this or that theoretical proposition, and engaging with me as a graduate student excited to produce his first wider project. Most importantly of all, however, Kristin introduced me to the local activist community concerned with the very pressing issue of missing and murdered Indigenous women. Kristin teaches by example that academics and activism, in what one might call their true and essential respects, can never be separated.

I would also like to acknowledge the second and external readers for this project: Dr. Lori Chambers and Dr. Zubairu Wei, respectively. Dr. Chambers teaches in the Women's Studies Department and has a keen critical grasp of finer feminist methodologies that I engage with in this study. More importantly, however, the lectures she delivered weekly in course entitled "Women's Action for Social Change" were pivotal in my decision to become an academic and an activist, as well in generating my own individual philosophy of what it means to be a Feminist. Dr. Zubairu Wei deserves much credit for acting, much like Dr. Kristin Burnett, as a professor who uses pedagogical methods of teaching to engage effectively with a keen grasp of cutting-edge critical theories of postcolonialism. Dr Zuba is the resident expert on theories emerging

from the African post-colony, and – conscious that I was interested in speaking to the colonial oppression against Native women – introduced me to path breaking postcolonial texts that dovetailed on nuanced theoretical levels with those provided by the Native scholars listed above. This took the form of a guided tour through the narrative text *Black Skin, White Masks* written by Frantz Fanon, and commented upon in secondary discourses by the most highly regarded postcolonial imaginations. Though he did not supervise this project, I also wish to acknowledge Professor Dennis MacPherson, who teaches in the Indigenous Learning department at my university. Dennis MacPherson's article "Are Research Partnerships with Aboriginal Possible?" and his inspirational history of subversive activism in my community were formative influences in my development as an academic and an activist. Also, I wish to acknowledge and thank Dr. Jane Nicholas and Dr. Helen Smith, who taught me cultural and historiographical theories on the social production of space in my undergraduate coursesresearch. As Michel de Certau writes, all historical texts are "products of a place," and the intellectual space from which this project is written has been carefully and critically shaped by these professors.

I acknowledge and thank my family for the unending support they provided me in pursuing an education from an early age. I thank my mother for sharing with me from an early age the love of the written word and for critical, subversive thinking. I thank my father for effectively and often gleefully playing the role of the devil's advocate, ensuring that I had a platform of critical discussion at the dinner table as well as the computer desk. I would also like to thank fellow graduate student Sabrina Del Ben, who was always available to help me hash out – or, more often, wholly avoid – this or that argument. Moreover, Sabrina engages in counter-colonial research on Indigenous

motherhood, and rare was the time I walked into the graduate office and did not find a photocopied article – already highlighted and post-it-noted – waiting for me on my desk. I also would like to acknowledge Miranda Niittynen – an undergraduate at lakehead and a doctoral candidate at western university – for her many critical readings of this thesis project, and for allowing me to piggy-back slightly from her expertise on poststructural philosophy and Feminist critical theories of ethnographies.

Dedication

For Sharon:

Founder and organizer of the Full Moon Memory Walk for Murdered and Missing Anishnabe and Métis Women in thunder bay, ontario,

For providing me and many others with a pathway between academics and movement politics.

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Introduction to a Settler Study

This study investigates and interrogates what J.M. Blaut termed the "colonizer's model of the world," or the dominant ideological world-view that canadian settler society received and transmitted about colonial and imperial realities across a twenty year period.[1] In sketching out this "colonizer's model of the world," I propose to show that the same sexually violent and white male supremacist outlook naturalized and legitimized the aggressive expansion of settler-state power. I engage in a discourse analysis of canadian newspapers that discussed colonialism in the claimed boundaries of canada and the interventionist imperialism of american foreign policy in Iraq in similar ways. As the reader will see, these two dovetailing discourses spoke of the same imagined other and told the same "deeply spatialized story" about an imagined Orient (or the invented space of the other).[2] In demonstrating that the same "colonizer's model of the world" reinforced settler-state hegemony irrespective of the subject matter from 1990 to 2010, I expose these two different historical discourses as having the same origins and telling the same story.

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[1] See J.M. Blaut, *The Colonizer's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History* (New York: Guildford Pubishing, 1993).
[2] Taken from Sherene Razack's assertion that the "national mythologies of settler societies are deeply spatialized stories." See her introduction to her edited collection *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002), pp. 10.

This study thus asks be to read as a theoretical and methodological function of storytelling. Storytelling is a historical and pedagogical practice theorized by Indigenous and Métis[3] scholars who often take as a starting point Maria Campbell's (Métis) 1973 publication *Halfbreed.*[4] This watershed and pathbreaking text tells a story that challenges the national myth of canada as a peace-loving, progressive partnership between Natives and newcomers; rather, Campbell uses her own experiences and positionality to produce historical knowledge that exposes the colonial realities of canada and fractures the fiction of the settler-state. When storytelling happens, explains Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis), "life events are recounted to make sense of what was a colonial experience not understood at the time such events or responses took place."[5] "In recording these accounts," LaRocque continues, "these writers are, in effect, challenging the canadian canons of history, culture, and representation. In this, the story is a political narrative."[6] Because of my positionality as a white male settler, however, my approach to storytelling takes me away from the realm of embodied experience, and the story I mean to tell is composed of a kind of psychic or virtual experience. In this way, I am engaging in a more literal interpretation of storytelling, where I simply reconstruct the dominant discourses – or retell the stories – that canadian newspapers offered me so that I might understand and explain the realities of canadian colonialism and american imperialism.

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[3] I use the term Métis conscious of the difference between members of the Métis nation whose ancestors have created their own distinct people and culture, and métis people who are of first generation Indigenous ancestry. The capital letter at the beginning of 'Métis' or 'métis' signifies this distinction throughout my text. For example, I refer to Maria Campbell as a métis scholar, and Emma LaRocque as a Plains Cree Métis scholar.

[4] See Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Halifax, Seal Books Edition, 1973).

[5] Emma LaRocque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), pp. 73.

[6] *Ibid*., 73.

In showing that canadian newspapers told the same story about canadian colonialism and american imperialism in Iraq from 1990 to 2010, I propose to tell my own story that "makes sense of what was a colonial experience," albeit one of privilege and propaganda. This twenty year period represents what has been my own historical experience, and the primary source material I use is – like Campbell's – constitutive of my own story of colonization. I hope to approach this methodology and the subject of settler-state history with respect and acknowledgement of my own implication in the modes of oppression for which I seek to provide critical review. This is to say that I am engaging the pedagogical method of storytelling so that I might participate in the ongoing critical project of canadian settler-studies.

Settler-studies has emerged in recent years as a historical school of thought that hopes to speak alongside – and never for – Native academics and activists who are currently resisting canadian colonial aggression.[7] Paulette Regan's *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* is an excellent example of this wider movement in canadian academe.[8] Non-Native Feminist thinker Sherene Razack wrote in 1998 that:

> for many of us who would describe ourselves as teaching for social change, storytelling has been at the heart of our pedagogy. In the context of social change, storytelling's refers to an opposition of oppressed knowledge, to Foucault's

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[7] I acknowledge Emma LaRocque's critique of the term "settler", however, and recall her argument that these lands were historically "re-settled." See Emma LaRocque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), pp. 8-9.

[8] See Paulette Regan's *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada* (Victoria: UBC Press, 2011).

> suppressed knowledge, to the experience of the world that is not admitted into dominant knowledge paradigms.[9]

There is, as this quotation suggests, a larger precedence for non-Native scholars taking up storytelling for their own purposes. The goal of this methodology is clearly stated: to produce historical knowledge that is counter-colonial and exposes the national myths of the settler-state from within - in essence decolonizing the colonizer. In configuring this project as a function of storytelling, I also reject and write against other white male settler scholars who presume to be able to effectively analyze other histories, times, and spaces when our lived reality (and therefore our academic work) remains so heavily over determined by and implicated within the ongoing colonization of Indigenous peoples and theft of their natural resources. More specifically, the goals of this study are to offer the following contributions to canadian history: to show that the image of the 'imaginary indian' was the ontological platform or ideological outline for representations of the Iraqi other in canadian newspapers; to show that these racial modes of representation operated through gender and the logic of sexual violence; and finally, to explain how settler-states *take place* and *make space.*

Taking Place and Making Space

From 1990 to 2010, the settler-states of canada and america *took the place* of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples at home and overseas. These military policies were enacted during the 'oka crisis' of 1990 and the 'Iraqi insugency' of 2003. I review these policies, and thereafter reconstruct the dominant discourse – or story – of canadian newspaper coverage about them. I explain this story as one literally and symbolically constructing a

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[9] Sherene Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender Race, Class and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 36.

taking of place, signifying that it spoke of a narrative of progress wherein white modern masculinity would *take the place* of the other's sexually savage and barbarous masculinity. *Making space*, as a complimentary rhetorical theme and theoretical concept, went hand-in-glove with the spirit and letter of *taking policies*. When settler states were successful in inscribing their patriarchy upon Indigenous and Iraqi communities, they overdetermined these spaces and the bodies within them. In this study, therefore, I also read the canadian newspaper coverage of the 'rez' – the imaginary northern First Nations reserve – over and against articles that sketched out a sanctioned Iraq. I argue that these conversations distinguished themselves from the man-on-man preoccupation of *taking place* discourse, and focused more heavily upon an argument that sought to replace the other's modes of motherhood and community well-being with white western modernity. These two theories of *taking place* and *making space* signify a one-two punch combination of colonial or imperial sexual violence: first, the re-placing and sexual brutalizing of the male other; next, the destruction of community health through the imposition of slow-death measures and underdevelopment coupled with a discursive assault on the other mother's ability to care for and love her children. I make efforts in this critical analysis to underscore the ways in which these newspaper constructions of savage others were largely intelligible and communicable with reference to the nuclear family model.

A long list of highly respected and widely published scholars have called for an integrative approach to historically conceptualizing genocide, colonialism, and sexual

violence.[10] Most prominent among these scholars have been Native women who theorize the historical implications of their own experience of oppression, often through the narrative practice of storytelling. Andrea Smith (Cherokee) has laid out an argument in no uncertain terms that insists sexual violence, genocide, and colonization are three separate signifiers for the same thing.[11] I am continuing this critical trajectory by using a secondary scope of comparison that shows this is also true of imperialism.[12] Smith draws upon a long tradition of resistance scholarship that views colonialism as the "prevailing mode of heterosexual relations," and configures gender as the operative realm of racial stratification.[13] "Colonialism has always operated through gender," argues Lee Maracle (Salish Coast Stó:lō). Paula Gunna Allen (Sioux) believes that white male colonizers are only successful as such when they "mislead white women, and themselves, into believing that their treatment of women was superior to the treatment of the men of the group

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[10] See, for example, Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 22-25.

[11] *Ibid*. This is my wider interpretation of Smith's work, though she makes this case clearly in a lecture that is available online at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Neg-Rlbi764 [accessed June 12th, 2012].

[12] This argument that colonialism and imperialism are ambiguously but inextricable connected is, of course, not original to this study. Smith herself connects her own resistance struggle as a Native woman who started the political organizations INCITE! with the struggle of the Afghani political organization the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) in the introduction to *Conquest,* 24-25.

[13] These words are from Neferti Tadiar, "Sexual Economies of the Asia-Pacific" in *What's in a Rim? Critical Perspectives on the Pacific Region Idea,* ed. Arif Dirlik (Boulder: Westview Press, 1993), though was first encountered in Smith, *Conquest*, 8.

which they consider savage."[14] In short, this study shows how my white settler society viewed brown women as needing rescue from the tyranny of brown men.[15]

What all of this scholarship points to is the sexualized realm of colonization, or "the erotic life of racism."[16] Whereas this is a distinct critical conversation in the theorizing of canadian history, it is also a fundamental aspect to the modes of postcolonial analysis that have been developed in recent years. For example, Neferti Tadiar writes that "the political and economic realities of nations are libidinally configured, that is, they are grasped and effected in terms of sexuality."[17] Thus, taking as a point of departure the notion that "colonial relations are themselves gendered and sexualized," I attempt to articulate the ways in which white male settlers of canada understood newspaper stories about colonial and imperial realities during the 1990 to 2010 period with strict reference to the realm of gender, sexuality, heteropatriarchy, and the nuclear family. In short, I argue that white male colonizers sustained amongst themselves a historical worldview analogous to the archetypal abusive father who is sexually violent, paranoid, emotionally and physically confrontational, and – most marked of all - absolutely convinced that his victim had it coming, that it was for their own good, that they asked for it, and that it hurt him as it much as it did the victim.

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[14] See Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). Quoted and first encountered in Smith, *Conquest,* 18. As is evident in my footnoting practices, Andrea Smith's *Conquest* is an extremely formative text in my education on canadian colonialism, genocide, and sexual violence.

[15] In using this language of "brown women being saved," I am pointing to a popular postcolonial criticisms that I foreshadow in this section as dovetailing neatly with the theories of colonial relations as gendered offered by Native women such as Maracle, Allen, and Smith.

[16] I am referring to the title of an excellent and recently published work on the relationship between sexualitusexuality, gender, and race. See Sharon Patricia Holland, *The Erotic Life of Racism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2012).

[17] Tadiar, "Sexual Economies of the Asian Pacific." Again, first encountered in Smith, *Conquest,* 18.

Methodology

There is little resemblance between the colonizer's Indian and the real human beings who are indigenous to this land.[18]

- Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis)

As a storytelling project, this thesis plots the points of the dominant ideological narrative told by canadian newspapers about Indigenous and Iraqi peoples throughout my own lifetime. I select the twenty year period between 1990-2010 so that I can, recalling the words of LaRocque**, "**make sense of what was a colonial experience not understood at the time such events or responses took place."[19] I take as a point of departure Taiaiake Alfred's (Mohawk) argument that "colonialism is a total relation of power [that] has shaped the existence not only of those who have suffered its effects but also those who have profited from it."[20] I engage in a methodology that helps me to chart the ideological landscape of a white settler society through my own experience of canadian history. Aside from a theoretical framework informed by pedagogical, postcolonial, and postmodern theories of the historical narrative, the basic principles of my methodology serve a storytelling purpose.

The primary source materials in this study include only those newspaper articles that a white settler citizen might read living in urban settler societies from 1990 to 2010. My approach was intentionally one that took broad-strokes, as I was interested in

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[18] LaRocuqe, *When the Other is Me,* 16.
[19] *Ibid.,* 73.
[20] Taiaiake Alfred, "Warrior Scholarship: Seeing the University as a Ground of Contention" in *Indigenizing the Academy: Transforming Scholarship and Empowering Communities*, eds. Devon Abbot Mihesuah and Angela Cavendar Wilson (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), pp. 90.

reconstructing a national ideology rather than comparing and contrasting the minute differences between, say, the *Vancouver Sun* and the *Montreal Gazette*'s representation of Indigenous or Iraqi peoples. Many studies have embarked upon this research[21], though my interaction with this source material indicated that there were many more interesting similarities between the two discourses than instructive or useful differences. More importantly, major newspapers in canada reprint each other's articles so that, for example, a front-page article in *The Ottawa Citizen* might be reprinted in the later issues of the *The Montreal Gazette, The Toronto Star, The Vancouver Sun,* or *The Calgary Herald.*[22] This limits the amount of diversity in journalistic representation considerably, and I have selected a database of newspaper articles that allowed me easy access to this information. This extensive database is readily available with an archival search of the *Canadian Newstand Major Dailies* using the "ProQuest" website interface.[23] This database also included editorials, though I did not deal with these non-journalistic discourses in my research gathering process. Again, much historical work has already been done in this area[24], and it also forces historians to engage with less 'official' or

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[21] Chares Stewart, Master's Thesis: "The Mohawk Crisis: A Crisis of Hegemony" (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1993). In this thesis project, Stewart offers a statistical review of the kinds of coverage represented across different canadian newspapers – a strategy whose importance I acknowledge despite my treatment of settler-state corporate newspapers as signifying a white settler "imagined community."

[22] Of course, one will rarely find articles exchanged between *The Globe and Mail* and *The National Post,* though reprinting is so common in this national newspaper industry (particularly in representations of Middle-Eastern politics) that is warrants such an integrative and intersectional approach.

[23] See http://www.proquest.com/en-US/ [accessed June 12th, 2012].

[24] In a recent study, Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Native Americans in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), the historians took to the task of analyzing editorial comments in canadian newspapers that commented upon the 'oka crisis.'

standardized representations of hegemony and with the individually configured voices of canadian society subject to more speculation and far less accountability.

In selecting key topics, I limited my research to two events of *taking place* and two histories of *making space*. For the former, I investigated canadian newspaper coverage of the so-called 'oka crisis' and 'Iraqi insurgency.' The first of these events *took place* in 1990, the other in the wake of the 2003 invasion of Iraq by american-led military forces. I chose the 'oka crisis' because (as I will discuss further in Chapter Three) it is a significant moment in Native-newcomer relations and thus an important starting point for any historical investigation into newspaper representations of Native peoples in canadian settler-society. I chose the 'Iraqi insurgency' to compare to the 'oka crisis' - when I might have opted for the more contemporaneous Gulf War – precisely because it *took place* after the events of 11 September 2001. Looking for the same sets of race relations before and after 11 September 2001, as well as both inside and outside the canadian national arena, my aim is to write against those who charge that "9/11 changed everything," and to fix the forward march of the imperialist 'war on terror' within a longer story of colonialism that quite literally takes place in my community. This methodology thus allows Chapter Two to interrogate the ways in which canadian newspapers constructed each resistance movement – at 'oka' and in Iraq – as a terrorist endeavor informed by sexual savagery, modern anxieties, and male aggression. Because each of these events involved settler-state militaries, the coverage of each history offered a dizzying array of articles endlessly and ambiguously discussing militarism, masculinity, fatherhood, and national leadership. Due to their temporal proximity to each other, my findings go

towards excavating a national ideology of canadian settler-society that is exclusively canadian – i.e., not a function of the 'war on terror' paradigm of global history.

For the purposes of producing interesting critiques in my fourth chapter, I also researched canadian newspaper coverage of two *making space* histories. I interrogated primary source materials that spoke towards the conditions of life on the reserve – or 'rez' – in northern ontario, as well as a sanctioned Iraq. My selection of the 'rez' in northern ontario as an area of research was a personal and positional decision to increase the likelihood that this project would enable the writer to decolonize his own experience, identity, and sense of self. I live in thunder bay, ontario – a settler-city where Indigenous people living on the 'rez' are often forced to travel for healthcare, education, or job opportunities. Because I am storytelling, I considered it necessary to discuss an event that has real implications and connections to my own lived experience and goals as an academic-activist. Using the 'oka crisis' in Chapter Two as an entry point into the practice of canadian newspaper discourse analysis for Chapter Three I also mean to show the ways in which my own community and its racialized set of relations can be understood alongside and within a conversation critical of the american imperial ventures in Iraq. This methodology allows for the holistic or integrative approach to theorizing the interlocked modes of oppression in our world, and also carries with it the benefit of focusing entirely upon the mind of the colonizer, thus making no critically limited or speculative statements towards the subject position or human experience of colonized peoples. At the time writing, this is an important pedagogical project.

From 1990 to 2010, colonized resources were used to bolster imperial projects in the Middle-East, and the failure of many white settler male scholars to be historically and

socially conscious in their academic work became further implicated in the oppression of non-white peoples overseas. After the events of 11 September 2001, many scholars jumped on the 'war on terror' bandwagon and an unquantifiable regression in movement politics and social consciousness ensued. For example, Sunera Thobani came under heavy criticism for a speech made on the colonial roots of global imperialism in the month following 11 September 2001. Making the exact same point that this study takes as its thesis – mainly, that "globalization continues to remain rooted in the colonization [of Indigenous peoples]" – Thobani was decried as a traitor, received death threats, and was prosecuted at all levels of national discourse.[25] I write in solidarity with this wider women's movement against white male supremacy, and echo Thobani in my assertion that real women's liberation, postcolonial subjectivity, and the restructuring of global community along equal lines will only be achieved from the bedrock foundation of self-determination for Indigenous peoples.

Historiography

This thesis project asks to be read primarily as a function of storytelling. I am drawing upon a school of thought that does not treat newspapers as wellsprings of historical truth, but as repositories of socio-cultural value. In my first chapter, I go far to explain the ways in which pedagogical, postcolonial, and postmodern theories of the historical narrative and dialectic reinforce this study's approach with an interdisciplinary framework of theoretical support. More directly, however, I am drawing upon an

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[25] One can find a transcript copy of this speech online, at http://print.indymedia.org/news/2001/10/923_comment.php [accessed June 12th, 2012]. For a follow-up, see Sunera Thobani's lecture given on the ten year anniversary of September 11th, 2001, also available online, at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vogc5SmFn-U [accessed June 12th, 2012].

intellectual tradition of looking critically at canadian newspapers and undertaking a discourse analysis of primary source materials. Also expanded upon in the first chapter, I approach these newspaper articles as "Orientalist" text. Written by Edward Said in 1978, *Orientalism* is a founding text of postcolonial modes of analysis.[26] This text is immediately useful in approaching western representations of Arab or Iraqi peoples, though it has since become a mainstay reference for any critical historian interrogating signifying practices and racial representation in the canadian colonial context. For example, prominent Native scholar Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis) explains in *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* that many of "Said's observations are certainly applicable to the canadian academic community," and that one might use his theories in order to produce counter-colonial knowledge about settler-state culture.[27] LaRocque here is adding to a wider critical conversation about non-Native canada that in many ways began with Daniel Francis' 1992 text *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture.* Francis argues that canadian newspapers and history textbooks held no authoritative information or historical truth about Indigenous peoples.[28] What they did contain, however, were wellsprings of historical values and racial sentiments held by a white settler society. Francis' work on canadian signifying practices is essential to any anti-racist study of canadian newspapers, though it was intentionally underdeveloped in terms of theory so as to be accessible to a broader audience of non-expert readers. Thus, I use the critical theories of pedagogy,

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[26] See Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Boston: Vintage Books Press, 1979).
[27] LaRocque, *When the Other is Me,* 7.
[28] See Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1999). Also, see Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005), pp. 10 for a summary of the findings of *Imaginary Indians.*

postcolonialism, and postmodenity engaged with or refashioned by Native scholars such as LaRocque to fill in this theoretical gap.

What all of these texts have in common is that they use newspaper articles to interrogate the society that produced them, and not the actual human subjects that these articles discuss. Though the main theory informing this study is derived from LaRocque's critical reading of Said, I am also predicating much of my argument on notable texts in canadian scholarship that discuss representations of Native people. Prominent among these are Sandra Lambertus' *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Stand-Off,* Paige Raibmon's *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth Century*, Sarah Carter's *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*, C.L. Higham's *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States, 1820-1900,* Sherry Lynn Smith's *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo-Eyes, 1880-1940,* and Ute Lischke's and David McNab's edited collection *Walking a Tightrope, Aboriginal Peoples and Their Representations*.[29] Explained in more detail in my chapter discussing my theoretical approach, these texts, in concert with the

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[29] See Sarah Lambertus, *Wartime Images, Peacetime Wounds: The Media and the Gustafsen Lake Standoff* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2004), Paige Raibmon, *Authentic Indians: Episodes of Encounter from the Late Nineteenth Century* (Durham: Duke Univerity Press, 2005), Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (London: McGill University Press, 1997), C.L. Higham, *Noble, Wretched, and Redeemable: Protestant Missionaries to the Indians in Canada and the United States,* 1820-1900 (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2000), Sherry Lynn Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans Through Anglo-Eyes, 1880-1940* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000, and *Walking a Tightrope, Aboriginal Peoples and Their Representations,* eds. Ute Lischke's and David McNab (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2005). These texts are listed under my historiographical section as they are *about* canadian newspapers and representations of Native peoples; they are not referenced in my discussion of my theory and methodology since many of them take approaches with significant departures from the model here proposed.

work of LaRocque and Said, offer this study a platform from which I can analyze both the 'imaginary indian' and the invented Iraqi as "a white man's fantasy, a screen on which non-Natives projected their anxieties and assumptions about their place in the New World."[30] In so doing, I propose to be producing historical knowledge that is fixed firmly in the discipline of "settler studies," and goes towards the decolonization of my own white male settler self and identity by refusing to address any other subjectivity, world-view, or "imagined community."[31]

A Note on Language

> *In order for me to exercise liberation, I must create an intellectual practice that claims my own humanity and style, one that builds scholarship based on this humanity. I consider my use of "voice" good scholarship, not a contradiction, as some might argue. My use of voice is a textual resistance in that it concerns discourse and representation…Native scholars and writers are demonstrating that voice can be, must be, used within academic studies, not only as an expression of cultural agency, but as a form of resisting misrepresentation in canadian scholarship and popular culture.*[32]
>
> -Emma LaRocque

"In response to the war of words against [them], Native scholars and writers have drawn upon various languages, legends, narratives, or footnotes to dismantle stereotypes, upset conventions, and invent new genres."[33] "Settler studies" is certainly one such

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[30] Daniel Francis, *National Dreams,* 10.
[31] This term refers to Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and the Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso Publishing, 1993).
[32] LaRocque, *When the Other is Me,* 224.
[33] *Ibid.*,161.

"genre" produced by this kind of interventionist critical scholarship, and to show this critical connection to "Native Resistance Discourse," I make visible the larger arguments of this study in the very letter of the text. As one can see in the above, I fail to capitalize place names that are bound up and implicated within what I perceive to be the settlement of stolen lands (canada, american, ontario, lake superior, etc.). This practice has theory and precedence behind it. "What a culture deems important or significant according to its dominant ideological framework is signified by using capital letters," argues Janice Acoose (Sakimay Métis), and it is for this reason that she uses the lower-case label 'canada' in reference to the settler-state she is resisting. I appropriate this practice to show that I am engaging with Acoose's and other Indigenous scholarly advice that settler academics must "look to their own ideological foundation as a way of understanding personal perceptions and cultural attitudes towards Indigenous women"[34] I play with this interventionist approach to literature throughout this text, refusing to capitalize terminology that feels implicated in the modes of oppression I am critiquing (for example, the 'war on terror,' 'indian and northern affairs canada,' the 'oil for food program,' etc.).

As one can also see in the above, I place in brackets the avowed Indigenous and Métis/métis identities of scholars after mentioning their full names. In recognizing and making visible these identities, I mean to intervene upon the textual treatment of Native peoples as a monolith that can be defined and delineated by the indian act (discussed in detail in my third chapter). In referring to targeted peoples of settler-state colonialism, I

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[34] Janice Pelletier Acoose, *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1995), pp. 34.

use the words Indigenous, Native, and First Nations People.[35] I do not use the word "aboriginal" despite its heavy usage in these kinds of historical conversations, and premise this exclusion on Taiaiake Alfred's (Mohawk) argument that the term is assimilationist, and that the identity it is used to describe "is a legal and social construction of the state, and it is disciplined by racialized violence and economic oppression to serve an agenda of silent surrender."[36] This textual practice is meant to acknowledge, respect, and identify the wide variety of cultures, scholarship, and resistance taking place in present-day canada in opposition to settler-state colonialism. It also goes towards underscoring the fact of inter-Indigenous cultural and national differences, recalling that a single model of self-determination for such peoples is as problematic as their treatment as monolithic 'indians.'

Producing a postcolonial project, I refer often to the terms self and other. This is because I am not dealing in this study with any speculation or articulation of Indigenous or Iraqi experiences. The term other does not signify an actual person, but a representative trope that appears in the discourse of the dominant society. In short, I am engaging with the excavation of historical value from my primary source material, believing it to be a poor and problematic representation of historical truth. Explained in much more detail in Chapter Two, this theoretical approach of a postcolonial persuasion attempts to view the white male settler as actively seeking to construct himself as the opposite of the Other in order to legitimate colonialism, sexual violence, and genocide.

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[35] I also include Métis and métis people in these three labels. See my footnote no. 3. For a fuller explanation of these distinctions, see LaRoqcue, *When the Other is Me*, 7.
[36] See Taiakaike Alfred, *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways to Action and Freedom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), pp. 23.

Along these lines, I also reproduce the problematic and monolithic label of the 'west' and 'western' in reference to north american settler-states. Given that this is a historical referent to my own space, society, and culture, I wager this rehashing of wide-reaching terminology with a reminder that I hardly speak *for* all white western men, but about them (or us, as it were).

In this study, I use the term "genocide" without any intention of hyperbole or polemic. A large amount of research went into the excavation of legal and academic definitions of the crime, and I refuse to be read as polemic in this respect. As Chapter One will demonstrate, settler-state policies in canada and Iraq carry out genocide as it was originally defined by Raphael Lemkin. Lemkin theorized that:

> Generally speaking, genocide does not necessarily mean the immediate destruction of a nation, except when accomplished by mass killings of all members of a nation. It is intended rather to signify a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objectives of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religion, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups.[37]

Lemkin viewed the crime of genocide as a two-step process: "one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor." In effect, my theory of *taking place* refers to the first phase of genocide and adds in the critical theories of sexual violence formulated by Native scholars,

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[37] Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* (New Jersey: Law Books Exchange Ltd., 2005), pp. 79.

whereas *making space* refers to the second and carries within its meaning the same theoretical undertones. Finally, I use the terms "colonial" and "imperial" in this study in such a way as to make them appear interchangeable, though I am careful to keep a proper context for each. For my purposes, colonialism refers to the practice of settling stolen lands and establishing colonial states such as canada, america, south africa, and australia; imperialism, on the other hand, refers to the kind of economic and political overdetermination that is certainly violent and aggressive, though carries with it no connotations of settlement. There is certainly some complex interplay between these two categories. For example, northern communities in the colonial state of canada are hardly sites of white settlement and thus warrant consideration as imperialized territories; nonetheless, these geographical spaces are implicated and maintained within a wider colonial project, and the semantic barriers between 'colonial' and 'imperial' break down abruptly upon inspection.[38]

Chapter Outline

In my first chapter, I explain my storytelling approach in full pedagogical, postcolonial, and postmodern detail. I first offer the reader a history of my position and community of thunder bay, ontario, canada to identify my position and voice within this text. Thereafter, I explain the history of the narrative strategy as it developed from the 1970s to the time of writing, touching upon the ways in which this movement coincided with Orientliast theories of discourse analysis. I then bring these two sections together,

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[38] Though I do not take such a wide-reaching approach, some postcolonial thinkers have considered using the monolithic term "empire" to refer to the endless and interminable facets of imperial and colonial rule in a postmodern or postcolonial period. See, for example, Hardt, Michael Hardt's and Antonio Negri's *Empire* (Boston: First Harvard University Press, 2001).

and offer the reader an example of my method by providing a discourse analysis of primary source materials from within my community that engage in Orientalist discourse.[39] Importantly, Chapter One establishes a strict structure that is followed in this and subsequent chapters: first, a narrative history of colonialism composed of secondary sources; second, an engagement with primary source materials that attempted to naturalize and legitimize this horrible history by telling stories about that were fixed in a symbolic order of modernity, progress, and civilization.

Chapter Two, therefore, offers a narrative history of settler-states *taking place* before exposing and explaining the Orientalist signifying practices in which all major canadian newspaper engaged. In this discussion, I compare the ways in which canadian newspapers discussed the military invasions of Indigenous and Iraqi spaces. My primary scope of analysis is the 1990 'oka crisis,' wherein Mohawk peoples engaged in a 'standoff' to defend their unceded territory from being turned into a golf-course. My secondary object of critical inquiry is the canadian newspaper coverage of the so-called 'Iraqi insurgency' that took place after the 2003 invasion by american military forces. Comparing the Orientalist stories told about each proves to be a fruitful critical engagement, as one is able to see the existence of an alarmist rhetoric over terrorism, weapon stock-piling, and fundamentalist ideologies in a nation-making discourse long before the 'war on terror' and the more steady call upon the 'Islamic terrorist' in hawkish accounts of global politics. This chapter first recounts how Mohawk and Iraqi men were first violently assaulted by settler-state military power, and thereafter constructed as

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[39] There are advertisement campaigns for the old fort william historical park that mimic the ways in which newspapers discussed Indigenous and Iraqi Others from 1990-2010.

sexual savages, terrorists, and failed fathers in a dominant discourse whose sexually charged and even homoerotic language gave away its gendered colonial logic. I acknowledge and respect the role that Indigenous and Iraqi women played in each resistance movement. The point of this chapter, however, is to show that the literal and discursive process of settler-states *taking place* is informed by a hyper-masculine, man-on-man kind of thinking that is extremely phallocentric. I argue that white male colonizers tried literally and symbolically to *take the place* of the male other: literally, military forces invaded the territories of the other; symbolically, canadian newspapers argued that white male patriarchy could replace the national patterns of the targeted populations, and thereby "save the savage".[40]

In Chapter Three, I discuss the embodied and textual sexual violence that settler-states visited upon Indigenous and Iraqi women from 1990 to 2010. I sketch out the Orientalist space of the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq and go far to show that the same language, imagery, and rhetorical style can be shown to exist across the storyboard of coverage. In calling this chapter *making space*, I use this term as a label for the stories being told, I am drawing upon theories of the social production of space in the canadian colonial context.[41] I argue in this chapter that Indigenous and Iraqi women became victims of an environmental sexual violence simply due to the fact that they lived in spaces over determined and policed by settler-state power. Through the use of sanctions, subsidies, and bureaucracy, settler-states determined the food security and community

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[40] This is a term taken from Dennis Macpherson and Douglas Rabb, *Indian from the Inside: Native American Philosophy and Cultural Renewal* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company Pulishing, 2011). See the section titled "The Save-the-Savages Argument" on page 13.
[41] This approach is most notably pursued in Cole Harris, *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002).

health of Indigenous and Iraqi spaces in a way that attacked their ability to care for themselves and their families. The newspaper stories told about these women and their suffering children, however, made no reference to these colonial and imperial realities. Instead, dying children were discussed as wretched and abject victims of unfit mothers and failed fathers. Again, I underscore that the settler-state policy of "making space" was also extremely violent to Indigenous and Iraqi men. The newspaper discourse discussing these spaces, however, spoke endlessly of Indigenous and Iraqi women, and seldom of their male counterparts. Thus, while *taking place* appears to be largely about military, masculinity, fatherhood, and man-on-man competition, *making space* has everything to do with representations and constructions of women, motherhood, community health, and victimhood. My discussion in this third chapter illustrates that one might effectively consider a 1990s Iraq as a 'rez' in the same way we might consider the 'Iraqi insurgent' to be a reconstruction of the 'imaginary indian.'

Consequences of the Study

We need to write these stories ourselves.[42]

- Maria Campbell (Métis)

This study, simply in its scope and structure, is meant to act as an ally text that might be read alongside (and not in place of) the Native scholarship it reproduces. This approach is part of a wider project that James Waldram painstakingly describes in the introduction to *Revenge of the Windigo: The Construction of the Mind and Mental Health*

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[42] Maria Campbell quoted in Janice Acoose, "A Revisiting of Maria Campbell's *Halfbreed*" in *Looking at the Words of our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature med*, ed. Jeanette Armstrong (Penticton: Theytus Press, 1993), pp. 148.

of North American Aboriginal Peoples: "I repeat so that there is no confusion: I am not writing about Aboriginal peoples, I am writing about what scholars and researchers have written about Aboriginal peoples [emphasis original]*."*[43] Whereas Waldram here is describing his approach to reconstructing models of Native peoples minds and mental health, this project can be read as a reconstruction of models meant to explain and provide meaning for the *political* behaviour of Native peoples from 1990 to 2010. My argument becomes a specifically historical one given the comparative approach of this study, as I expand this reconstructed model of political behaviour and show that it was also used to explain away Iraqi resistance to american imperialism. Though the scope of this study remains quite broad, it refuses to stay silent on the two major offenses to human dignity and solidarity being committed by my settler state at the time of writing: first and foremost, the continued colonization of Indigenous peoples; second, the sponsorship of an american imperial 'war on terror.' Finally, and most importantly, this study hopes to lead by example in a call for an integrative approach to each of these discussions that is interdisciplinary as well as integrative – acknowledging the ways in which settler-state colonialism and neoimperialism are precariously positioned in reference to one another. In short, the contribution of this study is that it engages with Orientalist discourse to argue that white settler society understood a violent state of relations between itself an Indigenous and Iraqi others as a "racial journey into personhood" and modernity.[44] Given the sheer knitted-together strength of narrative,

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[43] James Waldram, *Revenge of the Windigo: The Construction of the Mind and Mental Health of North American Aboriginal Peoples* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 1.
[44] This quotation is taken from Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law,* 14. The idea that a violent interaction with the Other, and that a transgression from civilized to savage to space reaffirms the

power, representation, and political realities, I appropriate Campbell's advice and reapply such sentiments to white settler scholars, insisting that "we need to write these stories ourselves," and thereby conform with Lenore Keeshig Tobias' (Anishnabe Kwe) demand that we "stop stealing Native stories."[45]

setter identity is fully articulated in Razack's "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George" in *Race, Space, and the Law,* pp. 123-156.

[45] Lenore Keeshig Tobias, "Stop Stealing Native Stories" in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima Rao (New Jersey: Rutger's University Press, 1997), pp. 71. Also, see Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, "Stop Stealing Native Stories," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 January 1990, A19.

Chapter One: How to Tell a Settler Story

Pedagogy, Postcolonialism, and Postmodernity in Theory and Practice

This chapter is a historiographical examination of storytelling that draws attention to the theoretical platforms that support this project and its methodology. In so doing, I trace the makings of this storytelling and social justice movement through postmodern and postcolonial schools of thought, and thereafter discuss the ways in which these largely western intellectual traditions dovetail neatly with pedagogical theories of storytelling provided by Indigenous scholars. In short, I argue that any counter-colonial review of history coming from canadian settlers must necessarily be one that engages in critical readings of historical representations, and not an objective writing of an assumed historical reality. I defend this argument in the first section of my chapter, and argue that those studies written by settlers which engage in vicarious representation of others are to be considered "Orientalist" texts that reinforce colonial power relations. In the second section of my argument, I unpack the term "Orientalist" and define it as a label used by postcolonial scholars to refer to histories that engage in representations of others experiences, cultures, and nations. The main work done in this chapter takes place in this section, wherein I model for the reader my method of discursively analyzing Orientalist texts in order to produce counter-colonial knowledge about one's own historical experience as a settler. Towards this goal, I offer in this second section a critical review of an ad campaign for the old fort william historical park in my community of thunder bay, ontario. I unpack the racist language and colonial undertones in this ad campaign as a way to sketch out a wider Orientalist story or narrative that has also appeared in canadian newspaper coverage of Indigenous and Iraqi others from 1990 to 2010.

Concluding this chapter, I close with a commentary on my theoretical notions of *taking place* and *making space*, and the ways in which I use them to define the "colonizer's model of world" as represented through the Orientalist discourse of canadian settler society.

Section I: A Historiography of Storytelling

In this study I endeavor to engage with more recent theoretical research on canadian colonial history and to privilege Indigenous theories of canadian colonialism over and against all others. I do this because Native scholars have experiential knowledge of the modes of oppression I am attempting to theorize and eventually explode. As the reader will see, however, the pedagogical theories put forth by Native scholars can be read as one facet of a wider international and intellectual project wherein literary theories have been interfaced with historiographical notions of representation, narrative, and voice since roughly the 1960s.

The Postmodern Platform of Storytelling

In western intellectual traditions, critical conceptions of position, place, and the dialectic begin largely with Hegelian philosophy. Hegel had the idea that a historian "brings his categories with him and sees the data through them."[46] This insight was a popular one at its time, though British empiricism, positivism, determinism, and humanism did much to remove these critical ideas from western intellectual discourses on

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[46] G.W.F. Hegel, quoted in C.W. Ephraim, *The Pathology of Eurocentrism: The Burden and Responsibilities of Being Black* (London: African World Press, 2003), pp. 62.

history.[47] In many ways, it would take Michel Foucault's engagement of Gramscian principles of thought into French history to rekindle this reflexive approach in the western intellectual tradition. Thereafter, white western male thinkers such as Roland Barthes, Hayden White, and Michel de Certau undertook a theoretical debate on the nature of narrative in relation to the study of history. The fruits of this hard theoretical work were Barthes notion of the "referential illusion" – a term used to described the trick being played by historians who had no experiential knowledge of the history they studied and represented.[48] The theory of "referential illusion" was building upon Foucault's notion of the "author function," wherein socio-cultural values bleed between the lines of historical texts.[49] This recollection of Hegelian philosophy and revival of Gramscian theories of history signified, in the mid-20th century, a new postmodern movement in historiography – one that privileged and laid importance upon notions of the narrative.

Throughout the 1960s, white western thinkers began to acknowledge that history was "a species of the genus Story," as literal theory began to converge and conflate with historiographical theory.[50] In the 1970s, Lawrence Stone spoke of a "revival of narrative" in the arena of western historical thought.[51] Throughout this decade, Hayden White

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[47] Leopold von Ranke and his views on historical empiricism did much to influence this British intellectual tradition in history.
[48] See Roland Barthes and Richard Howard, *The Rustle of Language* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 127-139. Roland Barthe's Le *Plaisir du Texte* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1973) is a pathbreaking postmodern text in relation to critical theories of free play between author, text, and reader.
[49] See Michel Foucault, "What is an Author?" in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice: Selected Essays and Interviews*, ed. Donald Bouchard (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), pp. 113-139.
[50] W.B. Gallie, *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding* (London: Knopf Doubleday Publishing, 1968),pp. 126.
[51] See Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," in *Past and Present*, Vol.85 [Nov. 1979]: pp. 3–24

famously argued that the "past does not come prepackaged in narrative form," and that it is the "historian who imposes a narrative order on the past and in this way 'makes history.'"[52] In 1977, theorist Alan Munslow wrote that that the historical narrative or story was "the primary vehicle for the distribution of power."[53] After the fall of the wall in Berlin and the theorizing of a "postmodern condition" that held an "incredulity towards meta-narratives," western intellectuals such as Michel de Certau began to theorize the nature of historical studies in a new light; Certau writes:

> The historical book or article is together a result and a symptom of the group which functions as a laboratory. Akin to a car produced by a factory, the historical study is bound to the complex of a specific and collective fabrication more than it is the effect merely of a personal philosophy or the resurgence of a past 'reality.' It is the *product of a place* [emphasis original].[54]

In the work of these postmodern theorists, one sees the interplay between literary and historical theory. In order to take full stock of the power and the purpose of this postmodern historiography, it is key to note the ways in which each thinker configures the historical study as a text that says very little about a fixed objective reality, and everything about the imagination that produced it. As the following section shows, this is a key watershed moment in historical theories of the narrative and representation that emerges in postcolonial and pedagogical approaches.

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[52] Quoted in Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (New York: Pearson Longman Publishing, 2006), pp. 32. See Hayden White, "The Burden of History in White" in *Tropics of Discourse* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1992). Also, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1973).

[53] Alan Munslow, *Deconstructing History* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1977).

[54] Michel de Certau, *The Writing of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 64. This definition of the postmodern condition in historiographical context is taken from Jean-Francois Lyotard, *The Postmodern Explained: Correspondence 1982-1985* (Sydney: Power Press Publications, 1992), pp. xxiv. Lyotard is a key figure in postmodern historiographical thinking.

The Postcolonial Platform of Storytelling

> *The postcolonial critique is aimed at narratives that are the products of the nation form with its historical obsessions, its representation of Manichean struggle, its appeals to nature and destiny, and its problematic relation to questions involving geographic and cultural boundaries.*[55]
>
> -Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan

The origins of the postcolonial imagination are extremely difficult to locate. Gayatri Spivak , Frantz Fanon, Edward Said, and Homi K. Bhabha are often cited as the founders of this school. One can nonetheless locate these ideas emerging in the writings of Alaine Locke – famed philosopher of the Harlem Renaissance and Black experience in america. Locke theorizes that while experiential knowledge and "flesh and blood values may not be as universal or objective as logical truths or schematized judgments, [they] are not thereby deprived of some relative objectivity of their own…they are not grounded in types of realms of value, but are rooted in types of valuing."[56] This focus on "flesh and blood" was mirrored by W.E.B. Du Bois, who was successful in deconstructing all biological definitions of race as real. Du Bois argues that racial difference – though genetically determined at the biological level – is socially constructed on the historico-cultural level, and that the reality of racial difference can be read as a historical text. Du Bois argues that embodied differences of skin colour across human populations are "to no

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[55] Radhika Mohanram and Gita Rajan, *Postcolonial Discourse and Changing Cultural Contexts: Theory and Criticism* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995), pp. 222

[56] I contacted this quote in a secondary source on Fanon, and have admittedly 'back-tracked' the history behind it. For a more academically argued account of this connection between Harlem and Paris, see M. Fabre, *From Harlem To Paris: Black American Writer's in France 1840-1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005).

small extent the direct result of interaction with a physical and social environment," echoing a later evolutionary argument that the genes themselves are "passive recorders of human history."[57] I make efforts to be clear in this context so that this postcolonial point is sufficiently established: the ways in which groups of human beings treat one another is the chief determinant of racial difference, rather than some essential fixed genetic difference. Du Bois is thus not only an essential figure in the development and furtherance of slippery biological models of race, he is also a key thinker who demonstrates that the racialized body can itself be read as a historical text. This "body as a text" approach was recently articulated and evocated by the late postcolonial scholar Stuart Hall, who argues in no uncertain terms that "race functions more like a language than it is like the way in which we are biologically constituted."[58] This idea that race is a historical construct – or a "floating signifier" – is a central component to what is largely considered to be the founding text of postcolonial thought. [59]

Scores of historians have tried and often failed to fix the theoretical origins of Frantz Fanon's 1952 *Black Skins, White Masks.* Appropriating the French style of existentialism, Fanon also refashioned French philosophy to articulate his original views on the power of storytelling. Fanon echoes Maurice-Merlau Ponty and submits that "for a being who has acquired consciousness of himself and of his body, who has attained to the dialectic of subject and object, the body is no longer a cause of the structure of

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[57] W.E.B. Du Bois, "Races" in *The Crisis, Vol. 2, No. 4* [August 1911]: pp. 157-158.
[58] See Hall's lecture entitled "Race: The Floating Signifier," available online at: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BI-CwR8pCcY [accessed 2012]. The quote can be heard roughly six minutes into this video.
[59] See Nigel Gibson's *Fanon: The Postcolonial Imagination* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2003).

consciousness, it has become an object of consciousness."[60] Ghanian postcolonial intellectual Ato Sekyi-Otu refers to this text as a "dialectic of experience," and credits Fanon with being an intellectual forerunner in reconceptualizing human history as a "complex configuration of experiences" or a never-ending series of stories. Building upon Locke and Du Bois without necessarily referencing them, Fanon uses his own "body as a text" and articulates the ways in which colonial identity and space-making process play out in the psychic realm of the colonized. He narrates his own experience and continually makes reference to the fact that his body – more specifically, the *meaning* of his Black skin – is fixed within a symbolic order of savagery and atavism when seen through white eyes. Fanon refers to the subject position of the colonized as having no "ontological resistance," and as being "overdetermined from without."[61] In his storytelling approach, Fanon discusses and deconstructs the identity-making processes of colonialism by narrating them with a first-person authoritative voice from an embodied positionality. His story is a subversive one, though not simply because he is speaking from the place of the other or "returning the gaze" as some postcolonial thinkers have written.[62] What Fanon is doing in *Black Skins, White Masks* is harnessing the "author function" of his text – this story is still a "product of a place," though its purpose is antithetical to the very nature of this place and the colonial relations that it produces. It emerges against the grain of the very history that produces it – thus recalling postmodern reflections on the Hegelian theory of the dialectic (or the "thesis, antithesis, synthesis"

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[60] Quoted in Fanon, *Black Skins, White Skins,* 214 [Maurice Merleau-Ponty, La Phénoménologie de la perception (Paris, Gallimard, 1945), pp. 277].
[61] Fanon, *Black Skins*, 87.
[62] See Himani Banerrji, *Returning the Gaze: Essays on Racism, Feminism, and Politics* (Toronto: Sister Visions Press, 1993).

cycle of human history).[63] To discuss Fanon in the postmodern lexicon is to distance oneself from the proper context of his work, however; Fanon is a figure whose writing is firmly fixed in the realities of a revolution and a resistance to colonial occupation. In his use of the storytelling structure, and the theoretical or cultural ambivalence with which one must approach his writing, Fanon acts as an excellent postcolonial counterpart to the pedagogical project of storytelling undertaken by Native women in the latter half of the twentieth century.

The Pedagogical Platform of Storytelling: "Native Resistance Discourse"

One's own voice is never completely of one's own self, in isolation from community.[64]

-Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis)

In 1973, Maria Campbell (métis) published *Halfbreed*.[65] In a fashion that one might read alongside the storytelling strategy of Fanon, Campbell's *Halfbreed* offers a narration of her experience through the times and spaces of colonial canadian society. Her story spoke of the violence of the canadian settler-state as an integrative assault on her own identity as a Native women through a gridlocked system of interlocking modes of oppression. Campbell says of Native women and colonial history that "we need to

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[63] The dialectic position holds that human history moves forward through a series of negations. It must be also underscored, however, the extent to which Fanon's historical philosophy completely disrupts and shatters Hegelian ideational dialectics and even postmodern theories of dialectical materialism.
[64] LaRocque, *When the Other is Me*, 42.
[65] Maria Campbell, *Halfbreed* (Halifax, Seal Books Edition, 1973).

writes these stories ourselves."[66] Making the same point from the other side, Lenore Keeshig Tobias (Anishnawbe Kwe) demands that settler scholars "stop stealing Native stories."[67] Emerging alongside postmodern and postcolonial schools of thought, these Indigenous thinkers reject any attempts by canadian settler scholars to vicariously represent Native people through the use of a "referential illusion," and similarly harness the power of the "author function" and the historical narrative as Fanon accomplishes in *Black Skins*.

Campbell's call to "write these stories ourselves" was heard and heeded by many other Native intellectuals. Two years after *Halfbreed*, Lee Maracle (Salish Coast Stó:lō) published *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel* and Howard Adams (Métis) published *Prisons of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View.*[68] In the 1980s, Jeanette Armstrong (Okanagan) and Ruby Slipperjack (Ojibwe) continued this larger project of storytelling.[69] In the 1990s, Janice Acoose (Sakimay Métis) and other Native scholars did much to theorize the pedagogical, dialectic, and hermeneutical undertones of Campbell's storytelling methodology. Acoose refers to the storytelling movement undertaken by Indigenous scholars as colonized peoples "becoming author's of their own reality,"

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[66] Maria Campbell quoted in *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*, ed. Sherene Razack, Malinda Smith, and Sunera Thobani (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 2010), pp. 1.

[67] Lenore Keeshig Tobias, "Stop Stealing Native Stories" in *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*, eds. Bruce Ziff and Pratima Rao (New Jersey: Rutger's University Press, 1997), pp. 71. Also, see Lenore Keeshig-Tobias, "Stop Stealing Native Stories," *The Globe and Mail*, 26 January 1990, A19.

[68] See Lee Maracle, *Bobbi Lee, Indian Rebel* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1975) and Howard Adams, *Prisons of Grass: Canada from a Native Point of View* (Toronto: General Publishing, 1975).

[69] See Ruby Slipperjack, *Honour the Sun* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 1987). Also, see Jeanette Armstrong, *Slash* (Penticton: Theytus Books Publishing, 2007).

whereas Bonita Lawrence (Mi'kmaw) refers to the wider project as "rewriting histories of the land."[70] Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis) writes in 2011 that:

> Native people have been telling a story. The 'story' they have been telling is not a legend, not *atowkewin*, but rather *achimoowin*, a factually based account. A retelling, really. In recording these accounts, these writers are, in effect, challenging the Canadian canons of history, culture, and representation. In this, the story is a political narrative.[71]

As Campbell, Maracle, Acoose, Armstrong, Lawrence, and LaRocque all suggest, the historical narrative is a "primary vehicle for the [re]distribution of power." Stories, you see, are not just entertainment," writes Tobias, "stories are power. They reflect the deepest, the most intimate perceptions, relationships and attitudes of a people. Stories show how a people, a culture, thinks."[72] In producing "dialectics of experience" or by becoming "authors of their own reality," these storytellers have had a profound effect on the ways in which colonizers perceive their own community and society.

Conflating these Three Schools of Thought

There are many common threads in the postmodern, postcolonial, and pedagogical accounts of historical narrative that one might weave together to form the fabric of a sturdy theoretical approach. For example, Gramsci writes in his *Prison Notebooks* that "the starting-point of critical elaboration is the consciousness of what one

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[70] See Janice Pelletier Acoose, "Post-Halfbreed: Indigenous Women as Author's of their own Reality" in *Looking at the Words of Our People: First Nations Analysis of Literature,* ed. Jeanette Armstrong (Penticton: Theytus Books, 1993), pp. 27-43.Also, see Bonita Lawrence, "Rewriting Histories of the Land: Colonization and Indigenous Resistance in Eastern Canada" in *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002), pp. 16-26.
[71] LaRocque, *When the Other is Me,* 95.
[72] *Ibid*.

really is, and is `knowing thyself' as a product of the historical process to date, which has deposited in you an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory."[73] The 'postmodern condition' theorized by Lyotard, Barthes, Certau and others signifies a detachment from this "starting point of critical elaboration."[74] Western intellectual movements associated with Gramscian and Marxist-Hegelian principles have argued that modern citizens are alienated from reality – that they experience the world through secondary effects whose primary causes remain hidden.[75] Postcolonial scholars expand (or explode) this conversation by reminding readers that the bodies of colonized peoples act as records, maps, or texts of real human histories. In writing stories, historical texts, poems, and plays, thinkers of the African post-colony such as Ngugi Wa Thiong'o have argued that storytelling is a practice in "decolonizing the mind."[76] Native scholar Janice Acoose (Sakimay Métis) references this idea frequently in her discussions of Native women "becoming author's of their own reality."[77] It is also not uninteresting to note that Ato Sekyi-Otu and Acoose each produced their pathbreaking texts on Fanon and Campbell, respectively, in 1993. Still further, both postcolonial scholars and Indigenous thinkers take one what might term a "radical constructivist" approach to biological concepts of

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[73] See Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, ed. J. Buttigieg (Washington: Columbia University Press, 2010), pp. 14. Also, this quote can be found in Said, *Orientalism,* 208.

[74] In any postmodern discussion of detachments from the real nature of historical reality, a necessary reference is Jean Baudrillard's *Simulacra and Simulation*, trans. Sheila Faria Glaser (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1994). Baudrillard's famous map analogy which opens this text is also an interesting postmodern compliment to postcolonial notions of "unmapping" settler societies.

[75] Mészáros, István. *Marx's Theory of Alienation.* San Diego: University of California's Press, 2005.

[76] Ngugi Wa Thiong'o, "Literature and Society," in *Writers in Politics* (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1981), pp. 20.

[77] For an exact reference of Acoose citing Thiong'o, see Janice Pelletier Acoose, *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahkomakanak: Neither Indian Princess Nor Easy Squaws* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1995), pp. 34.

race as genetically determined. In telling their stories, therefore, these historians are literally creating "dialectics of experience" and "becoming authors of their own reality:" in shifting the state of psychic relations between groups of human peoples, these texts explode the limitations of the 'postmodern condition' and expose the slipperiness of essential notions of racial difference. These three schools of thought – when fused together – form the theoretical platform and historiographical justification for the participation of settler scholars in the storytelling project as it is restructuring realities in the claimed boundaries of canada. Five years after Acoose and Ato publishing their landmark texts on storytelling, Sherene Razack, researching and teaching at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the university of toronto, wrote that:

> for many of us who would describe ourselves as teaching for social change, storytelling has been at the heart of our pedagogy. In the context of social change, storytelling's refers to an opposition of oppressed knowledge, to Foucault's suppressed knowledge, to the experience of the world that is not admitted into dominant knowledge paradigms.[78]

This quotation illustrates the complex interplay between the postmodern, the postcolonial, and the pedagogical approach to storytelling in the canadian context, as well as the ways in which it forms the basis for a wider intellectual movement that transgresses borders of every kind (national, theoretical, race, gender, class, etc.). Razack was writing in 1998, however, and much hard theoretical work has been done towards this larger goal in the meantime. In 2011, Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis) explains that to engage in storytelling is to **"**make sense of what was a colonial experience not

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[78] Sherene Razack, *Looking White People in the Eye: Gender Race, Class and Culture in Courtrooms and Classrooms* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. 36.

understood at the time such events or responses took place."[79] As recent as this research on "decolonizing the mind" is, it can be boiled to a simple inability of white western men to "know themselves" in the Socratic or Gramscian sense. In light of the contemporary context of canadian academic research and its relations to these three theoretical discourses, I believe that a very clear methodology presents itself for any settler scholar hoping to engage effectively with this rather recent conflation of literary and historical theory. This approach, more fully articulated in the below, works within the position of the white male settler to produce historical knowledge that is also experiential knowledge. The notion of 'experiential' knowledge is important in terms of representation and pedagogy, as such an approach attempts to **"**make sense of what was a colonial experience" by re-telling stories told by canadian newspapers about these historical realities. Thus, my approach centres upon the psychic experience of the white male settler and its interaction with representations of other. To the extent that Native and Iraqi bodies are visible in this text, therefore, it is only for the purposes of telling a story of colonization from my fixed perspective. As a white male settler, I only experience Indigenous and Iraqi personhood as corporeal bodies in the realm of my own historical reality, or as characters in stories told by newspapers and other media. As a consequence, I theorize an approach to discourse analysis that allows me to sketch out these characters free from glaring critical limitations. To reaffirm and underscore an important point in this respect, *there is no Indigenous or Iraqi subjectivity in this study*.

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[79] Emma LaRocque, *When the Other is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), pp. 73.

Settler Storytelling as Orientalist Discourse Analysis

For settler scholars to engage in storytelling, therefore, they must limit their scope of discussion to the realm of embodied and individual experience (or, in other words, "stop stealing Native stories.") This pedagogical and postcolonial approach must play upon postmodern notes, however, as settler scholars do not experience colonization as a first-hand violence upon our bodies but through colonial privilege and propaganda. In writing from the positionality of the other, Campbell, Fanon, and other storytellers have used their own "bodies as texts," and thereby sketched out the historical subjectivity and humanity of the colonized. In writing from the position of the settler self, this approach can be taken in reverse: one can read a historical "text as a body" in order to sketch out the kind of social body that produced it. Upon this point precisely, LaRocque writes in 2011 that "the face of the colonizer is made visible through what Edward Said calls in *Orientalism* the 'western techniques of representation.'"[80] It is the goal of the second half of this chapter to illustrate "what Orientalism looks like" in my canadian context, and to provide an example of the ways in which storytelling can also be employed by settler scholars to generate anti-colonial knowledge about our own historical environment and experience.

Section II: What Orientalism Looks Like

In this section I examine an advertising campaign for the old fort william historical park in thunder bay, ontario in order to illustrate the ways in which canadian settler societies reanimate colonial history in order to view themselves as progressive,

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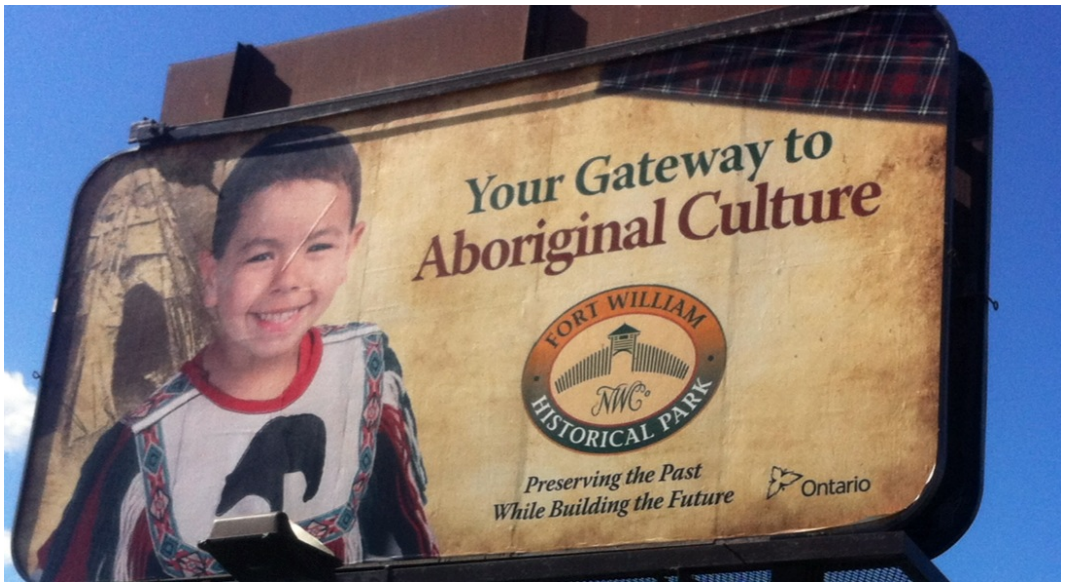
[80] LaRocque, *When the Other is Me,* 7.

modern, and benevolent. I conduct a semiotic analysis of this ad campaign in the same way that I deconstructed my primary source materials in chapters two and three. As the postmodern, postcolonial, and pedagogical theories of historical narrative suggest, however, it is an act of critical error to undertake the production of historical knowledge before having reached "the starting point of critical elaboration:" mainly, an "inventory" or account of one's own historical position. The second section of the chapter has a dual purpose, therefore: first, to provide a brief history of my own white settler community; second, to expose and explain the Orientalist signifying practices whereby this white settler community effectively reimagines its history so as to fix it within a symbolic order of progress, modernity, and peace-keeping. Thus, by this chapter's end, I hope to have fixed my own positionality firmly in its proper colonial context, and also laid the foundations for the wider Orientalist stories of subsequent chapters that settlers tell themselves in order to reimagine colonization and genocide. Significantly, this story is always the same irrespective of which history is being discussed, and the larger work of this study as a whole is to make concrete the argument that the same stories were told about all others – Indigenous or Iraqi - between 1990-2010.[81]

[81] This second section of the chapter also acts as a miniature model of chapters two and three, as my methodology is to first offer narrative accounts of colonial and imperial history with the help of secondary sources, and thereafter to show the signifying practices in which my primary source materials engaged so as to reimagine and represent these horrible history as progressive chapters in the making of a modern world.



-Billboard for the old fort william historical park in thunder bay, ontario.[82]

> *"Welcome to the world's largest fur-trade post. Hi! I'm Sergio Buonocore – General Manager of Fort William Historical Park. Join us in a time-traveling adventure, back to the hay-day of the canadian Fur Trade. Come discover the colorful story of Fort William and the Northwest Company in the early 1800s. It's an unforgettable experience everyone will enjoy. Skip through our handy menu right here [the man motions to his left] to learn more about us. You'll quickly see that there's more to 'the Fort' than simply history. We're a dynamic multi-component tourism attraction with facilities for meet conferences and events. On this menu [the man motions to his right] check out our national award winning festivals like 'Rock the Fort' and Anishanbee Keeshigan. Learn more about our innovative education programmes, overnight adventures, artisan workshops, day-camps, the list goes on. Step through our portal to find out about an exciting world of wonder and adventure. Let me show you the way."*[83]

- Transcript of advertisement for the old fort william historical park

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[82] The billboard pictured is at the South-West corner of the Harbour Expressway and the Transcanada Highway in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada.

[83] On the website for this company, the video plays automatically upon the homepage. See http://fwhp.ca [accessed June 12th, 2012]. The billboard pictured is at the South-West corner of the Harbour Expressway and the Transcanada Highway in Thunder Bay, Ontario, Canada. I am aware of four other city locations where this exact billboard might also be found at the time of writing.

A Very Brief History of fort william

The history of fort william is a colonial and genocidal history of *taking place* and *making space* that is reimagined in the ad campaign above. This ad campaign celebrates the period of canadian fur trade history in "the early 1800s," fixing it within a national mythology of modernity, progress, and peace-keeping. It is, however, in stark denial of the reality of this history. Many historians have pointed out that – prior to this period in canadian history – states of relations between Natives and newcomers were by no means egalitarian, though a certain sense of mutual dependency ensured a more even flow of political, cultural, and economic exchange across racial boundaries.[84] Between 1800 and 1867, however, this state of relations changed considerably. Throughout this period, the fur trade became less and less of a viable pursuit as the canadian economy moved towards industrial capitalism.[85] In 1821, the two major players in the fur trade game – the Northwest Company (NWC) and the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) – joined forces. [86] Sketching out the "changing demographic picture after 1821," canadian historian Arthur Ray argues that Native peoples were pushed from the centre of the colonial economy to

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[84] See Sylvia Van Kirk*, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). Particularly, see chapter ten entitled "A World We Have Lost."
[85] *Ibid*. Also, see Jennifer Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980). Particularly, see chapter nine entitled "Fur Trade Sons and Daughters in a New Company Context."
[86] See David Morrison, *Profit and Ambition: The North West Company and the Fur Trade, 1779-1821* (Ottawa: Canada Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2010), pp. 123.

the peripheries of a national industrial project.[87] Whereas the fur trade had *taken the place* of the original economic and cultural national patterns of indigenous people, industrial capitalism then *took the place* of this fur trade economy, leaving Indigenous peoples increasingly vulnerable to modes of violence, coercion, and control from their colonizers.

It was also in this key period between the "early 1800s" and canadian confederation that white women began to enter the colonial fray in increasing numbers outside of the already settled areas of the present-day Maritimes and eastern Canada. The entry of increasing numbers of white women into areas previously unknown to them, literally and symbolically *took the place* of Native women. Historians such as Adele Perry, Sylvia Van Kirk, Caroline Podruchny and Sarah Carter have all argued that the early to mid eighteenth century – with its mass migration of non-Native female settlers – signified a new paradigm in the nation-making project of canada.[88] The marginalization and displacement of Native peoples accelerated at an astonishing rate throughout this period, both in cultural and legal contexts. Interaction between white and Native peoples – previously seen as necessary and economically beneficial – became seen as undesirable in an increasingly white settler society.

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[87] Arthur Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade: Their Roles as Trappers, Hunters, and Middlemen in the Lands Southwest of the Hudson Bay, 1660-1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), pp. xviii.

[88] See Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Also, see Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). Also, see Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (London: McGill University Press, 1997). Finally, see Caroline Podruchny and Laura Lynn Peers, *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

Eager to be seen as a sovereign entity free from its fur trade past, canadian settler society viewed interactions with Native peoples as symbolic of a lack of progress or modernity. A fur trade society and culture that had previously allowed for a blending, albeit unequal, between Native and European cultures thus fell victim to the "the so-called space-time equivalency hypothesis, which saw retreating into the bush as equivalent to moving back in time."[89] This was mirrored in the sexual realm, as "mixed-race relationships" – previously the lifeblood of the fur trade economy – became seen as "necessarily degraded ones."[90] Thus, between 1821 and 1867, the failing face of the fur trade and the emerging monolith of global modernity shifted states of relations between Natives and newcomers that had been slippery at best. White men and women succeeded in *taking the places* of Native peoples, and the construction of the country according to ethnocentric and European notions of race thereafter began to unfold far more furiously.

Discussed at considerable length in the third chapter, the indian act and the numbered treaty system that accompanied the decline of the fur and robe trades was pursued by the freshly formed canadian government in the decades proceeding confederation shifted this history from one of *taking place* to one of *making space*. Occupying positions of considerable colonial power, white male settlers began to pass a legislation that controlled Native peoples lives from the cradle to the grave and everything in-between from food gathering to outlawing community events such as Sun

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[89] Ray, *Indians in the Fur Trade*, xviii.
[90] Perry, *On the Edge of Empire*, 66.

Dances or Potlatches.[91] Significantly, the indian act imposed a patriarchal system of nationhood, hereditary land ownership, and freedom of movement upon Native peoples who had very often never before thought of men as the sole centres of political and community authority.[92] In concert with the indian residential schooling policy that lasted until 1997, and the numbered treaty systems that defined and produced the spaces of the reserve, the indian act has served as the continued bureaucratic foundation for relations between Natives and newcomers.[93] The work of this legislation was to define, delimit, and produce spaces for white people and for First Nations People. Discussing thunder bay specifically, Sherene Razack claims that

> …this 'world cut in two,' this colonial city is initially set up by the indian act. Reserves are supposed to be out there, aboriginal people are supposed to be out there. The town is supposed to belong to white settlers. That's the law. Sometimes we have a pass system to enforce it, but mostly by the 1880s after the Riel Rebellion we figure out we need a lot of Northwestern mounted police and later on the RCMP to be able to police this, because settlers have a problem on their hands: this is an occupation. [94]

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[91] Robert Miller, Jacinta Ruru, Marissa Behrendt, and Tracy Lindberg, *Discovering Indigenous Lands: The Doctrine of Discovery in the English Colonies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 262.

[92] See Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy" in *The Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology*, ed. Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (Cambridge, South End Press, 2006).

[93] Jamie Mishibinijima, "Stuck at the Border of the Reserve: Bill C-31 and the Impact on First Nations Women" in *Aboriginal History: A Reader*. Eds. Kristin Burnett and Geoff Read (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 206-216.

[94] This is a quote taken from Dr. Razack's talk entitled "Reading Bootprints on the Chest: Inquests into the Deaths of Aboriginal People in Custory" given at Lakehead University on 25 January, 2011. It is available online, see: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gv9RIIeqapM [accessed June 12th, 2012]. It is interesting to note that Razack is here quoting Frantz Fanon in referring to this colonial city as "a world cut in two." Taken alongside her frequent engagement with Foucauldian theories of knowledge and power, Razack's passages in this chapter themselves signify the wider conflation of postmodern, postcolonial, and pedagogical discourses in the critical consideration of the canadian colonial project.

Thus, we see how the history of fort william is a rewriting of history wherein white men and women literally and symbolically *take the places* of Native peoples, and thereafter relegate such Native peoples to reserves overdetermined by colonial relations. Razack argues that the law is a principle tool that settlers have used in this history to naturalize colonization, although my purpose below is to demonstrate the ways in which the ad campaign accomplishes a similar task by producing Orientalist discourse about this colonial history. Orientalist stories about canadian history have four tell-tale characteristics**:** the representation of the other, the construction of the self, the animation of time, and the production of space. I locate and explain these four signifying practices in the old fort william historical park ad campaign, and remind the reader before proceeding that the Orientalist story told about the history of the old fort in these advertisements is the same essential story that canadian newspapers told about colonial and imperial realities from 1990 to 2010. Indeed, the principle value of this discussion is that all Orientalist stories share these same four tell-tale characteristics.

Representation of the Orientalist Other

The first tell-tale sign of an Orientalist discourse is the use of Romantic, exotic, and mystifying language when representing non-white peoples or cultures.[95] Said writes that "as human material the Orient is less important than as an element in a Romantic redemptive project."[96] He argues that there is a specific sexual or at any rate desirous attitude underpinning Orientalist discourse, and notes that purveyors of such colonial

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[95] Edward Said, *Orientalism*. Particularly, see Chapter II entitled "Imaginative Geography and its Representations: Orientalizing the Oriental."
[96] *Ibid*., 187.

conversations seek "the invigoration provided by the fabulously antique and the exotic."[97] In the advertisement above, one can certainly see the speaker – Sergio Buonocore – engaging in an Orientalist discourse of canadian colonial history. Buonocore refers to the history of the Native and newcomer relations "in the early 1800s" as "an exciting world of wonder and adventure" and a "heyday," clearly suggesting that the colonization and settlements of Indigenous lands was a magical and glorious affair. Notions of the exotic are infused into his usage of "colourful," and the word "simply" tacitly implies that this shared and complex history has a static and uncontested meaning. With an irony that is impressive in its lack of intention, Buonocore predicts that the masquerading of this horrible history for profit will be "an unforgettable experience that everyone will enjoy." Quoting Frantz Fanon and writing in the same counter-colonial context as Edward Said, Bonita Lawrence (Miq'maw) argues that "colonialism is not satisfied merely with holding a people in its grip and emptying the native's brain of all form and content. By a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of the oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."[98] In the passage above, Buonocore is clearly partaking in a distortion or reanimation of Indigenous history through an Orientalist discourse that represents the settlement of stolen lands with a mystifying and obfuscating 'contact narrative' that is rife with the lexicon of the colourful, the romantic, the mystical, and the exotic. It is in this way that the long and ongoing history of genocide and colonialism within the claimed boundaries of canada is reimagined and represented as a "romantic

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[97] *Ibid*., 185.
[98] Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth,* trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1966), pp. 67.

redemptive project." The story of colonization is stolen, reanimated, and retold as a farce.[99]

Construction of the Orientalist self

Many theorists from a variety of different disciplines have argued that representations of the other can be very self-revealing. In *Orientalism,* Said argues that the traits attached to the other "imply, indeed require, an opposite that is neither fraudulently something else nor endlessly in need of explicit identification."[100] In representing the other as a savage, therefore, settlers "come to know ourselves negatively as the not-other."[101] Discussing the canadian colonial context, Daniel Francis concluded that the Native other represented in Orientalist discourse was "a white man's fantasy, a screen on which non-Natives projected their anxieties and assumptions about their place in the New World."[102] Decades earlier, along these same critical lines, Frantz Fanon points out in phenomenological terms that the Black man could not have understood himself as Black until a material interaction with a white man. Similarly, Judith Butler argues that the category of 'heterosexual' remains unintelligible and even unimaginable without reference to a fixed antithesis or opposite; in this way, the 'heterosexual' actually

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[99] I am here touching upon an old Marxist trope that history plays itself out "first as tragedy, next as farce." Karl Marx wrote versions of this insight – a challenge to Hegel's notions of the dialectic - in numerous texts; for one example, see Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *Surveys from Exile*, ed. David Fernbach (Harmondsworth: Penguin Publising, 1973), pp. 146.

[100] Said, *Orientalism*, 72.

[101] This notion that "we know ourselves negatively as the not-Other" quote is taken from a lecture given by Paul Fry at Yale University in the Spring of 2009, entitled "Postcolonial Criticism." This is a well-known lecture widely available online: see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UarXGSuyyrw [accessed 2012].

[102] Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2005), pp. 10.

needs the 'homosexual' in order to achieve a fixed sense of ontological stability. Thus, theorists of many disciplines have argued for a self/other dialectic wherein two opposed identities require one another to make meaning or produce categorical intelligibility. In a recent work, Emma LaRocque (Plains Cree Métis) argues that canadian Orientalist discourse is predicated upon a "civ/sav dichotomy" wherein rhetorical images "characterize either attractive, familiar, desirable virtues [of the white 'civ'] or menacing, peculiar, disorderly defects [of the non-white 'sav']."[103] In my discourse analysis of canadian newspapers, I locate the many manifestations of this racialized, binaric way of thinking that are well-exampled in the advertisement reproduced above.

Buonocore's speech has the tell-tale signs of an Orientalist discourse engaged in a 'civ/sav' conversation. Words that are fixed within a symbolic order of civility and savagery are scattered throughout Buonocore's speech, and they serve to signify a wild, mystical and exotic Oriental canadian past *and at the same time* a modern, progressive, and innovative canadian present-day reality. Whereas exotic words such as "colourful" and mystifyingly Romantic phrases like "exciting world of wonder and adventure" define an Orientalist past, "dynamic," "multi-component," "handy" and "innovative" are used to delineate the Occidental present. Thus, when a white male settler citizen of thunder bay sees a person they perceive to be Indigenous, we are primed to think of ourselves as having emerged from an ancestry that is "dynamic," "innovative," and "handy," whereas the other is fixed within our gaze as savage, atavistic, and naturally non-modern. Bombarded by such representations of the other and of our own historical self within this "civ/sav dichotomy," we come to understand this Orientalist discourse to be true and

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[103] Said, *Orientalism*, 47.

uncontested, or "simply history," as Buonocore says. Because this historical park is on Anishnawbek land, one also sees the sinister way in which the company situates itself as the conceptual gatekeeper of the culture of the colonized (read: "your gateway to aboriginal culture"). In this way, the culture of the colonizer attempts to "totalize its existence," as Peter Kulchyski claims, and the mechanism of this hegemonic expansion is "marked by internal repetitions" of Orientalist discourse.[104] This is to say that Orientalist discourse is a colonial lie told over and over again using the same channels of misrepresentation – and told so often that it comes to be seen as "History." Thus, Orientalist discourse does not simply police the boundaries of the self and the other – of the colonizer and the colonized – it also aggressively constructs historical time and truth.

How Orientalism Polices Time

Homi K. Bhabha writes of the postcolonial other as "fixed between the shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility."[105] Scholars of critical race theory in the canadian context have argued that settlers see Indigenous peoples as "mired in an unprogressive and non-evolving past, as if they exist outside of linear time."[106] Edward Said was irreducibly articulate in evoking this notion of temporality in Orientalist discourse:

> Moreover the male conception of the world, in its effect upon the practicing Orientalist, tends to be static, frozen, fixed eternally. The very possibility of development, transformation, human movement in the deepest sense of the word is denied the Orient and the Oriental. As a known and ultimately an

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[104] Peter Kulchyski, *Like the Sound of a Drum: Aboriginal Cultural Politics in Denendeh and Nunavut* (Winnipeg: University of Manitaba Press, 2005), 17 and 67.
[105] The quoted section is from Homi K. Bhabba, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition" in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (New York, Columbia University), pp. 115.
[106] Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Native Americans in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), pp. 7.

> immobilized or unproductive quality, they come to be identified with a bad sort of eternality.[107]

The other thus signifies to the settler an agent of regression from civilization to savagery. Time itself becomes racially configured in Orientalist discourse, and the colonized are given what Frantz Fanon termed a "white destiny."[108] This racializing of time – to the extent that it takes place (literally) in canada – can be seen in Buonocore's speech above. Through the dialectic of his Orientalist discourse, Buonocore imbues a "white destiny" upon Native peoples by referring to canadian history as a "colourful story." Drawing upon notions of time-travel, gateways, and portals, there is a confluence of temporality, technology, progress and whiteness that produces time as a racially configured measurement – i.e: if the historical past is "colourful", then the historical future is white or colourless. This is not simply a symbolic construction of time, however, as one will note that Buonocore refers to an Anishnabek Powwow that is held annually at the park (and presumably brings much business to the establishment). What is key to note here, for my purposes, is the literal and symbolic power that Orientalist discourse has on the construction of time. Although he discursively fixes the colonized in a symbolic order "between the shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility," as the general manager of the historical park Buonocore also holds and exercises the power to determine *when* the cultural festival might take place (i.e., on this or that weekend). I say that this is of key interest because Orientalist discourse literally takes place in the same way it polices and produces time.

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[107] Said, *Orientalism*, 208.
[108] Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* Trans. C.L. Markmann (New York: Grove Press, 1967), pp. 56.

How Orientalism Produces Space

Readers with training in historiographical theories will note that unmapping the "social production of space" is a much wider critical project undertaken by countless historians, with a variety of backgrounds, emerging from many different arenas of thought. Those who pursue these conversations in its canadian context, more importantly, will understand that "unmapping a white settler society" has been the goal of a Feminist-postcolonial discourse for some time.[109] French theorists Lucien Lefebvre and Michel Foucault frequent the footnotes of these approaches to history, though Said is once again clear and concise in his description of the Orientalist construction of both time *and space:*

> In the classical and often temporally remote form in which it was reconstructed by the Orientalist, in the precisely actual form in which the modern Orient was lived in, studied, or imagined, the *geographical space* of the Orient was penetrated, worked over, taken hold of. The cumulative effect of decades of so sovereign a Western handling turned the Orient from alien into colonial space[emphasis original].[110]

In the canadian context, it is very easy to point out the discursive mechanisms by which 'indians' are displaced to the Orient: the very name used to describe the other of the canadian colonial project is a literal reference to the geographical space of the Eurocentric Orient.[111] The 'indian' is an alien in his own land; the 'indian' is "in between and out of place" at the "shifting boundaries between barbarity and civility;" the 'indian'

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[109] For example, see *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002).
[110] Said, *Orientalism*, 211.
[111] For a discussion on the discursive displacement of the 'indian' in reference to the label itself, see Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violently Engendering the New American" in *Gender & History* No.5, Vol. 2 [Spring 1993]: pp. 177-95.

emerges from what Anne Mclintock called "anachronistic space."[112] White settler societies are mapped out according to race, and the goal of effective analysis is to plot the patterns of this colonial cartography. For example, one sees in the billboard pictured above the notion that the historical park is one's "gateway to aboriginal culture." Asserting that the historical park is where "aboriginal culture" takes place, the billboard implies that the rest of the city is where it does not. Moreover, the sign reasserts for settlers the ability to compartmentalize Indigenous culture and confine to spaces seen as acceptable and contained. The implication is clear, and the settler city of thunder bay literally has constructed a billboard declaring which spaces are white spaces, and which spaces are not. This is how "place becomes race" in canadian colonial society at the time of writing, as the settler-city of thunder bay is literally preventing the expression of "aboriginal culture" from *taking place*. Again, this symbolic construction of Orientalist space – like time – is matched by a more material and literal power. Again considering the Anishnawbe Keeshigan Powwow mentioned in Buonocore's speech, one notes the presumed ability of the historical park not only to construct the spaces and times of the other, but to literally produce, police, and define the spaces in which non-Orientalist modes of Indigenous cultural expression might take place. My experience as a white male

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[112] See Anne Mclintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Cross-Dressing, and the Cult of Domesticity* (London: Routledge Publishing, 1995). The phrase "In between and out of place" is taken from an article of Renisa Mawani, "In Between and out of Place: Mixed Race Identity, Liquor, and the Law in British Columbia, 1850-1913" in *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002), pp. 47-70. Also, see Carol Smith Rosenburg, "Captured Subjects/Savage Others: Violentaly Engendering the New American," in *Gender and History* Vol. 5, No. 2 [1993]: pp. 177-196.

settler in thunder bay, ontario certainly confirms Sherene Razack's notion that the "national mythologies of white settler societies are deeply spatialized stories."[113]

Summarizing the Approach: Taking Place and Making Space

> *"…to interrogate bodies traveling in spaces is to engage in a complex historical mapping of spaces and bodies in relation, inevitably a tracking of multiple systems of domination and the ways in which they come into existence in and through each other."*[114]
>
> -Sherene Razack

Radhika Mohanram theorizes the white male settler as the "Universal Disembodied subject… who is able to take anyone's place."[115] Building upon this idea, I organize the next chapter's discourse analysis around the concept of *taking place*. I mean to suggest that the canadian newspaper coverage of the 'oka crisis' and the 'Iraqi insurgency' each told the same Orientalist story about military invasions of the other. I reconstruct these stories for the reader, and thereafter unpack them according to the four tell-tale traits of Orientalist discourse discussed above. I show that this coverage speaks of a "racial journey into personhood," and tells the story of white settler military forces transgressing the boundaries of civilized and savage space, thereby reenacting a colonial identity of white male supremacy.[116] Drawing upon the notion that "colonialism always operates through gender," my discourse analysis is broken into three sections: first, a sketching out of the Orientalist space; second, a reconstruction of the Orientalist male

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[113] *Ibid*., 13.
[114] Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*, 15.
[115] Radhika Mohantam, *Black Body: Women*, *Colonialism, and Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 167.
[116] Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*, 17.

other; and finally, a review of the character of the female other. In reconstructing the Orientalist story told by newspaper in this way, I engage in a "complex historical mapping of spaces and bodies in relation," and attempt to underscore the extent to which these racialized meaning-making practices of canadian settler society reinforce the notion that the white settler male can and should seek to *take the place* of the other.

In Chapter Three, I leave behind these notions of *taking place* and retell the Orientalist stories told about the northern reserve and a sanctioned Iraq as informed by a *making space* ideology. Taking the same approach of sketching out the Orientalist space and its gendered characters, this chapter's discourse analysis demonstrates the ways in which humanitarian relief efforts undertaken by the canadian settler-state between 1990-2010 were discussed in the same Orientalist frame as the military invasions reviewed in Chapter Two. The key difference between these two histories is that settler soldiers did not invade these spaces of the other, but rather administered these *making space* policies from a position of exteriority. After touching upon the ways in which these humanitarian relief efforts were even more deadly than aggressive military invasions, I end the chapter with a review of the ways in which these Orientalist accounts of *making place* and *taking place* can be interpreted holistically. *Taking place* policies and the discourses they engendered were heavily preoccupied with masculinity and militarism, whereas *making space* conversations were overtly centred around issues of modernity and motherhood. In short, I propose to show in this study the ways in which the canadian settler-state was able to reiterate its colonial dominance over targeted peoples with the use of Orientalist discourse in the exact same that the old fort william historical park functioned to fix

Native peoples in the city of thunder bay into a "non-evolving past" and symbolically savage Orient.

Conclusion

How do we theorize our 'place'
when that place itself is stolen?[117]

- Sherene Razack, Malinda Smith,
and Sunera Thobani

Implicit in this comparative approach between these two scopes of historical inquiry is an argument as well as an objective. I want to show in this study that the way in which my own community of thunder bay views Natives peoples goes hand-in-glove with the problematic interpretations of the 'war on terror' that have become so pervasive in canadian settler-society. The essential flaw in the logic of the 'war on terror' is the notion that a settler-state might solve problems abroad while leaving these issues unaddressed – quite literally – in one's own backyard. I propose that this set of imperial and colonial power relations is reproduced in any settler study that investigates and produces knowledge about history as if able to free itself from the "contemporary reality of canadian imperialism."[118] Because the imperialist 'war on terror' is fought with appropriated resources and waged from stolen lands, I insist that effective power analysis and counter-colonial critique of these histories derives only from an acknowledgement that these two histories are bound up in the same story.

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[117] This quote is taken from the introduction to *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*, ed. Sherene Razack, Malinda Smith, and Sunera Thobani (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 2010), pp. 1.

[118] See Adam Barker, "The Contemporary Reality of Canadian Imperialism: Settler Colonialism and the Hybrid Colonial State" in *The American Indian Quarterly* 33, no. 3 [Summer 2009] pp. 325-351

Chapter Two: Taking the Place of the Other
Re-telling the 'oka crisis' and 'Iraqi Insurgency'

> *"Genocide, generally speaking, is a two step-process: one, destruction of the national pattern of the oppressed group; the other, the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor."*[119]
>
> - Raphael Lemkin

Although touching upon many literal and symbolic meanings, this chapter theorizes *taking place* as the first step of genocide to which Lemkin refers. I interrogate the canadian newspaper discourse of two historical events wherein settler-states engaged in *taking place* policies: first, the so-called 'oka crisis' of 1990; second, the occupation of Iraq by american military might after 2003. I theorize the events of each history as white male settlers *taking place* in the literal and symbolic realms. I compile my secondary sources into a narrative account of each event that articulates the ways in which settler-states literally took the places of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples. Thereafter, I configure a representative selection of primary source materials – canadian newspaper articles – to demonstrate the ways in which this Orientalist discourse called for a more symbolic and sexual *taking of place*: mainly, by insisting that white masculinity must violently *take the place* of all other masculinities. Drawing on critical race theorist Sherene Razack, I propose to show that my own white settler-society understood these military aggressions

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[119] Raphael Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 79.

as "a racial journey into personhood" - a "moving [of white male bodies] from respectable space to degenerate space and back again" that reaffirmed and reiterated the white male settler sense of self while also policing and surveying the racial boundaries of the other.[120] These newspapers told "deeply spatialized stories" that spoke of these violent occupations as "journeys of transgression."[121] In concluding this discussion, I review how and why settler society understood the 'oka crisis' of 1990 and the (re)invasion of Iraq in 2003 as further proof that *taking place* was a perfectly natural and legitimate trend of history itself.[122]

Newspaper coverage of each event was heavily gendered and preoccupied with measurements of masculinities. Mohawk and Iraqi men were constructed as sexually savage, patriarchal, fundamentalist brain-washers of children who posed an immediate threat to brown women, and an implicit threat to white women. Conversely, white male settlers signified salvation for oppressed brown women and protection for white women; they were modern, masculine, and vectors of law and order. Each and every major canadian newspaper – from Halifax to Victoria – participated in this Orientalist discourse that coloured the other as lawless, atavistic, and even anachronistic. White settler masculinity, it was said, must violently evict the male other for the sake of civility, progress, and salvation.

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[120] These quotations are taken from the Sherene Razack's introduction to *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002), p. 10. "A racial journey into personhood" is taken from her article in this edited collection "Gendered Racial Violence and Spatialized Justice: The Murder of Pamela George."

[121] *Ibid*, 17.

[122] Frantz Fanon referred in *Black Skins, White Mask* to the notion that colonizers viewed history as having a "white destiny" - a means of articulating the naturalizing of racial violence and genocide as function of the forward march of history itself. This might be compared loosely to popular critical notions of "common sense racism."

Once the troops of the settler-state were on the ground, Indigenous and Iraqi peoples swiftly responded with well-organized and highly motivated resistance movements. It was these resistance movements that were labeled 'terrorist activities' by government and media discourse, and the figure of the Mohawk Warrior or 'Iraqi insurgent' became a recurring racialized and gendered image in canadian newspaper coverage. The reality of the resistance became effectively reimagined in canadian newspapers to sustain an illusory story of white male settler supremacy. Newspapers had the same "meaning-making process" and called upon the same "signifying practices" to configure settler-society's interpretation of each history.

Rule of Three

The first rule or normative theme of common convergence was the tendency of journalists to construct each male other as a sexual savage who was a danger to his female counterpart. In this way, the resistance movements were said to be functions of sexual savagery and frustration – nothing more than the chest thumping of monkeys, or the barking of small dogs who had no real bite and required neutering. For example, one journalist justified the *taking of place* by insisting that "the way they treat women makes us different from, better than terrorists."[123] I refer to this rule in my discourse analysis as "Signifying the Sexual Savage." This signifying practice was in perfect accordance with Paula Gunn Allen's (Sioux) assertion that white male colonizers attempt "to mislead

[123] Ellen Goodman, "Lifting the Veil for U.S. Soldiers." *The Gazette*, Dec 08, 2001. B.7

white women, and themselves, into believing that their treatment of women was superior to the treatment of the men of the group which they consider savage."[124]

The second rule of three refers to the orthodoxy with which journalists extended this argument of sexual savagery so as to suggest that white women – and by extension, the entirety of western civilization – were under a vicarious assault from this sexualized male other. For example, many journalists engaged in the logic that these movements were motivated by "extremists," "fundamentalists," and "brain-washing cults" with a "fanatical will to die," and that a failure to *take place* would result in a "bloodbath," "further bloodshed," and even a "holocaust on a world scale."[125] I refer to this trend as "Engendering the Conflict," and go far to show its interconnections with "Signifying the Sexual Savage." As Sarah Carter theorized in *Capturing Women*, "images of white female vulnerability [have been] exploited to convey the message of the necessity of policing the boundaries between" the colonized and the colonizer.[126] This 'conflict' being bolstered in propaganda was to be one in which white male settlers showed themselves to be superior to all male others. Sexual imagery and homoeroticism were used to refer to the ease which western militaries might "get 18th century on Islam's medieval ass," giving the military conflict between these imagined men a distinct undertone of sexual

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[124] See Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). Quoted and first encountered in Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 18.
[125] See Krantz, Frederick. "Destroy Terrorisms Support Structures." *The Gazette*, Sep 18, 2001, A12. Also, See Mark Bourrie, "A just settlement is still possible at oka." *Toronto Star,* Jul 27, 1991, A1.
[126] Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West*. (London: McGill University Press, 1997), pp. 14.

competition or even rape.[127] This was indicative of a wider logic of sexual violence that views Native people and Native lands as "inherently rapable."[128]

The final common trend that appeared in my comparative analysis of each Orientalist discourse was the repeated efforts by canadian newspaper coverage to mock the masculinity of the other. In this final section of discourse analysis, I expose and explain the ways in which canadian newspapers focused on two key individuals so as the construct the masculinity of Mohawk Warriors and 'Iraqi insurgents' as non-threatening, performative, inauthentic, and a poor masquerade of a more authentic white male western masculinity. Mohawk Warrior Ronald Cross and 'Iraqi Insurgent' Abu-Musab al-Zarqawi were each said to be "brawling, hard-drinking" men who were "mugging for the cameras," and canadian journalists conveyed curious details that called into question the authenticity of each representative figure as a Mohawk or Iraqi man. For example, newspapers point out that Zarqawi was "wearing New Balance tennis shoes" and that Cross "stood quietly sipping a 7-Up" so as to further fix these two others "between the shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility."[129] This is coupled with an earlier tendency to describe the difference between the colonizer's national pattern and that of the targeted population as the ability of women to wear make-up, drive cars, fly planes, shed the veil, or get off of the reserve. Before getting into these primary and secondary source materials, however, I wish to review the reasons why I chose to undertake a comparative analytical approach between these two stories of canadian history.

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[127] "This Isnt War - its Plain Murder:" *The Gazette*, Jul 24, 2005, D8.
[128] Smith, *Conquest,* 12.
[129] Homi K. Bhabba, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition" in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (New York, Columbia University), pp. 115.

Why 'oka' and Iraq?

Referring to the 'oka crisis,' Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson write that "the amount of work done on the topic remains somewhat thin (though it actually offers the bulk of what exists on the topic of Native representation in the press of Canada) and tends to be poorly informed by theory."[130] Aside from engendering a substantial though still incomplete academic response from scholars of canadian history, the 'oka crisis' also contributed to the establishment of the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. In other words, a historian at the Master's thesis level is well-advised to begin with the 'oka crisis' because it provides one with sufficient precedent while also promising the possibility of discovering something new.

I selected the 'insurgency' to compare with the oka 'crisis' – when I might have chosen the first gulf war – because it *took place* after the events of 11 September 2001. In exposing the existence of the archetype of the Orientalist 'terrorist' in canadian settler-society's consciousness long before the fall of the twin towers, I hope to demonstrate the efficacy of an approach that configures the 'war on terror' as a fixed function of settler-state colonialism. Finally, I have chosen the 'crisis' and the 'insurgency' because they were generally successful resistance movements (read: settler-states failed to *take the place* of the other). In my next chapter, I discuss what happens when settler-states do *take place*, and the results are hopelessly horrifying. In prefiguring that discussion with this review of the 'crisis' and the 'insurgency,' I start this story of canadian history with two

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[130] Cronlund and Anderson, *Seeing Red*, 11.

examples whereby genocide, colonialism, and imperialism were themselves evicted from Indigenous and Iraqi spaces.[131]

Narrative of the so-called 'oka crisis'

The community of Kanehsatake is the treatied land of the Mohawk people who had long used the geographical region as a homeland, hunting territory, and ceremonial burial site.[132] In 1961, the community council of Oka pursued plans to build a golf course upon this land, and Mohawk representatives of the community immediately engaged in a legalistic defense of their territory.[133] While the bureaucracy of the Office of Native Claims sidelined this resistance movement, the golf course was constructed. In 1977, the Mohawk reissued the legal claim against this abridgement of their rights as sovereign peoples. In another long and drawn out red-tape affair, the Office of Native Claims denied the validity of the Mohawk position based primarily on the grounds that their claim was filed incorrectly, not that it was illegitimate.[134] In 1989, the mayor of Oka announced city plans to expand the illegal golf course by adding nine more holes. Still further, he announced his intention to have a large portion of the pine forest (the Pines) at

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[131] The historical reality of these resistance movements ensures a certain ontological possibility for their reiteration in the future, and this is another reason why I chose to select two more or less failed examples of *taking place*.

[132] See Taiaiake Alfred, *Heeding the Voices of our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism* (Boston: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 41-44 and 123. Also, see Alanis Obomsawin's *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (National Film Board of Canada, 1993).

[133] Craig Maclaine, *This Land is Our Land: The Mohawk Revolt at Oka* (Marxville: Optimum Publishers, 1990), pp. 13.

[134] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. Also, see L. Pindera and G. York, *People of the Pines: The Warriors and the Legacy at Oka* (Toronto: McArthurt and Co. Publishing, 1991), pp. 29.

Kanehsatake cut down so that a middle-class housing project could be constructed.[135] The mayor did not meet with nor consult representatives of the Mohawk Nation, and used the findings of the Office of Claims to justify his failure to inform the community of Kanehsatake of his intention to tear down their forest and build a golf course and condominiums on the sacred burial ground of their ancestors.[136] Having exhausted all available legal avenues, a handful of Mohawk and Indigenous activists began to gather in the Pines on 10 March 1990.

A small log cabin in the pine forests of Kanehsatake thereafter served as a gathering place and community locus of discussion for those concerned with the ongoing issue.[137] Over the next few months, this gathering place grew in size, strength, community, spirit, and purpose. Barricades were erected to prevent the bulldozing of the Pines while negotiations lurched forward.[138] On 11 July, La Sûreté du Québec (SQ) attempted a sudden and violent invasion of the territory and a forced dispersal of the stand-off. Tear-gas canisters and flash-bang grenades were fired into to the crowds of Mohawk men, women, and children.[139] The SQ used the same "crowd control" tactics employed by provincial and national policing institutions at Restigouche, Lac Barriere, and Burnt Church, all sites of Indigenous resistance.[140] Although accounts differ with respect to whom was the originator of the gunfire, a .233 caliber "full metal jacket" round

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[135] *Ibid.*
[136] Pindera and York, *People of the Pines,* 34.
[137] *Ibid,.* 69.
[138] Maclaine, *This Land is Our Land,* 20.
[139] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*.
[140] These tactics are non-lethal crowd control techniques utilizing tear gas, flashbang grenades, and truncheons engaging in pain-compliance techniques in order to subdue and disperse crowds (such as Mikmaq crowds assembling to protest the removal of their rights to fisheries and natural development). One can see these tactics in effct in Alanis Obomsawin's *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (National Film Board of Canada, 1993).

struck Corporal Marcel Lemay of the SQ, killing him almost instantly.[141] Hearing of this assault and firefight, in solidarity the Mohawk peoples of the community of Kahnawake shut down the Mercier Bridge that connected the area to Montreal, creating another site of resistance, tension, and potential violence.[142]

Bringing in the national police force did little to ease tensions or bring the crisis any closer to a conclusion. On 8 August 1990, premier of quebec Robert Bourassa invoked section 275 of the *Canadian National Defense Act*, allowing for the canadian military to be legally called upon to address and resolve a provincial issue.[143] The 22nd royal regiment of the canadian army (the "Van Doos") thereafter imposed surveillance and checkpoints upon all roads into Kanehsatake, excluding the Mercier Bridge that remained in the hands of the Warriors.[144] The Indigenous peoples of the Mohawk Nation and other First Nations – including those who reside in the united states - traveled to Kanehsatake to declare their support for or demonstrate their solidarity with the Mohawk under siege.[145] Indigenous peoples across north america saw the events at oka as part of a broader "pan-Indian" or "supra-tribal" issue.[146] Barbed-wire encampments were set up by canadian military forces, and bayonets were fixed to Colt Canada C7 assault rifles. Leviathan Light Armoured Vehicles (LAV-III's) fitted with machine gun turrets and

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[141] Pindera and York, *People of the Pines,* 34.
[142] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. For a discussion of the differences between the Kanehsatake and Kahnawake context of the stand-off, see Gail Guthrie Valaskasis (Chippewa), *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary Native Culture* (Waterloo: Wilfred University Press, 2005), pp. 37-40.
[143] Pindera and York, *People of the Pines,* 34.
[144] *Ibid 35*
[145] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*.
[146] For a fantastic account of the effects of the Oka Crisis on Indigenous nationalism and activism, see Taiakaike Alfred's *Heeding the Voices of our Ancestors,* as well as *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto* (Boston: Oxford Universty Press, 2008).

autocannons sat just beyond the barbed-wire.[147] This was the level of violence for which the canadian military prepared itself at Oka, seeming to qualify understandings of the isolated event as a much broader issue.

For seventy-eight days, the stand-off stretched on while negotiations remained largely stagnant, and guarded. Prime minister Brian Mulroney called the Warriors "terrorists," and quebec premier Robert Bourassa stated that "the toughest challenge for any government in the western world, in our world, is to defend democracy against people who do not believe in democracy."[148] Heather Smyth argued that the media's "strategy of labeling the Warriors as criminals and terrorists permitted the state to take a strong stance against what it called offensive, rather than defensive, moves."[149] Cronlund and Anderson note that one strand of colonial reporting "focused on the military and heaped praise upon it, again as a way of sanctioning colonial-style behaviour (despite the fact that the canadian military was used against domestic civilian protestors) without necessarily attacking Natives."[150]

On 26 September 1990, the Mohawk Warriors sought to peacefully end the standoff by burning their weapons and walking out of the Pines unarmed – although the blockade at the Mercier Bridge still controlled the flow of traffic. The military did not accept this peaceful resolution, and instead chose to forcefully apprehend all people

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[147] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. One can see this documentary a canadian military sergeant aggressively lamenting the Mohawk warriors for allegedly assaulting one of the LAV-IIIs with an egg.
[148] Quoted in Heather Smyth, "The Mohawk Warrior: Reappropriating the Colonial Stereotype" in *The Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies No.* 3 (Spring 2000): pp. 65.
[149] *Ibid*., 65.
[150] Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson, *Seeing Red: A History of Native Americans in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), pp. 11.

leaving the camp. The savage beating and vicious treatment of these Mohawk men, women, and children can be seen in Alanis Obomsawin's documentary film *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance* (1993), wherein a fourteen year old girl was bayoneted in the chest while protecting her baby sister.[151] Over 150 Mohawk people were charged with criminal offenses, though only two very minor charges would stick.[152] Media coverage across canada was by no means monolithic, though studies of a very empirical persuasion show that dominant ideologies of sovereignty, democracy, and terrorism coloured the interpretation of events in a broad and generalized sense.[153] Years after the crisis, a wide array of scholarship has argued that the spiritual or psychic revival of Mohawk or Indigenous nationalism was a consequence of the stand-off and the blockade.[154] Moreover, the 'crisis' in many ways gave rise to the 1996 Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and ushered in a new paradigm of Native and newcomer relations in canadian history.[155]

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[151] Obomsawin, *Kanehsatake: 270 Years of Resistance*. Also, see Dheensaw, Cleve. "Trip of a Lifetime: Waneek Horn-Millers Journey from the Anguish of Oka to the Sydney Olympics is an Inspiration for all Canadians, Not Least our Youngest Citizens." *Times - Colonist*, May 04, 2001.
[152] Ronald "Lasagna" Cross and Gordon "Noriega" Lazore were the two Mohawk Warriors charged and processed as criminal offenders by the canadian government.
[153] Chares Stewart, Master's Thesis: "The Mohawk Crisis: A Crisis of Hegemony" (Ottawa: University of Ottawa, 1993). In this thesis project, Stewart offers a statistical review of the kinds of coverage represented across different canadian newspapers – a strategy whose importance I acknowledge despite my treatment of settler-state corporate newspapers as a monolithic entity of hegemony.
[154] See Taiakaike Alfred's *Heeding the Voices of our Ancestors, Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*, as well as *Wasase: Indigenous Pathways to Action and Freedom* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005). Also, See Amelia Kalant *National Identity and the Conflict at Oka: Native Belongings and Myths of Postcolonial Nationhood* (New York: Psychology Press, 2004). To see the changing shape of the image of the Warrior in canadian colonial context, see Heather Smyth, "The Mohawk Warrior: Reapproproating the Colonial Stereotype" in *The Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies No.* 3 (Spring 2000): pp. 45-80.
[155] I do not mean to suggest that this paradigmatic shift was one that moved my settler-state away from its legacies of colonization, though I wish to underscore the extent to which the 'oka crisis'

Narrative of the so-called 'Iraqi insurgency'

On 17 March 2003, american president George W. Bush declared war on Iraq to the stated disapproval of the United Nations.[156] This decision effectively brought to a close the deadly sanctions regime and genocidal oil for food program, discussed at length in the following chapter.[157] Three days later after Bush declared war, the united states air force began bombing raids as ground troops of coalition forces marched into Iraq. On 1 May 2003, president Bush infamously appeared in a flight suit on an aircraft carrier and declared 'mission accomplished' in Iraq.[158] A month later, riots and demonstrations against american occupation surfaced in Baghdad, as military attacks on united states troops began to occur with increasing frequency.[159] By August of 2003, the 'insurgency' was in full effect as embassies, mosques, marketplaces, and american military outposts became frequent targets of attack. One year after the invasion, american troops were chased out of Fallujah by 'insurgents' who were heavily armed, well organized, and

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made known to canadian government and society the reality of resistance to settler-state hegemony.

[156] This speech is widely available in cyber-space in fulltext format. See http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/mar/18/usa.iraq [accessed April 20th, 2012]. Also, see "Secretary of State Colin Powell's Address to the United Nations Security Council, February 5, 2003" in *The WMD Mirage: Iraq's Decade of Deception and America's False Premise for War*, ed. Craig Whitney, (Chicago: Public Affairs Publishing, 2005).

[157] This is not to be read as an appraisal of the Bush doctrine, merely to remind the reader that the sanctions regime had been in operation for more than a decade until the reoccupation of Iraqi by american forces in 2003.

[158] This stunt is well-known and much maligned. Most famously, the visual imagery was intercut with the theme song for the American Television Series "The Greatest American Hero" in Michael Moore's 2004 documentary film *Fahrenheit 9/11*.

[159] See Zaki Chehab, *Iraq Ablaze: Inside the Insurgency* (London: J.B. Tauris Publishing, 2006), pp. 105-120. Also, see A. Allawi, *The Occupation of Iraq: Winning the War, Losing the Peace* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), pp. 240.

highly motivated.[160] In August and September of 2004, Shiite cleric Muqtada al-Sadr and Sunni leader Abu Musab al-Zarqawi each demonstrated themselves to hold more influence and power in Iraq than did the occupying army of the united states. [161] The former was a figure with nationalist leanings, whereas the latter had a stated interest in the wider conflict between al-Qaeda and america. [162] Sectarian fault lines formed between each resistance movement – al-Sadr's and al-Zarqawi's - though they always converged upon the notion that the american troops did not belong in Iraq, and they were to be treated as hostile invaders.

Since May of 2003, american troops had been conducting raids and stealing family members from their homes and loved ones in a wider effort to stem the tide of the 'insurgency.' In the late months of 2003, these occupying forces began to engage in coordinated wholesale sweeps of entire neighbourhoods in accelerated 'counter-insurgency' tactics, responding to the growth of attacks and guerilla armies. [163] These sweeps occurred constantly, and rounded up thousands of Iraqis without due process – often depositing them in Abu Ghraib prison. [164] In January of 2004, the *al-Mada* newspaper in Baghdad published a story on the corruption of the oil for food program

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[160] Peter Galbraith, *The End of Iraq: How American Incompetence Created a War Without End* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), pp. 4-14. Also, see Patrick Cockburn, *The Occupation: War and Resistance in Iraq* (London: Verso Publishing, 2006).
[161] The most effective documentary in this respect has thus far been Ian Olds and Garret Scott, *Operation: Dreamland* (Rumour Releasing, 2006). Also, See the fourth chapter of Cockburn's *The Occupation* (cited above).
[162] My understanding of the sectarian divisions across these two groups is based upon a reading of Nadje al-Ali and Nicole Pratt, *What Kind of Liberation? Women and the Occupation of Iraq* (Los Angeles, University of California Press), pp. 21-25. This touches upon a "global jihadism vs. Iraqi nationalism" split within the resistance movement that I leave untouched in this study (given that I am not seeking to comment upon Iraqi politics and experience, but my own).
[163] Chehab, *Iraq Ablaze,* 105-120.
[164] Tariq Ali, *Bush in Babylon: The Recolonization of Iraq* (New York: Verso Publishing, 2008), pp. ix-xii.

and uncovered a bureaucratic assault on Iraqi well-being that implicated many american corporations and individuals.[165] In April of 2004, photos depicting the sexual abuse of prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison serve to further delegitimize the occupation in the eyes of Iraqi citizens, and added fuel to the 'insurgency's' fire.[166] A year after this torture scandal, 'insurgents' took part in a full-scale assault on Abu Ghraib prison and killed many US troops in an attack that can only be considered retributive in light of its historical context. Numerous insistences wherein american troops wantonly slaughtered Iraqi men, women, and children might also be cited and reviewed, although they are so numerous that they cannot be fully summarized given the scope of this study.[167] At the time of writing, the provisional governments and electoral processes in Iraq remain problematic, divisive, and tainted by the influence of the american empire. Although Iraqi society can be said to have fractured along sectarian and civil lines, it is also clear that the experience of occupation has caused a renegotiation of Iraqi citizenship, nationalism, and identity.

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[165] Dore Gold, *Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos*, (New York: Dore Gold Books Inc., 2004), pp. 122.

[166] For a historical review of the torture scandal, see Mark Danner, *Torture and Truth:America, Abu Ghraib, and the War on Terror* (New York: New York Book Review Press, 2004.) For critical reviews and the politics of this scandal, see Judith Butler's *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable* (New York: Verso Press, 2009), pp. 90-94.

[167] The Haditha Massacre of November 19th, 2005 is a prominent example in this respect. See Neil MacKay, *The War on Truth or, Everything You Wanted to Know about the Invasion of Iraq but your Governemnt Wouldn't Tell You* (Haverton, PA: Casemate Publishers, 2007), pp. 348-350.

Common Themes

Reading these histories over and against one another serves to show the ways in which invasion and occupation very often have the opposite effect intended.[168] Moreover, this approach helps one to contextualize the ways in which legalistic avenues of resistance – through the canadian government or united nations, for example – are not open to those who would resist the settler-state powers who form and control these institutionalized committees. When the troops of a foreign force march through another nation's spaces, the legal battle is more often implicated than removed from the process. This comparative approach also suggests that each history is inextricably attached to a wider colonial or imperial set of relations that is difficult to remove from the scope of analysis. The most telling similarities of each history, however, emerge from the critical analysis of the newspaper discourses they engendered. In the discourse analysis below, I mean to show that the "colonizer's model of the world" was the same for both resistance movements, and that the racial violence of settler-state colonialism and imperialism was articulated and constructed through the language of gender and sexuality. In other words, newspaper argued that white masculinity should *take the place* of the others' national pattern.

Discourse Analysis

As mentioned in my introduction, I break this discourse into three separate sections to conform with the theoretical model laid out by Andrea Smith (Cherokee), Lee Maracle (Salish Coast Stó:lō), and Paula Gunna Allen (Sioux), arguing that these racial

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[168] This refers loosely to the Marxist "law of unintended consequences."

policies are articulated through the logic of gendered and sexual violence. Ward Churchill (Cherokee) has argued that these sexually violent mentalities surface in absolutely every colonial context, and the extent to which these modes of historical analysis are valuable is therefore localized within their transferability to other scopes and spaces of historical time.[169] This is to say that they must not only explain the construction of the 'Mohawk Warrior' and the 'Oka Crisis,' but also the representation strategies and signifying practices that took place between the lines of newspaper coverage concerning Iraq after the 2003 invasion. In so doing, I propose that these three theoretical models neatly configure and explain canadian settler society's imperialist views on the 'war on terror' as a form and function (or outgrowth) of settler-state colonialism.

Signifying Sexual Savagery

Paula Gunn Allen (Cree) argues that white male colonizers attempt "to mislead white women, and themselves, into believing that their treatment of women was superior to the treatment of the men of the group which they consider savage."[170] In the context of canadian newspaper coverage of the 'oka crisis' and the 'Iraqi insurgency,' Allen's theory certainly holds true. Susan Riley of the *Ottawa Citizen* asked in September 1990: "If the female militants of Oka were the outriders for a culture more egalitarian than our

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[169] Churchill has said that "the colonizer's mentality is a rapist's mentality…and you'll find its counterpart in any colonial context you ever examine." See Yellow Thunder Woman and Robert Dave, *The Canary Effect* (Weapons of Mass Entertainment Productions, 2006), available online at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lD7x6jryoSA [accessed June 12th, 2012].

[170] See Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). Quoted and first encountered in Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 18.

own, why are most of the native organizations in this country led by men?"[171] Journalists made similar assumptions about the constituency of the Iraqi resistance movement. The perception of this dominant discourse suggested that if "Iraqis are free to choose their civil law according to their religious and ethnic beliefs" free from the watchdog of empire, this will "open the door for ultra- religious Shiites to strip women of their rights."[172] Coverage of the 'crisis' and the 'insurgency' was extremely quick to construct the male other as oppressive to the freedom and dignity of women. In one article that was reprinted by the *Windsor Star, Vancouver Sun, Montreal Gazette, and Calgary Herald,* the following passage described a rowdy crowd of Mohawk men shouting down a Mohawk women:

> suddenly, the quiet venom that had been directed towards the governments of Quebec and Canada, the military, media and 500 years of history was redirected toward her…After a tirade that lasted perhaps two minutes, her face drained of color, her eyes welled with sudden tears and her spirit was visibly shaken, eroded and wounded. She left us without a word.[173]

One can see in this passage the ways in which canadian newspaper likened the oppression of women to the resistance movements themselves, reconstructing a legitimate Indigenous grievance against the settler-state as the function of male sexual savagery here described as "venom." This signifying practice went towards constructing the male other

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[171] Riley, Susan. "Unfair fights: Women of Oka under siege too." *The Ottawa Citizen,* Sep 16, 1990.
[172] Salman Rushdie, "A Fair Fight," *Edmonton Journal,* Oct 8 2008, A10**.** While Mr. Rushdie is an accomplished novelist, I refer to him as a journalist in this text given that the article the *Edmonton Journal* printed was not intentionally a work of creative fiction.
[173] Richard Wagamese, "Time must be Given to Free-Thinkers, Too." *The Gazette*, Jan 12, 1992, B2. Reprinted: "Dissenting Voices are Valuable." *The Windsor Star*, Jan 15, 1992, A8. Reprinted: "Every Voice has a Right to be Heard." *The Vancouver Sun*, Jan 13, 1992, A10.. Reprinted: "One People, Many Voices." *Calgary Herald*, Jan 12, 1992, B4.

as a patriarch more violent to women than white men. In the coverage of the 'insurgency,' newspapers towed the same party line, citing a presumed difference in gender relations as proof that the west was better than the rest. This longer passage from a telling article in the *Montreal Gazzette* is worth quoting in full:

> Remember what Laura Bush said recently? "The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women." I couldn't agree more. But I wonder whether Laura Bush has met Martha McSally. Martha McSally- excuse me, Lt.-Col. Martha McSally - is the United States's highest-ranking female fighter pilot. She's a graduate of the Air Force Academy, a champion triathlete, a pilot who flies the search and rescue mission over Iraq. If you crash in Iraq, she comes to get you. But when McSally goes off the base, she is required to wear an abaya, a long black robe covering her from head to foot. The woman who flies a plane is not allowed to drive a car. This leader of men cannot travel without a male escort. The American combat fighter must sit in the back seat. [174]

The message in this passage – and in canadian newspaper coverage of both events in general – was that white men had more to offer women than brown men, and that one could understand each conflict as a function of sexual oppression rather than settler-state aggression. The difference between submission to white male authority and resistance to it was thus the difference being able to do modern things like fly planes and drive vehicles or, more controversially, to sit in the front seat as a women – carrying with it an oblique allusion to the "back of the bus."

To further signify the other as a gendered menace, newspapers suggested that the very essence of non-white polities were sexually savage: "[Aboriginal] Self-

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[174] Ellen Goodman, "Lifting the Veil for U.S. Soldiers." *The Gazette*, Dec 08, 2001, B7.

government," the *Toronto Star* insisted in July of 1990, "should not mean the tyranny of armed youth over elders, women and children."[175] Settler-state violence was touted in both dominant discourses as the only in which this female other might be saved. In ironic and facetious language, it was stated clearly that an Iraqi nation free from white male intervention spelt gendered violence: "apparently, it is better to see women shot before bloodthirsty crowds in sports stadiums under the Taliban than to have the U.S. liberate the nation," mocked the *Gazette.*[176] The rhetorical undertone suggesting that the male other was sexually charged and satisfied through the commission of violence was to be revisited in the reconstructions of Ronald Cross and Abu-Musab al-Zarqawi reviewed below.

Sarah Carter argues in *Capturing Women* that "images of white female vulnerability were exploited to convey the message of the necessity of policing the boundaries between" the colonized and the colonizer.[177] To this end, the *Globe and Mail* quoted a white settler women who claimed to have been psychologically sexually assaulted by Mohawk men. "I was chased out of my house by (Mohawk) Warriors with machine guns," said Susanne Imbeau, "…my children saw that, and now they are scared of Indians."[178] The trope of the white women as a victim of non-white sexual violence was conveyed by Imbeau in no uncertain terms. "We lived here all our lives, and now we feel like we've been raped," Imbeau claimed.[179] Fifteen years after quoting Imbeau on the 'Oka Crisis,' the *Globe* argued that "abandoning Iraq to the tender mercies of beheaders

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[175] Mark Bourrie, "A just Settlement is Still Possible at Oka." *Toronto Star*, Jul 27, 1990, A19.
[176] *Ibid.*
[177] Carter, *Capturing Women,* 12.
[178] *The Globe and Mail* [Toronto, Ont] Aug 2, 1990: A.7.
[179] *Ibid.*

and suicide bombers [was] unthinkable…no matter how tough the job, the United States" had "no option but to put its shoulder to the wheel and carry on."[180] One sees here the construction of the white male settler as a manly, hard-working world citizen with his "shoulder to the wheel," doing the hard work of saving the world from the supposed tyranny of brown men. Not only did the newspaper coverage of each event insist that brown women needed white men to save them from "bloodthirsty crowds", but that white women were also as helpless and rapable as brown women. In the following passage, the *Edmonton Journal* spoke of a young Iraqi woman:

> Browsing the shelves of a cosmetics store in the Karrada shopping district, Zahra Khalid felt giddy at the sight of Alberto shampoo and Miss Rose eye shadow, blusher and powder. Before leaving her house, she had covered her body in a billowing black abaya and wrapped a black head scarf around her thick brown hair. She had asked her brother to drive. She had done all the things that a woman living in Baghdad is supposed to do these days to avoid drawing attention to herself…Life has become more difficult for most Iraqis since the February bombing of a Shiite Muslim mosque in Samarra sparked a rise in sectarian killings and overall lawlessness. For many women, though, it has become unbearable. As Islamic fundamentalism seeps into society and sectarian warfare escalates, more and more women live in fear of being kidnapped or raped.[181]

The implications of this article are clear: Zahra is happy and has dignity only to the extent that she has a little bit of whiteness in her life, so to speak. Whereas she could presumably wear make-up, fly planes, or drive cars were she living under the rule of the white man, this article suggests that rape, kidnap, and misery are all that she might find in her native Iraq due to the violence and "lawlessness" of the male other. Sexually

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[180] "It is Unthinkable to Give Up on Iraq." *The Globe and Mail*, Jun 25, 2005, A3.
[181] Nancy Trejos, "Women Lose Ground in the New Iraq." *Edmonton Journal*, Dec 17, 2006, D11.

criminalized, “Islamic fundamentalism” is said to “seeping into society” – a rhetorical image that pathologizes Islamic faith as social poison and an anathema to women’s freedom, alleviating the settler of the responsibility for the war to come. As Andrea Smith (Cherokee) wryly observes, “apparently the best way to save brown women is by bombing them.”[182]

This was only a representative selection and analysis of newspaper quotations that constructed male others as sexual savages in each historical context.[183] There were countless articles written by white male (and female) canadian journalists that demonized the veil, Shariah Law, and Islamic faith as unfit for modern women.[184] One must remember that all of these articles on the ‘insurgency’ were produced within a socio-political climate of extreme xenophobia and ‘war on terror’ inspired paranoia about ‘Islamic terrorism.’ Similarly, the ‘oka crisis’ and the newspaper discourse encircling it endlessly spoke of the FLQ crisis, making mostly unapt comparisons between the two declarations of martial law in canadian history. In any event, the image of the lawless and savage ‘indian’ was certainly called upon to inform the coverage of the ‘oka crisis.’ More

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[182] Smith, *Conquest*, 13.

[183] For further articles on the ‘oka crisis’ that constructed Native men as sexual savages, see "Proposal could End Oka Siege." *The Windsor Star*, Sep 11, 1990, A1. Also, see "Who's in Charge at Oka?" *Edmonton Journal*, Sep 18, 1992, A12. Also, see "Peaceful Outcome is Possible; Premier's Assurances Reduce Barricade Tension." *The Gazette*, Aug 18, 1990, A2. Finally, see "Other Views: Less Like Warriors than Thugs." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jul 18, 1990, A14. This last article was a reprint from a July 17th piece in *The Gazette* with the same title.

[184] For further articles on the ‘Iraqi insurgency’ that constructed Middle-Eastern men as sexual savages, see Ken Dilanian, "Iraq Delays Insurgent Amnesty: Announcement Cancelled." *National Post*, Jul 06, 2004, A2. Also, see Elizabeth Renzetti, "Fearless in Fallujah." *The Globe and Mail*, Nov 15, 2004, A1. David Warren, "Period of Transition." *The Windsor Star*, Jan 20, 2005, A8. Finally, see Richard Beeston, "Idol Wannabes Defy Extremists." *Calgary Herald*, Sep 03, 2005, A2. Many of these and other articles focused on female opportunities for work and leisure, and often made unwieldy though very telling comparisons between the ‘insurgency’ and Palestinian intifadas.

interestingly, the 'imaginary indian' also seemed to be the ontological or ideological platform upon which settler society fixed the 'Iraqi insurgent,' as his treatment from canadian newspapers was extremely similar to that of the Mohawk Warrior. The male other of each event was said to be the same sexual savage who signified the same terrorist menace, and warranted the same militaristic settler-state response. What is common throughout this coverage of settler-state aggression is the literal and symbolic persistence of *taking place*. Complimenting the more obvious *taking of place* due to military occupation, one can see in the above the ways in which canadian newspapers attempted to configure the female other as having more dignity, freedom, and desirability if under the dominion of white male patriarchy rather than the brown male other.

Engendering the Conflict

After canadian newspapers had constructed the Mohawk Warrior and the 'Iraqi Insurgent' as a sexual savage, they used this Orientalist figure to leverage a wider argument that cast the male other as a total threat that needed to be promptly defeated. This rhetoric underscores Lee Maracle's (Salish Coast Stó:lō) argument that colonizers have always "justified their genocide … in the name of humanity and civilization."[185] In locating the racial problem as an issue of sexual savagery, therefore, canadian newspapers fixed the conflicts at Oka and in Iraq within a "clash of civilizations" model wherein only one culture could survive the interaction. The rejection of canadian sovereignty by Mohawk peoples and the resistance to american imperial hegemony in Iraq were each recast as threats to the whole of humanity, civility, freedom and

[185] Maracle*, I am Women*, 31.

democracy, and the modern world. In this way, the "sexual savage" became a rhetorical tool with which to engender further conflict under the patriarchal and sexually violent logic of Orientalism.

"The fundamental division" at oka, insisted the *Ottawa Citizen,* "is not between individual men and women (or even natives and whites) but between two approaches to conflict: on one side, a sterile and futile resort to armed confrontation, and on the other a reliance on conciliation, compromise and common sense."[186] In 1990, the *Toronto Star* interviewed an RCMP police officer, who described the Mohawks in this shockingly racist light: "There are probably 40 of them at the core and they are the renegades…the law means nothing to them unless it's in their own interests. They're troublemakers and they should be dealt with like the Black Panthers were."[187] In referring to the Black Panthers, the journalist colours the resistance at oka with the same ambiguous undertones of sexual tension that underscored the ways in which white men viewed the political and military movements of powerful Black men. The dominant discourse of canadian newspapers suggested that the 'Iraqi Insurgent' needed to be "dealt with" in a similar fashion and for similar purposes. John Gormely of the *Star-Phoenix,* for example, wrote that "*Our* culture-- expressed in respect for human rights and the rule of law – is seen by these [insurgent] radical nut bars as consumerist, wasteful, pornographic and indulgent [emphasis mine]."[188] Savagery was cast as a disrespect for legal authority and a hatred of modernity. The *Edmonton Journal's* Lorne Gunter wrote in March of 2004 that "if Iraq

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[186] *The Ottawa Citizen* [Ottawa, Ont] Sep 16, 1990: A12.
[187] "Heroes Or Thugs? There Isn't a Consensus among Native People." *Toronto Star*, Nov. 24, 1990, A2.
[188] John Gormley, "Depravity of Al-Qaida must be Stopped." *Star - Phoenix*, May 14, 2004, A2.

were not the reason, the Islamists would find some other reason, plain or obscure, to attack us. They are so irrational and hate-filled they don't need a logical reason."[189] Each conflict was seen as one in which white male violence absolutely had to be used to avert greater bloodshed that was being caused by barbarism and undertaken for irrational childlike reasons. Because of the alleged sexual savagery and racial atavism of the other, the "white man's burden" became the violence of military invasion.

The Orientalist discourse of canadian newspapers suggested that the problems of Iraqi and Indigenous peoples only had white solutions, and that canadians could blame the male other for causing us to invade him. The *National Post*, for example, suggested that "by abrogating all moral standards … Arab and Muslim leaders initiated a process of moral collapse that has ended by soaking their own societies in blood. The terror they intended to inflict only upon others has rebounded with a hundred times greater horror upon their own lands."[190] According to the *Montreal Gazette* in September of 2001, the terrorist other "was no less dangerous and barbaric than the Nazis" and signified a potential "Holocaust on a world scale" if left unchecked by the civilizing mission of the West.[191] Oka was written about in similar terms of totality, finality and barbarity. In July of 1990, the *Star* was cold and cutting in this colonial logic: "the fact remains that there are nearly 2,000 heavily armed men locked in the siege of a village containing women and children. If Canada hasn't got the message that we're at a point where drastic

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[189] Lorne Gunter, "Terrorist Bombings all the More Reason to Wipe Out Al-Qaeda:" *Edmonton Journal*, Mar 31, 2004, A12.
[190] David Frum, "Blowing Up their Own Civilization." *National Post*, Oct 12, 2004, A14.
[191] Frederick Krantz, "Destroy Terrorisms Support Structures." *The Gazette*, Sep 18, 2001, A12.

measures have to be taken, then a bloodbath looms."[192] "Two people have died, [and] time is running out," said an *Ottawa Citizen* journalist, "*We* have to resolve the question for *all* native communities: who has the *right and power* to govern? [emphasis mine]"[193] "That issue of jurisdiction, at Akwesasne and in all native communities," continued this article in alarmist rhetoric, "must be faced decisively, and soon. The alternative will be bloodshed on a much larger scale."[194] Referring to the civil war in Iraq caused to no small degree by the american invasion, *The National Post* reported "If they can stop using the specter of violence as a negotiating strategy, then they might even be able to abort the growing Shiite violence against them before it consumes the country, destroying the clerically-backed effort to create a functioning democracy."[195] Two trends of the wider discourse emerge in these selected quotations: first, the totalizing of the conflict as an ultimate battle of wills; second, the notion that it was up to white men to govern the other, to impose democracy and to decide the fate or future of another people. With the "common sense" view so sharply contrasted to the others' perspective, canadian newspapers actively implicated themselves within the fabric of these histories by openly calling for more bloodshed.

As bombs began to drop on Baghdad, the *Gazette* reported: "People of the free world should open their eyes and understand that what the extremists from the Muslim world really want is to impose their religion and totalitarian laws on all those who currently live in democracies." In the same article, it was argued that war must be waged

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[192] Mark Bourrie, "A just settlement is still possible at oka. *Toronto Star,* Jul 27, 1990, A1.
[193] *The Ottawa Citizen* [Ottawa, Ont] May 3, 1990: A.4.
[194] *Ibid.*
[195] Marc Gerecht, "The Ultimate Terrorist." *The National Post*, Jun 15, 2006, A24.

immediately, or "it will be too late, because we will be living in a country with no freedom of speech, no freedom of assembly, no freedom of the press, no right to vote for the party of our choice and only one state religion, just like all the Muslims who are living under such oppressed conditions in many Arab countries today."[196] "It is difficult to imagine them participating peacefully in a democratic process," wrote the *National Post*, and one has to check the footnotes to discover which "them" – Iraqi or Indigenous - is here being referenced.[197] In one very interesting article printed by the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1993, journalist David Harris argued that "The New York World Trade Centre bombing opens a brutal chapter in terror warfare and carries a stern message for Canadians. No longer are civilian targets in North America off limits in the worldwide terror offensive."[198] This article continue in an alarmist rhetoric too telling to be quoted selectively:

> Aboriginal issues will inspire other single-issue violence. Native extremists linked to the Oka crisis are thought by some security officials to be stockpiling weapons -- from heavy machine guns to armor-piercing shells and armored personnel vehicles -- for terrorist warfare. Terror-supporter Moammar Gadhafi even met pro-Warrior Mohawk Nation Office representatives in Libya in 1991 to give them $250,000 and the Moammar Gadhafi Human Rights Award. But public sympathy for aboriginal grievances has clouded this as a terrorist issue and prevented timely government intervention.[199]

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[196] *Ibid*.
[197] K. Dilanian, "Iraq delays insurgent amnesty: Announcement cancelled," *National Post*, June 12 2004, A2.
[198] David Harris, "Domestic Terrorism Imminent Threat." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Mar 02, 1993, A9.
[199] *Ibid.*

The connection of the 'imaginary indian' to the issue of 'Islamic terrorism' is not even subtextual in this passage. Doubly so at the time of writing – when Moammar Ghadafi has been deposed and killed with the strength of NATO militarism – this conflation of "aboriginal issues" with "terrorist warfare" is rather revealing. More interesting, for my purposes however, is the way in which this article shows the paranoia of "stockpiling weapons" of mass destruction, as well as the phrase "Native extremists linked to the Oka Crisis," which recalls notions of 'Islamic extremists linked to the 9/11 attacks.' After the 2003 invasion of Iraq on these two main principles – weapons of mass destruction and links to terrorism – this open and direct restatement of a "clash of civilizations" thesis was common stuff in coverage of the occupation of Iraq. Consider the following passage from an article titled "Terrorism's Roots Stretch Far Beyond Iraq":

> But if the experts are right, we need to begin by considering the hypothesis that the jihad against the West is really just part of a larger war within Islam itself. It's important to remember the magnitude of the rise and fall of Islamic civilization from its cultural and imperial heights of 1,200 years ago to the retrenched insularity of recent centuries. The subordination of Islamic culture in the modern world has led to deep- rooted anger and resentment over the failure of the Muslim world to reconcile modernity with faith.[200]

Again, one sees in this newspaper discourse the notion that the lack of civility and modernity among the targeted populations is the cause of their suffering and reactionary violence.[201] The male other becomes represented as an embittered, sexually aggressive

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[200] "Terrorism's Roots Stretch Far Beyond Iraq." *The Gazette*, Aug 01, 2005, A14.

[201] For further articles that explained Indigenous resistance at 'oka' as a total, sexual threat that required full-scale extermination, see Irwin Block, "Oka Holdout Wants Paid Leave Extended; Indian Affairs Considering Request." *The Gazette*, Sep 11, 1990, A1. Also, see Andre Picard, "Oka Under Siege: Residents are Losing both Business and their Patience After being Chased from their Homes because of a Dispute Over Land it has Rights Too, Village Says," *The Globe and Mail*, Aug 02, 1990, A7. Also, see Robert McKenzie, "Bourassa's Hesitation Over Oka Puts

savage who is determined to destroy the whole of civilization – a specter-threat or looming menace that must be absolutely and wholly dominated and destroyed.[202] Moreover, one can also see in these quotations the curious notion that the "stockpiling of weapons" or violent behaviour on part of the male other was in response to some sort of inferiority complex or sexual dysfunction. This curious dualism in the discourse simultaneously defined the 'crisis' and 'insurgency' as an ultimate threat to white and brown men and women; however, the final and perhaps the most obvious trend was the double-backed contradictory treatment of the male other as really not all that threatening in the face of the overwhelming superiority of white men.

Making Mockery of Masculinity

In order to reconfigure each movement as a function of male sexual savagery, canadian newspapers centred the stories of two male others in their coverage of each event: Mohawk Warrior Ronald "Lasagna" Cross and 'Iraqi Insurgent' Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. Employing what Stuart Hall terms "signifying practices and racial representation," newspapers attempted to frame understandings of complex historical

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Him in Nightmarish Dilemma." *Toronto Star*, Aug 16, 1990, A9. Finally, see Ian Macleod, "Oka's Legacy; Two Years Later, Life is Even Worse." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sep 26, 1992, A1.

[202] For further articles that viewed the 'Iraqi insurgency' as a sexual threat and potential end to liberal democracies everywhere, see David Warren, "Majority Rules in Iraq," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Aug 17, 2005, A14. Also, see Johnathan Manthorpe, "Shia, Kurds must Impose Constitution on Sunni." *Star - Phoenix*, Aug 18, 2005, A11. Also, see William Watson, "It's Hard to See what the U.S. could have done Differently," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 23, 2007, A13. Also, see David Warren, "The Hard Way Forward in Iraq." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Dec 13, 2006, A16.Finally, for an article representing an interesting conflation of these issues, see Briggs-Jude, Art Briggs-Jude, "Changing RCMP Uniform a Slap Against Tradition," *The Whig - Standard*, Mar 15, 1990, A1.

events by using individuals who conformed to preconceived stereotypes of the other.[203] For example, both Cross an Zarqawi did not originally live in the communities for whose freedom they decided to fight, and the newspapers focused endlessly on the foreign identity of each man in order to displace each resistant man from his geographical context, thus allowing the white man to appear as the rightful inhabitant of these spaces. This spatial displacement was coupled with a kind of 'time-travelling,' and canadian newspapers sought to make resistance movements of the 'here and now' appear to have emerged from the "anachronistic space" of the 'long ago and far away.' Mocking the necessary hybridity that colonized freedom fighters must take up to effectively resist their colonizers, newspapers attempted to emasculate and delegitimize the terrorist other by characterizing his resistance as performative, suggesting that he was not a real 'indian' or Iraqi because he used modern weaponry, wore sneakers, drank soda pop, consumed alcohol, or partook in any other behaviour that is fixed in a symbolic order of modernity. Canadian newspaper endlessly rehashed stories of Cross and Zarqawi in order to construct themselves as the natural inheritor and controller of Indigenous and Iraqi lands.

Mohawk Warrior Ronald Cross "was so frequently photographed," admitted the *Toronto Star*, "that some days it seemed he was the only Mohawk behind the Oka barricades."[204] Cross was characterized as having arrived at oka exactly because he was a 'drunken indian:' newspapers such as the *Ottawa Citizen* and *Halifax Daily Sun* reported that he "stumbled into the Oka Crisis" and that "Lasagna's Trip to Detox Landed him at

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[203] See Stuart Hall's *Representations: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: Sage Publishing, 1997).
[204] Darcy Henton, "Noble savage image self-serving and naïve,"*Toronto Star,* Dec. 17, 1991, J20.

Oka."[205] *The Globe and Mail* also wrote of Zarqawi's allegiance to the resistance as a function of substance abuse in a fashion similar to Ronald Cross: "Initially a brawling, hard-drinking young man, Mr. al-Zarqawi apparently embraced Islam with the same fervency that he had shown for alcohol."[206] Zarqawi was said to be a "radical nut bar," a "sick and depraved bastard," a "perversion of Islam," "the leader of the thugs," and a producer of "snuff films," at least according to journalist John Gormley of the *Star-Phoenix*.[207] The *National Post* had this to say on the biggest figure of the 'insurgency':

> Zarqawi was Islamist trailer trash, a crude man whose love of violence was unvarnished, organic, perhaps perversely sexual. But Zarqawi was a man of his age: He is a big red dot on the graph charting the Islamic world's moral free fall since modernity began battering traditional Muslim ethics, with ever-increasing effectiveness after World War One.[208]

Again (and again), one sees in coverage of these resistance movements the idea that a stubborn resistance to modernity and a sexual hostility to white male settler supremacy informs the fury of the other. Bodily responsibility is used to signify a political inferiority, and both Cross and Zarqawi were used to explain away the resistance movements with reference to similar stereotypes of "trailer trash" or the 'drunken indian.' The *Star Phoenix* reported on Cross in the following terms:

> To his family and friends, Cross is a carefree party animal who likes to ride his black Yamaha motorcycle, hunt in Ste. Lucie and play golf. When he's partying, he sometimes loses his

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[205] "Warrior Lasagna Says He Stumbled into Oka Crisis." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Apr. 12, 1993. Also, see "Lasagnas Trip to Detox Centre Landed Him at Oka." *Daily News*, Apr. 20, 1993
[206] Paul Koring, "U.S. Fixates on Shadowy Terrorist in Iraq." *The Globe and Mail*, Jun 07, 2005. A.14,
[207] John Gormley, "Depravity of Al-Qaida must be Stopped." *Star - Phoenix*, May 14, 2004, A2.
[208] Marc Gerecht, "The Ultimate Terrorist." *The National Post*, Jun 15, 2006, A24.

> temper - a trait that led to the arrest of Cross and his brother Terry in a bar on Mother's Day.[209]

Mentioning that Cross likes to "play golf" is significant given the context of the 'crisis,' which was largely to do with the planned construction of a golf course on Mohawk territory. It serves to make him look ridiculous, suggesting that he is locked into a losing battle akin to Zarqawi's struggle against the "battering [of] traditional Muslim ethics." More obviously, this quotation fixes Cross in the same mentality of the irresponsible sexual savage and the same hetero-patriarchal role of the dysfunctional nuclear family member. It appears in this passage as if he cares little for his mother, and preferred to spend mother's day in a pub. This call upon the notion of the family model and the trope of the abusive failed father was used to suggest that white men would do well to *take the place* of the male other.

The *Toronto Star* was less ambiguous in citing crossings-over between masculinity, sexuality, and fatherhood, reporting that "many young extremists are in search of a commanding authority - one that compels respect, and lends a sense of dignity to their lives."[210] While Zarqawi waged war in Iraq, the *Gazette* suggested that sexual frustration had a lot to do with the wider movement he was said to represent, asking "were the [terrorists] all so seriously maladjusted to modern Britain, and found it so hard to get girlfriends that they went down the Tube in search of 72 black-eyed ones of paradise that some Islamic scholars believe to be correctly identified not with virgins but

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[209] Elizabeth Thompson, "`He's Not a Terrorist'; `My Son Didn't Come here to Fight as a Warrior': Lasagna's Mother." *The Gazette*, Sep 30, 1990, A6.
[210] Olivia War, "Behind a fatal attraction to extremism; experts probe motivation of fanatics seductive authority in cult-like groups," *Toronto Star,* July 20, 2005, A4.

with raisins?"[211] The same article warned that the west and Israel had to stop men like Zarqawi "from nurturing these vipers in their bosoms," and pumped out homoerotic language by openly asking: "When is someone going to get 18th century on Islam's medieval ass?"[212] Articles also spoke of "the carnage that this most savage of terrorists *fathered* [emphasis mine]."[213] That Mohawk men were also failures as fathers was outlined in no uncertain terms. "Drug and alcohol abuse have increased [since the stand-off]…" noted the *Citizen*, "Family violence has escalated. More children are failing at school. And a generation of youths has developed a deep mistrust of authority in general and the feared and hated Quebec Police Force in particular."[214] More articles than I am capable of managing or representing spoke to Ronald Cross' use of alcohol, cocaine, and history of violence, and his failure to appear in court due to substance issues was reported on more heavily than any other infraction.[215] One article that referred to Cross as being dressed up "in warrior costume" noted that, "when he's partying, he's sometimes known to have a temper," and that he "has never married."[216] This inclusion of his romantic history was intended to challenge his masculinity and underscore the male other's

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[211] "This Isnt War - its Plain Murder:" *The Gazette*, Jul 24, 2005, D8.
[212] *Ibid.*
[213] Marc Gerecht, "The Ultimate Terrorist." *The National Post*, Jun 15, 2006, A.24.
[214] Ian Macleod, "Oka's Legacy; Two Years Later, Life is Even Worse." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sep 26, 1992, A1.
[215] For further examples, see Catherine Buckie, "Oka Verdict: Two Guilty, One Cleared Lasagna, Noriega might Get 14 Years." *The Gazette*, Jan 23, 1992, A1. Also, see Eloise Morin, "Warrior Leader Appears in Court." *Toronto Star*, Oct 04, 1990, A12. Also, see Peter Master, "The Oka Trial; what Began with a Bang is Going Out with a Whimper." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 09, 1992, A2. Also, see Sue Montgomery, "Rein in Kanesatake Thugs." *The Gazette*, Apr 04, 2004, D8. Also, see "Booze made Mohawk Miss Court." *Toronto Star*, Jul 10, 1991, E9. Also, see "Drink made Warrior Miss Court." *Toronto Star*, Jul 10, 1991, E9. Also, see "Oka Warrior Beats Bail-Jumping Charge." *The Windsor Star*, Jul 31, 1991, A2.
[216] E. Thompson, "Hes no militant to his pals: Gun-toting lasagna just plain ronnie to family and friends." *The Vancouver Sun,* Oct 2 1990, A10.

presumed inability to function in the hetero-nuclear family model. Another article reported upon Cross in the following light:

> Ironically he had left a job in his native New York City as a high-steel worker to come to Oka for a rest and to visit his mother just before the crisis started. When Cross can, he says he wants to move to a place where he won't be recognized and can start over with his wife and their newborn child.[217]

What is apparently "ironic," according to this passage, is that Cross would have been able to financially support his family had he stayed away from the 'oka crisis' or controlled the "temper" that he is apparently known to have (doubly so when drinking). He is shown in the discourse to be a displaced person with nowhere to raise a family – a complete if "ironic" failure as a father. All of these suggestions of nuclear family and sexual dysfunction served to further construct the male other as a kind of sick joke of masculinity.

Although no connections were explicitly drawn between the feminized 'veil' and the covering of his face (however, I did not research editorials), newspapers lamented Zarqawi for his lack of manliness on camera.[218] "It is cowardly that these killers travel in packs, keep their faces hidden," argued Gormly, echoing the *National Post*'s Anton La

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[217] Sarah Binder, "Court Convicts Two Warriors on 29 Charges from Oka Crisis." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 23, 1992, A9.

[218] For further examples of articles that mocked the masculinity of Zarqawi not included in this discourse analysis, see Sheldon Alberts "Al-Qaeda Beheads U.S. Civilian: Terrorists Post Sickening Video on Internet." *Calgary Herald*, May 12, 2004, A1. Also, see Alan Freeman, "Bombings have all the Hallmarks of Al-Zarqawi." *The Globe and Mail*, Nov 11, 2005, A15. Kim Gamel, "Al-Zarqawi Not Beaten Or Shot while in Custody: U.S. Military; Terror Leader Died of Injuries Consistent with Blast Caused by Bombs Dropped on His Hideout." *Telegraph-Journal*, Jun 13, 2006. A7. Also, see Ellen Knickmeyer, "Al-Qa'ida Claims Control of Iraqi City:" *The Gazette*, Sep 06, 2005, A16. Finally, see "Iraq's Freedom Bound to Qur'an:" *Calgary Herald*, Aug 28, 2005, A18.

Guardia who said that "the 'slaughtering sheik' never showed his face…When he beheaded western hostages, he wore a hood."[219] Cross was discussed as "mugging for the cameras," "playing macho," and creating a "nomme-de-guerre."[220] The *Ottawa Citizen* described his role in the crisis as "strutting by the media with a variety of weapons attached to his camouflage garb," while also fixing him in shifting boundaries of savagery and civility by noting that the "the Mohawk Warrior who personified the Oka crisis of 1990…stands quietly sipping a 7up."[221] In citing the consumption of modern amenities such as soda-pop, canadian newspapers reiterated the central colonial logic of the other "fixed at the shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility" (as they had with the "Yamaha motorcycle" and the relaying of Cross's propensity to "play golf").[222] Citing Cross's consumption of a carbonized beverage served to signify a certain silliness, helplessness, and state of defeat for the other – as if the battles the Mohawk were fighting were lost and won on the basis that soda pop, motorcycles, or golf courses had already conquered them by appealing to their desire for this or that modern frill. To similar ends, *The Toronto Star* found it necessary to report that Abu Musab al-Zarqawi wore "New Balance tennis shoes" in the videos he released of himself.[223] Because sneakers and soda pop correspond to a symbolic order of modernity and the white western self, references to these objects served to displace and alienate Cross and Zarqawi from the legitimate

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[219] A.L. LaGuardia, "Out of hiding, into the line of coalition fire," *National Post,* Sep 14, 2004, A8.
[220] "Mohawk Says He was Caught Up by Accident." *The Vancouver Sun*, Apr 20, 1993, A4.
[221] Ian Macleod, "Oka's Legacy; Two Years Later, Life is Even Worse." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Sep 26, 1992, A1.
[222] Homi K. Bhabba, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition" in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (New York, Columbia University), pp. 115.
[223] Tarek El-Tablawy, "U.S. Mocks Militants Misfire; Pentagon Releases Unedited Footage of Al-Zarqawi General Says it shows Iraqs Al Qaeda Chief cant Operate Gun," *Toronto Star,* May 05, 2006, A4.

context of their own movements. In what is a clear reiteration of the other "fixed at the shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility," the *Toronto Star* argued that 'Iraqi Insurgents' had "lost their cultural anchor and [were] caught between two different cultures."[224]

Most significant in the "Making Mockery of Masculinity was the extent to which newspapers laboured the point that neither of these men were from the communities in question. Pointing often to Cross's Italian ancestry and Zarqawi's Jordanian upbringing was a mechanism by which these movements could be said to have emerged from the 'far away' as well as the 'long ago.' Because Cross had been raised by an "Italian-American mother….in Brooklyn, New York," readers of canadian newspaper coverage of the 'oka crisis' could further fix the event into a spatial plane of alterity.[225] Cross was reported as "cross-scaling Manhattan construction sites as an ironworker (his former occupation)" before "stumbling into the Oka Crisis."[226] Similarly, Zarqawi was described as a "Jordanian-born militant [who] was the leader of…the foreign-fighter wing of the insurgency."[227] His following was referred to elsewhere as "Abu Musab Zarqawi's foreign-led Al-Qa'ida in Iraq."[228] When other articles reported that "U.S. marines are fighting house-to-house through a town near Iraq's border with Syria in an effort to cleanse the area of foreign terrorists," the reference point of al-Zarqawi was used to legitimize the official story which suggested that every militant killed in Iraq was a

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[224] Stewart Bell, "Global Jihad, from the Couch." *National Post*, Jun 06, 2006, A3.
[225] Lasagnas Trip to Detox Centre Landed Him at Oka." *Daily News*, Apr 20, 1993.
[226] "Warrior Lasagna Says He Stumbled into Oka Crisis." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Apr. 12, 1993. Also, see "Lasagnas Trip to Detox Centre Landed Him at Oka." *Daily News*, Apr. 20, 1993.
[227] Mark MacKinnon, "A Severe Blow to Al-Qaeda." *The Globe and Mail*, Jun 09, 2006, A1.
[228] Ellen Knickmeyer, "Al-Qa'ida Claims Control of Iraqi City:" *The Gazette*, Sep 06, 2005, A16.

"foreign fighter." The category of the "Sexual Savage," therefore, was one that was both temporally and spatially constructed: he was "fixed in a non-evolving past," as well as displaced to the Orient of the 'long ago and far away' by virtue of his racial and sexual savagery. He was said to be not as civil or modern as the white settler male and, after further examination, he also failed to even be an authentic other by virtue of his footwear, place of birth, or pass-time preferences.

Conclusion

Coverage of each historical event in canadian newspapers reveals very little about *what really happened* during the 'oka Crisis' and the 'Iraqi Insurgency.' What it does reveal, however, is the way in which sexual violence was used as the form and function of each colonial and imperial project. I assert that the symbolic brutalizing of Indigenous and Iraqi men as sexual savages, failed fathers, and inauthentic others went hand-in-glove with the more direct and embodied forms of violence on their bodies. Settler-state hegemony and white male supremacy coloured these colonial conversations, and sketched out a distorted reality in which non-white men were bigger threats to the safety of women than white men. Even a brief reading of these histories and the larger sets of relations that produced them suggests that the opposite is certainly the case: mainly, that white settler male men project their own sexual savagery onto the non-white male Other so as to fix their own senses of self in a symbolic order of civility, modernity, and benevolence. If "we know ourselves as the not-ther," and I contend that we do, then the real historical nature of the white male settler self is revealed in this context to be a very sexually violent and patriarchal categorical identity that has clear intentions of world domination. Interestingly, this is exactly how the boogey-man of the Mohawk Warrior or

'Iraqi insurgent' appears in our own Orientalist discourse. Building further upon these themes in the following chapter, I propose that the above demonstrates to no small degree the ways in which representations of the colonized other act as a mirror – or as an ontological foil – for the colonizer's sense of self. Most significantly for my immediate purposes in this discussion, however, is the heavily demonstrated fact that the image of the 'terrorist' prefigures and predates the 'war on terror' and the events of 11 September 2001. The invasion of Iraq was certainly an imperialist venture, though it was similarly prefigured by a colonial project, and this certainly shows in the Orientalist discourse of canadian newspaper coverage of the 1991 'oka crisis' and the 2003 'Iraqi insurgency."

In *taking the place* of the male other, settler-states attempted to gain paternal politico-economic control over targeted territories. Newspaper discourse reaffirmed the ability of the white male settler to become a disembodied Universal Subject that is "able to take anyone's place."[229] Settler-society thus understood each military invasion of the other as a "racial journey into personhood" that reaffirmed the supreme power, ability, and nobility of white western men. In the classic apologetic posture against sexual violence, newspapers suggested that the other had it coming – that he had asked for it. It must be underscored again that these efforts at *taking place* failed, and neither region discussed in this chapter remains entirely under the thumb of colonial or imperial power at the time of writing. I switch scope of analysis in the following chapter, therefore, to discuss that second step of genocide: *"the imposition of the national pattern of the oppressor."*[230] Whereas the sexual brutalizing of men with the sword and pen of the

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[229] Mohanram, *Black Body,* 4.
[230] Lemkin, *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, 79.

settler-state constituted my concept of *taking place*, I theorize in the following discussion the ways in which settler-states sexually brutalize non-white women through *making space*.

Chapter Three: Making the Space of the Other

Sketching Out Settler Stories about the 'Rez' and a Sanctioned Iraq

When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species.[231]

- Frantz Fanon

From 1990 to 2010, discourses of militarism, masculinity, modernity, and terrorism were very often used to legitimate and naturalize colonization in canada and imperialism in Iraq. These hyper-masculinist *taking place* stories shared a defined set of Orientalist undertones wherein issues of terrorism, man-on-man competition, and modernity play key roles in the construction of a national mythology. Throughout this same twenty-year period, however, military policies of invasion were hardly the sole vectors of violence in the colonial context or imperial realm. Food security, access to clean water, community underdevelopment, and the denial of basic human rights[232] also fundamentally undermined the bodily health and collective well-being of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples. In this chapter, I investigate the stories that settlers told themselves when faced with the realities of humanitarian crises in canada on northern reserves and in the times and spaces of a sanctioned Iraq (15 August, 1991 – March 2003). Touching briefly upon the histories of these crises, I proceed to a discourse analysis that locates in these

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[231] Frantz Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth,* trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1966), pp. 6.

[232] For example, see the United Nations General Assembly, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide* (December 9th, 1948). Specifically: article (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; article (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part.

conversations the same Orientalist undertones I explained in chapter Two, and uncovered in Chapter Three. In concert with the last chapter, this discussion demonstrates that coverage of Indigenous and Iraqi suffering and dispossession was always fixed in the same Orienalist frame that naturalized colonial and imperial domination as modern and progressive – or in other words, as "saving the savage."[233]

Revisiting The Rule of Three

I mirror the previous chapter's methodology and separate my discourse analysis into three sections – or rules – that converge to create a wider frame for understanding the Orientalist story told by canadian newspaper about the Indigenous or Iraqi other from 1990 to 2010. Because I am switching scope of analysis from military histories to humanitarian histories, the contours of these three rules shift slightly to accommodate the discursive change in primary source material. The larger narrative, however, remains largely unchanged: the construction of a wild, lawless Orient inhabited by savage, selfish, violent, and lazy men who treat their women so poorly as to warrant white male settler intervention. In other words, the stories told about northern reserves and a sanctioned Iraq reproduced the colonial trope that brown women needed settlers to save them from brown men. The first section of discourse analysis plots the patterns of the Orientalist construction of space on the 'rez' and in a sanctioned 'Iraq.' I title this section "Neophytes of Modernity" to capture the way in which these spaces were recast as on their way to whiteness, so to speak, and "fixed at the shifting boundaries of barbarity and

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[233] This is a term taken from Dennis Macpherson and Douglas Rabb, *Indian from the Inside: Native American Philosophy and Cultural Renewal* (North Carolina: McFarland and Company Pulishing, 2011). See the section titled "The Save-the-Savages Argument" on page 13. This issue of saving, salvation, or the "white man's burden" is of course a recurring theme in these critical conversations on colonial mythologies.

civility."[234] In the second section titled "Signifying the Sneaky Savage," I retell the story of the Orientalist male other in both contexts, revealing the ways in which he was constructed as a selfish, sinister, failed father and national leader. In the third section titled "Natural Victims," I reveal the ways in which newspaper coverage referred to feminized and infantilized other as wailing beasts of burden, and described their suffering using dehumanizing imagery that was animalistic or closely related to the environment and the 'natural world.' Taken together, these three sections reveal the ways in which the realities of settler-state colonialism and imperialism are reimagined in canadian newspapers to tell a story of white male supremacy. In my conclusion, I place these arguments into a wider discussion and show how these two Orientalist stories of *taking place* and *making space* interplay with one another to reconstruct and reiterate a nation-making mythology and identity-making process that harkens back to tropes and clichés such as the "white man's burden" or "civilizing mission."[235]

From Taking Place to Making Space

Frantz Fanon writes of the colonial world as a "world cut in two," and insists that "if we examine closely this system of compartments, we will at least be able to reveal the lines of force it implies."[236] The "lines of force" I discussed in last chapter were military lines marked by soldiers, and the ways in which relations became expressed between colonizer and colonized were interpersonal conflicts and body-to-body moments of

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[234] The quoted section is from Homi K. Bhabba, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition" in *Colonial Discourse and Postcolonial Theory*, eds. Laura Chrisman and Patrick Williams (New York, Columbia University), pp. 115.
[235] I am recalling Rudyard Kipling's poem the "white man's burden," and also offering an English version of the French expression *mission civilisatrice* (civilizing mission). These cultural justifications for colonization and imperialism are themselves rather recent, having been popular in the modern to late modern industrial capitalist period of European history.
[236] Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth,* 31.

violence. *Taking place* referred in the previous chapter to the narrative strategy used by newspapers to naturalize the occupation of the other's land by suggesting that the national pattern of settler society might literally take the place of Indigenous and Iraqi polities, cultures, and historical traditions. I argue that the Orientalist story told about the 'rez' – the imagined northern reserve – and a sanctioned Iraq might be understood as a tale of *making space*. Although the policies discussed in the narrative sections below were and are violent and led to the destruction of bodies, they did not do so using the interpersonal mode of violence seen at the 'oka crisis' or during the 'Iraqi insurgency.' Rather, targeted peoples became victims of the spaces in which they lived, as settler-states overdetermined food security, access to clean water, and access to medicine for Indigenous and Iraqi peoples. In the canadian context, this has been referred to as "Making Native Space," by historian Cole Harris, and I mean to expand this theoretical model to the psychic dimension of white settler society as concerns both the 'rez' and Iraq.[237] Whereas Harris "has tried to tell a story about the colonial construction of space in British Columbia," it is my goal in this chapter to tell a story about the same construction of space in the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq from 1990 to 2010.

Making White and Native Spaces in the canadian northern Reserve

Although canadian confederation took place in 1867, the history of making Native and White spaces certainly predates this event. The British passed the Royal Proclamation of 1763 in an effort to organize relations between First Nations and non-

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[237] See Cole Harris, *Making Native Space*: *Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002). Also, Andrea Smith also offers a similar theory in her description of "environmental racism." See Smith, *Conquest*, 55-78: Chapter Three entitled "Rape of the Land."

Native settlers.[238] The Royal Proclamation "dealt with a variety subjects including the boundaries of the new colonies and their constitutions. Fully one-third of this document dealt with Amerindians and their lands."[239] While the Proclamation asserted British sovereignty over a vast region of Native space, "concurrently it declared the land to be in the possession of the Indian peoples who occupied it. It also forbade non-Indians to enter the region."[240] Clearly, this was a defensive act of empire made in haste and fear of Native military aggression. What is sinister about the Proclamation is that it paid formal lip-service to ideals of humanitarianism and peacekeeping but these words were really placeholders or euphemisms for genocidal and colonial intentions. I argue that this is a recurrent theme in this colonial history, and aim to expose this chilling double-speak in canadian newspaper coverage of humanitarianism on the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq.

Many historians point out that in the decades after 1763, the sets of relations between Natives and newcomers in the colonies of upper and lower canada shifted from military alliances to a more assimilative bureaucratic approach. Historian J.R. Miller calls this a "shift of responsibility for Indian affairs from military to civilian officials," and argues that:

> before 1830, the men who deal with Indians had acted diplomatically, treating the Indians as powerful nations with which they had to parley to achieve agreement on a course of action. This diplomatic

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[238] Richard Cole Harris, *The Reluctant Land: Society, Space, and Environment in Canada Before Confederation* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), pp. 123.
[239] Robert J. Surtees, "Land Cessions, 1763-1830*"* in *Aboriginal Ontario*, eds. Edward Rogers and Donald Smith (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994), pp. 93.
[240] *Ibid*.

> mode had been a natural outgrowth of the underlying character of the relationship – military alliance.[241]

This shift accelerated in the aftermath of the War of 1812 and was complete by the 1830s when Britain transferred responsibility for First Nations to the canadas.

As I briefly touched upon in my first chapter, this shift in relations also corresponded with the 1821 merger of the HBC and the NWC and the arrival of increasing numbers of white women in the North West.[242] The displacement of Native and Métis peoples from the political and economic order of pre-confederation canada had much to do with each of these affairs.[243] Building upon the arguments of spatial configuration in the previous two chapters, I argue that the period between 1821 and 1885 constituted a full-scale marginalization of Native peoples from the centre to the periphery of the canadian colonial project.[244] This is certainly the case not only in the political and economic realms, but in the more literal geographical realm, as well.

In the 1840s and 1850s, as the settler-state moved towards confederation, various bureaucratic and legislative efforts in the canadas were undertaken to facilitate white settlement, and thus identifying and defining who was an 'indian' became

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[241] J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 125.
[242] See David Morrison, *Profit and Ambition: The North West Company and the Fur Trade, 1779-1821* (Ottawa: Canada Museum of Civilization Corporation, 2010), pp. 123.
[243] See Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race, and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001). Also, see Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870* (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983). Also, see Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (London: McGill University Press, 1997). Finally, see Caroline Podruchny and Laura Lynn Peers, *Gathering Places: Aboriginal and Fur Trade Histories* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).
[244] See Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999).

increasingly important.[245] As a result, in the nineteenth century governments passed a series of acts which quantified indianness in canada. The first, enacted ten years before confederation in 1867 in upper canada, was entitled the "Act to Encourage the Gradual Civilization of Indian Tribes in this Province, and to Amend the Laws Relating to Indians." The "Gradual Civilization Act" offered enfranchisement to Native peoples, or the nullification of their rights as Indians and their legal classification as a pre-confederation canadian citizen. Native women, however, were excluded from this "largesse" and their status became increasingly defined in relation to their male counterparts. The "Gradual Civilization Act" provided that only Indian men might be effectively civilized and enfranchised. The "criterion included the ability to read and write in either French or English, freedom from debts, and sound moral character attested to by a local clergyman," and this held First Nations Peoples to a higher standard of scrutiny than their non-Native counterparts.[246] Such policies held the ultimate goal of turning Native peoples into clones of British colonial subjects by transplanting cultural, legal, and political models, *but also gendered models of relationship between men and women*. It was insisted upon that Native people treat each other and the land the same way that white people did, and these acts encouraged non-communal modes of land ownership that mirrored patriarchal models in Europe. The goal – or at least the effect - of such legislation was to weaken Indigenous solidarity and bully them economically,

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[245] These were the *An Act to authorize the setting apart of Lands for the use of Indian Tribes in Lower Canada* in 1850 and *An Act for the proextion of the Indians in Upper Canada from imposition and the property occupied by them from trespass and injury* in 1851. See Kathleen Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada: Citizens Minus* (Advisory Council on the Status of Women Indian Rights for Indian Women: 1978), pp. 25-26.

[246] Winona Stevenson, *"*Colonialism and First Nations Women in Canada" in *Scratching the Surface: Canadian, Anti-Racist, Feminist Thought*, edited by Enakshi Dua and Angela Robertson (Toronto: Women's Press, 1999), pp. 68.

politically, and bureaucratically to participate in the newly forming canadian state.[247] These acts were not the only mechanisms by which the pre-confederation canadian government spelled out relations with First Nations peoples. One of the main goals of the newly confederated settler-state was to consolidate and operationalize its relations with Native peoples and thus all legislation pertaining to indians was consolidated in 1876 under the indian act. The Northwest Rebellion in 1885 signified a dangerous shortcoming in the ability of the settler state to maintain this violent set of relations without serious defense mechanisms and buffer zones. Towards the consolidation of these relations – and the mapping out of canadian spaces according to race- the indian act served to cement colonialism in the very fabric of Native and newcomer frames of interaction.

Given that land ownership, inheritance, and right to resources was a central area of contestation between Native peoples and the canadian settler-state, gender relations needed to be sorted out and the indian act and its subsequent amendment undertook this task with great vigour. For instance, though many Indigenous nations, cultures, and peoples understood themselves in a matrilineal line of inheritance, the indian act said simply that status was to be conferred through the male line only.[248] Moreover, the act stated that indian women who married white men lost their status, whereas indian men would retain status and even confer it upon their spouses if marrying white women.[249] Still further, indian women who married indian men from other tribes or band councils lost membership to their natal communities and became members of their husbands'

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[247] See J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), pp. 124-147.
[248] Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada*, 11.
[249] *Ibid*.

band.[250] Kathleen Jamieson writes that, much like European society, where women were regarded as mere extensions of their fathers and later their husbands, when a Native woman married a non-Native man she "cease[d] to be an Indian within the meaning of any stature or law in Canada."[251] Jamieson notes that "the extra dimension of institutionalized sexual inequality ensured for Indian women in the mid-nineteenth century a very special place right at the bottom of this hierarchical structure."[252] I underscore the gendered sets of relations prescribed and enforced by the indian act because they were and are extremely important in reference to my articulation of *making space*. It is key to understand that the indian act did not only define the space in which Native bodies existed, but also policed and controlled the ways in which these gendered bodies interacted with one another in their own communities. Because Indigenous peoples so heavily resisted these outsider reformulations of culture, society, and family, the canadian government attempted to supplement this legislation – adding new clauses and stipulations to the indian act towards the assimilation of First Nations People and the appropriation of their land.

Additional amendments to the indian act were passed frequently throughout the early 20th century, and their purpose was most often to secure further control of Native spaces for the settler-state. In 1911, for example an amendment to the act allowed for corporations and municipal settler city authorities to appropriate Indigenous lands and reserve spaces for the purpose of constructing infrastructure, signifying a further

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[250] *Ibid.* Also, see Tracey Deer's documentary *Club Native*, DVD (National Film Board Productions: 2008).
[251] Jamieson, *Indian Women and the Law in Canada*, 1.
[252] *Ibid*., 5.

detachment of Native agency from space-making policies on the reserve.[253] In 1918, a similar amendment was made to allow these entities to use Native spaces for farming or pastoral purposes.[254] In fact, between 1880 and 2011 there have been more than 20 major amendments to the indian act, and all of these amendments were pursued to work in concert with the numbered treaty system.

In northwestern ontario Treaties No. 5 and 9 were signed in 1875 and 1905 and 1906, with adhesions in 1929 and 1930. These treaties provided for the continued carving up canadian spaces. Although there is a certain degree of deviation between the written texts, the numbered treaties negotiated the terms of land use and structured the reserve system whereby Native people were relocated to static and rigidly defined geographical spaces away from white settlement.[255] Very often, the locations of these reserves were determined by canadian government officials with little consideration of access to clean water, building materials, or food resources. The ways in which these spaces were to be produced and developed was heavily overdetermined by European patriarchal models of land ownership and inheritance along the male-line of succession. The histories of the treaty system, the indian act, and reserve space shaped native bodies – it determined who could use the land and live on it and who had access to food, water, health care and other social services. These colonial policies ensured that Native peoples suffer disproportionally from health issues and – as a corollary – that settlers in city-spaces

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[253] For a good account of this amendment see Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Victoria: UBC Press, 1992), pp. 20-21.
[254] For a good account of this amendment, see Claudia Notzke, *Aboriginal People and Natural Resources in Canada* (Concord: Captus Press, 1994), pp. 175.
[255] For an excellent historical and legal review of one of these numbered treaties, see *The True Spirit and Original Intent of Treaty Seven*, eds, Treaty 7 Elders and Tribal Council with Sarah Carter, Dorothy First Rider, and Walter Hildebrandt (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

enjoy a much higher standard of living. Although the imagined 'rez' that I sketch out in my discourse analysis is an Orientalist composite of Native spaces throughout northern canada, I make reference to the present day realities of three reserves which lie in close proximity to my own community to demonstrate the relationships between colonial policies and Native health.

At the time of writing, Sandy Lake First Nation Reserve in northern ontario has the highest rate of diabetes and medical amputations of any community within the claimed boundaries of canada and the world.[256] The Mishkeegogamang First Nation Reserve is a space in which violent crime occurs at a higher rate than anywhere else in the country.[257] The Pikangikum First Nation Reserve has one of the highest suicide rates in the world, let alone the nation.[258] Simply by virtue of living in one of these spaces, one's chance of an unimaginably painful death is exponentially higher in contrast to other socially produced spaces in the claimed boundaries of canada. This is directly traceable to canada's colonial past and present and its treatment of First Nations peoples as non-citizens. As one can see in the following section, this state of racial and spatial relations appears to have been transferred to the global stage, and replayed between american imperial policy and Iraq spaces and bodies.

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[256] Joseph Hall, "Small Indian Community Battles Diabetes Epidemic." *Toronto Star*, Feb 10, 1997, E7.
[257] North South Partnership for Children in Remote First Nations Communities, *Mishkeegogamang Ojibway Nation Assessment Report*, Jan 7, 2007.
[258] Louis Elliot, "Ontario's Native Suicide Rate one of the Highest in the World," *Canadian Press*, Nov 25, 2007.

The Imperial Production of Space in Iraq

In the wake of the Gulf War, the space of Iraq was a conceptual 'rez' in the sense that its economy and politics were under the vicarious control of a foreign and oppressive power. During the two months of operation dessert storm (January-February of 1991), american jets destroyed water purification facilities in Iraq's urban centres.[259] After Hussein's forces were defeated and expelled from Kuwait as a consequence of this military invasion, the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) passed a series of resolutions placing embargoes and sanctions on Iraq. These sanctions made it nearly impossible for Iraq to import chlorine and other chemical resources/equipment that allowed for the purification of water.[260] The sanctions also rigidly defined the movement of peoples inside and outside of the country, as a paranoia over the transport of volatile materials informed the international security policies that surveilled and policed what went into and came out of Iraqi spaces. In the five years following the gulf war, over 500,000 Iraqi children died from preventable causes such as dysentery, starvation, or a lack of access to sterile medical equipment.[261]

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[259] For a secondary source that includes the smoking gun government documents regarding the water purification facility bombing, see Barry Lando, *Web of Deceit: The History of Western Complicity in Iraq, from Churchill to Kennedy to George W. Bush* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2008), pp 189-191.

[260] See United Nations Security Council, *S/RES/ 706* (August 15th, 1991) United Nations Security Council, *S/RES/712* (September 15th, 1991), and United Nations Security Council, *S/RES/986* (April 14th, 1995).

[261] See United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), "Children and Women in Iraq: A Situation Analysis", March 1993. More notable is the famous interview of Madeline Albright, *60 Minutes*, 12 May 1996. When asked if she thinks over 500,000 Iraqi children was worth the benefits achieved by the program, Albright replies "we think the price is worth it."

It was in this context that the Oil for Food Program was officially created for the stated purpose of managing Iraqi health in post-Gulf War Iraq in April of 1995.[262] The program had little if any effect on the horrifying demographic trends emerging in Iraq during the 1990s. In fact, the program exacerbated economic and social conditions in the country by opening up spaces for corporate corruption and shady business dealings that siphoned wealth and health out of Iraqi peoples and into their oppressors' pockets.[263] Kickbacks from oil vouchers padded the coffers of corporate entities, UN officials, and Saddam Hussein.[264] The program and its rampant corruption waged war on Iraqi health and national well-being until 2003, when the american military initiated another invasion, occupation, and imperial restructuring of the country.

In 2004, the *al-Mada* newspaper in Baghdad ran a story about the program, and named in print many of the alleged benefactors and corrupt officials who had gorged themselves on Iraqi oil revenues while millions starved, suffered, and died in abject poverty.[265] Among the guilty parties was the programs official director Benon Sevon, as well as numerous western corporations (including the canadian oil company 'Oilexco').[266] The smoking-gun documents that have been uncovered since the infamous

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[262] See United Nations Security Council, *S/RES/986* (April 14th, 1995).
[263] For example, the american corporation Haliburton received $1.6 billion worth of Iraqi revenue for its role in overseeing the Iraqi oil industry. This corporation is tied to Prescott and George H.W. Bush.
[264] For the most complete monographic review of the kickback scandals and payments, see M. Califano and J. Meyer, *Good Intentions Corrupted: The Oil for Food Programme and the Threat to the UN* (New York: Perseus Books Publishing, 2006).
[265] Dore Gold, *Tower of Babble: How the United Nations has Fueled Global Chaos*, (New York: Dore Gold Books Inc., 2004), pp. 122.
[266] To find an English translation of the al-Mada list, see "The Beneficiaries of Saddam's Oil Vouchers: list of 270" produced by the Middle East Media Research Institute in February of 2004, available online: http://www.brookesnews.com/040202saddamsbribes.html [accessed 2012].

"*al-Mada* list" suggest that historians might also "take as a starting point that [Iraqi] bodies are made." This is because, in both cases, the movements of bodies in defined spaces were policed, surveyed, and controlled by exterior forces that were chiefly constituted by settler-state powers. The curious corporate interests of non-state actors are ambiguously bound up within each history as well, serving to further obfuscate the nature of relations as well as bureaucratic accountability and responsibility. It is sobering to note the continuity with which relief efforts or responses to humanitarian crises of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples by settler-states have not changed. What I wish to capture in referring to these as *making space* histories is that the genocidal mindset that seems so pervasive and powerful and remains a force in structuring modern relations between settler-states and targeted peoples. The reserve and a sanctioned Iraq both acted from 1990-2010 as spaces of genocide, suffering, starvation, and death. The policies of colonial and imperial power that serve to *make Native and Iraqi spaces* have dubious intents behind them, though their effects are easily defined: after securing control and *taking the place* of the national pattern of targeted peoples, settler-states *made spaces* in which Indigenous and Iraqi peoples would be victims of slow-death measures. As Aaron Huey notes in his lecture at the TEDtalks series, this is "the last chapter in any successful genocide:" mainly, the "one in which the oppressor can remove their hands and say, 'My God, what are these people doing to themselves? They're killing each other. They're killing themselves while we watch them die.'"[267]

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[267] Aaron Huey gives this argument in a lecture entitled "America's Native Prisoners of War" on the Ted Talks series website. See http://www.ted.com/speakers/aaron_huey.html [accessed June 12th, 2012].

Discourse Analysis

I come from a land, from a faraway place,
where the caravan camels roam.
Where its flat and immense, and the heat is intense,
its barbaric, but hey, its home.

-lyrics from Disney's *Aladdin*

Once the Injun didn't know
All the things that he know now
But the Injun, he sure learn a lot
And it's all from asking, "How?"

-lyrics from Disney's *Peter Pan*

I include the two passages above to signify the ways in which western cultures have conditioned children to think of the space of the other as a mystical and barbaric Orient, and also to think of racialized others as having nothing to offer and everything to learn from white settler societies. The goal of this section is to engage in a discursive analysis of the ways in which canadian newspapers discussed the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq, and the reader will see that these Disney-derived racial sentiments quoted about persist in these conversations. In the following three sections, I continue the wider pedagogical project of this study and retell the tall-tales told about *making space* policies from 1990 to 2010 within my rule of three framework. To recount, the first rule or section is titled "Neophytes of Modernity" and relates to the ways in which newspapers discussed genocidal realities in Indigenous and Iraqi spaces as a function of a modernity and their stubborn resistance to or incompatibility with it. Second is "Signifying the Sneaky Savage" where I again recount the consistent tendencies of my primary source materials to demonize and criminalize brown masculinity as something pathologic to the well-being of others. Finally, under the heading "Natural Victims," I review the ways in

which the victims of these *making space* policies were discussed as wretched and animalized beasts of burden whose suffering was unavoidable, inevitable, and natural. Closing this discussion is a conversation that acts as a bridge into my conclusion, wherein I conflate and interface the many shared characteristics of canadian newspaper coverage of the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq with the *taking place* conversations interrogated in the previous chapter.

Neophytes of Modernity

From 1990 to 2010 the 'rez' and Iraq were described as Orientalist spaces in canadian newspapers. Stories told about them spoke of lawless, savage, and scary lands that retained a certain mystical or magical quality. Referring to "Indian land…in Sandy Lake," the *Toronto Star* reported:

> … there are no motels. There is no tourist industry. Visitors must check in first with the band council. Even Ontario's Highway Traffic Act does not apply…Deep in the woods, an hour by bush plane from the nearest library, hospital, coffee shop, dentist's office, movie theatre or cellphone tower…by urban standards, life here can seem foreign…This is big sky country…a place where the northern lights are common, but a traffic light is unheard of.[268]

These Orientalist undertones were common when journalists sketched out the landscape of the 'rez,' and one can see the ways in which they define the settler self and delimit the other simultaneously. The language and the imagery is locked in a "civ/sav dichotomy," and so is the rhetorical structure of the story being told. In fact, all the article seems able to do is to construct the other as a projection of difference to the settler self. The language suggests a symbolic journey through both time and space – to a mystical though

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[268] Louise Brown, "Poverty, Despair and Hope." *Toronto Star*, Apr 23, 2005, F4.

ultimately dysfunctional space that is non-white and therefore non-modern (or vice versa). Another article in the *Star* gave the following description: "Sandy Lake First Nation is locked in dense boreal forest thick with spruce, tamarack and ash. Like many other northern communities, no roads lead in or out of town, and its some 2,650 residents depend upon a single gravel airstrip for much of their food, supplies, and building equipment. It is also their only lifeline to medical care…Unlike southern Ontario, there are no land paramedics to assess and stabilize patients. Patients are brought to nursing stations in the back of pickup trucks, or transported out of the wilderness on boats, float planes or snowmobiles."[269] The Orient that is being sketched out here is again nothing more than a naturalistic negative of white settler society: whereas white spaces have "traffic acts" and "traffic lights," Native spaces are "locked in dense boreal forest thick with spruce, tamarack and ash" and only natural "northern lights" shine in this "big sky country."[270] The nature imagery and mystical undertone in the stories told about the 'rez' were similarly repeated in canadian newspaper conversations about Iraq.

Consider the following passage printed by the *Ottawa Citizen,* which tells the story of a white settler male journalist chancing upon an Iraqi military camp while accompanied by two Arab guides:

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[269] Megan Ogilvie, "A Lifeline for the North; Ontario's Air Ambulance System, Ornge, is Critical for the 800,000 People Living North of Sudbury." *Toronto Star*, Mar 29, 2009, A.6.

[270] A wide array of newspaper articles sources might be cited for employing natural imagery and Orientalist undertones and constructing a dangerous savage space. See the front-page story from Margaret Philip, "Life Among the Ruins: Troubled Northern Community Struggles to Rekindle Hope Where some Teens See None," *The Globe and Mail*, Sept 20, 1993, A1. See another front page article: Tracy Hanes, "Ontario no More the Nasty Voyageur Waterway ; Trent-Severn Lock System a Smooth and Scenic Route," *Toronto Star*, May 06, 1999, A1. Also, see Bruce Dyck, "The Nurse from Sandy Lake Reserve," *The Globe and Mail*, Mar 28, 2003, A15. Finally, see Tanya Talaga, "A Young Native Mom Who just Wants a Decent Home Canada." *Toronto Star*, Jun 20, 2010, A7.

> something resembling a gigantic welder's torch rose over the horizon, boring into coal-black clouds that glowed briefly… [we could hear] an alien howl fading off into the night. The camels bucked and hooted with fear. The three of us jumped off our saddles, gripping reins and slipping over mud and rocks as the animals thrashed around, not believing a word we said to reassure them, sensing our own lack of reassurance, our wealth of panic. Dragging the camels to a crest of the hill a short distance away, we looked down on a sprawling collection of Iraqi military equipment and some thousand odd soldiers scuttling like gnomes around it.[271]

The language and narrative structure in this passage is thick with Orientalist undertones. The romantic picture painted with camel caravans, raw panic, and enchanted desert dunes recalls classic contact narratives or fairy tales of the early modern period (flying carpets and genies are all that appear to be missing, in the latter context). Such rhetorical devices make mystical the landscape being described, and it thus comes as no surprise that the journalist refers to the Iraqi soldiers in his story as similarly mystical or magical creatures who are described as "gnomes." Like the modern pick-up trucks, snowmobiles, or bush planes that smatter the 'rez,' the "military equipment" is described in the Orientalist tale being told as overtly out of place, and the Iraqi soldiers are said to be "scuttling about" it like insects, as if it were in turn some magical modern wonder that caused in the ranks of the troops a wild and frenzied stir. Many articles revisited these Orientalist themes of space, modernity, technology, and anachronism when reporting upon Iraqi spaces.[272] Iraqi "Roads are pockmarked by bomblets [*sic.*] dropped by allied forces on the retreating

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[271] Paul William Roberts, "Apocalypse Now, Please ...: Detours into the Baghdad of Saddam Hussein." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 18, 1998, D6.

[272] For example, see J. Reuter, Reuters. "No Christmas for Iraq," *Calgary Herald*, Dec 23, 1991, A5. Also, see Maggie O'Kane, "Suffering in Baghdad" in *The Gazette*, Sep 18, 1996, A3. Also, Se Evelyn Leopold, "Oil-for-Food Deal the Only Alternative," *Calgary Herald*, Mar 26, 1996, A2. Also, see Rose, Alexander. "Why Lifting Sanctions Won't Help Iraqis." *The National Post*, Aug 19, 1999, A8. Finally, see Peter Goodspeed, "Suicide Bombing Volunteers Flock to Iraq." *Edmonton Journal*, Mar 31, 2003, A3.

Iraqi troops…Sand dunes and oil slicks still flow over the roads, where camel herds are about the only other hazard.[273]" Juxtaposing environmental, natural, and bestial imagery with modern symbols such as "welding torches" and "oil slicks," the stories told about Iraq by canadian journalists mirrored the tales told of the 'rez' in their rhetorical and thematic compositions. They signify the "civ/sav dichotomy" in their marked binarism, and contextualize colonization and imperialism as a romantic, humanizing missions that turn savage beasts into civilized humans – or, as one article in the *Vancouver Sun* chose to phrase it, turning "camel herders into millionaires."[274]

While the spaces of the 'rez' and Iraq were discussed as mystical places receiving the gifts of modernity, one can see in the quotations above and below a common tendency to describe these Orientalist 'others' as failed modern citizens. "Scuttling about like gnomes" around military equipment in the desert, or transporting patients to hospitals in the backs of pick-up trucks, the characters of these stories appear to be just missing the mark of modernity – too uncivilized and savage to properly use the tools given them by their colonizers. The suffering endured by human beings in these spaces has its meaning distorted and disfigured almost completely – ultimately signifying to settlers the benevolence of their nation and society, rather than its genocidal aggression. Along these Orientliast lines, the *Toronto Star* noted that "like many other reserves across the North, Pikangikum is a place where a people still imbued with the traditions of a communal hunter- gatherer society struggle to find their place in an individualistic, wage-

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[273] Michael Woloschuk, "Road from Jordan to Iraq Proves a Perilous Journey:" *Kingston Whig – Standard,* Nov 18, 1997, A6.
[274]Daphne Bramham, "Over a Barrel Series: In the Beginning…" *The Vancouver Sun*, Feb 05, 1999, A4.

driven Western culture. The failure is palpable."[275] In similar fashion, *The Montreal Gazette* spoke of "[Iraq's] long struggle to shed its pariah status and rejoin the modern world,"[276] whereas the *Vancouver Sun* argued that Iraq had an "ability to manipulate imported ideas and employ modern technology to the purposes of national power."[277] One sees here the ways in which "modern technology" is seen as a gift of the modern self to the savage other – specifically, one that the other is insufficiently civilized to handle and often uses for nefarious purposes – biting the hand that feeds it. When reading this lengthier description of starvation in Iraq offered by the *Ottawa Citizen*, one should note that this was the lead story on the front page:

> In a huge slum outside Baghdad, the road to the hospital reeks of sewage and is heaped with almost a year's worth of garbage. Inside, babies with limbs like sticks suck on bottles filled with tea and *orange pop*. There is no milk [emphasis mine].[278]

In this description, Iraqi children (already described as existing in "sewage and garbage") are barely human bodies: they are said to have "have limbs like sticks" and "suck on bottles" as if they were dying trees or barnyard animals. Very pivotal to the Orientalist function of the text, however, is the inclusion of "orange pop." Like the "welding torch" or "pickup truck," this modern sign serves to underscore the idea that modernity and salvation have been brought to the other, and the cause of their suffering is their own savagery, filth, and immodernity. As a point of interest before continuing in the comparison, the article here quoted was reprinted – albeit not on the cover – in the

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[275] Kate Harries, "'I Don't Know . . . Sometimes I just Cry:' Suicides Haunt Remote Reserve." *Toronto Star*, Aug 18, 2001, A1.
[276] "Internal Division Sinks Arab Summit Meeting." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Aug 05, 1990. C.2.
[277] Pfaff, William. "A New Wind Chills the Cold War Afterglow." *The Vancouver Sun*, Jul 09, 1990. A.6.
[278] Anne McIlroy, " Iraq: Environmental Nightmare." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Nov 23, 1991, A1.

Montreal Gazzette with the following title change: "Iraqis living in stinking filth; Lakes and rivers of sewage breed disease and death."[279]

When one reads the following description of the 'rez' against the depictions of Iraqi spaces and bodies cited above, a larger trend begins to emerge:

> A dirty diaper, candy wrappers and a heap of clothes clutter the bare floor in a bedroom where two more children lounge on a mattress, cigarettes clamped between their teeth and fingers deftly manoeuvring [sic.] the controls of a *Super Mario Brothers video game*….the abject poverty, idleness, and squalid living conditions that define life in this mud-splattered reserve 300 miles north of Timmins goes a long way to explain the solvent-abuse crisis that is gripping it [emphasis mine].[280]

"Super Mario brothers video game" is here italicized for the same reason that "orange pop" was in the above quotation: again and again in these stories, one sees the curious discursive focus and textual obsession with mentioning small, seemingly innocuous details such as these. They serve a specific function, however, and this is, as Homi K. Bhaba says, to "fix the other at the shifting boundaries between barbarity and civility," or, as Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson claim, to configure the other in "a static, non-evolving past."[281] This *Globe and Mail* article on the 'rez', like the *Ottawa Citizen* article on Iraq, was also figured on the front page, and offered two further observations: first, that "from a non-native perspective, there is no viable economic reason for [the 'rez'] to exist;" second, that one resident of the 'rez' named "Tony might have bathed more often at the [off-reserve] English-language school, where showers are offered to

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[279] Anne McIlroy, "Iraqis Living in Stinking Filth; Lakes and Rivers of Sewage Breed Disease and Death." *The Gazette*, Nov 23, 1991, B5.
[280] *Ibid.*
[281] Homi K. Bhabba, "Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and the Colonial Condition," 115.

children once a week, had he attended more often."[282] As one can see in this and following paragraphs, the conversations I reproduce from these primary source materials are not cherry-picked, quote-mined, chopped together, or taken out of context. They all argue that the squalor, filth, and slum-conditions of the 'rez' and Iraq are the 'natural' function of a people's conversion to modernity.[283]

A wide selection of articles fixed the spaces of the 'rez' and Iraq between the "shifting boundaries of barbarity and civility" and constructed colonized bodies as 'Neophytes of Modernity." The *Globe and Mail* spoke of "Sandy Lake's monumental effort to slow down the erosion of native traditions, while at the same time speeding efforts to equip native students for the modern world.[284] This article referred to the children of this society as "a new generation torn between the competing demands of native tradition and urban canadian society."[285] "In an era when amalgamations of health districts, school districts, hospitals and municipal governments are widespread," reported the *Star-Phoenix,* northern communities of First Nations peoples "are doing little or nothing to make their own governance structures more efficient and accountable."[286] It is important to note here the clear "clash of civilizations" thesis being presented in its

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[282] *Ibid.*
[283] For other articles discussing slums, poverty, filth, and lawless Orients, see Scott Taylor, "Saddam City could be a Factor in a War," *The Windsor Star*, Feb 19, 2003, A6. Also, see Gordon Turner, "Author Finds Nobility in Harsh Reality of Reserve Life," *Vancouver Sun*, Jan 28, 1995, A5. Also, see John Hendren and Ashraf Khalil, "Cleanup of Baghdad's Sadr City 'Sign of Hope'" in *The Vancouver Sun*, Dec 18, 2004, B7. Also, see Andrew Duffy and Ian MacLeod, "Return to Wapekeka: How One First Nation Overcame a Tragedy Series: The Quiet Epidemic." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Oct 11, 2003, A1. This was part of a larger series that routinely used the phrase "gas sniffers," as did many other articles cite.
[284] Jennifer Lewington, "Natives Work to make the Best of both Worlds: Tradition and Education" *Globe and Mail*, Oct 22, 1993.
[285] *Ibid*.
[286] Randy Burton, "Native Governments cant do it all Alone." *Star - Phoenix*, Feb 20, 1999. A.2.

canadian context, wherein "Native tradition" is constructed as completely antithetical to "urban canadian society." This was often spelt out in overtones, as this *Toronto Star* report on the Pikangikum 'rez' and its youth-related problems demonstrates: "The desperation may come, in part, from a clash of cultures - that of their parents' lives, in which they unwillingly find themselves, and the lure of the life they see every day on television."[287]

This passage rehashes what postcolonial scholars derisively call the "clash of civilizations" thesis. This term was originally offered in all seriousness in the closing of the Cold War, when Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington wrote outsider histories of the 'Muslim world.' It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the "clash of civilizations thesis" was wantonly applied not only to Indigenous but also to Iraqi others. Blaming Iraqi suffering on a lack of modern knowledge and a clashing of modern and mystical cultures, the *Vancouver Sun* described the city spaces of Iraq in the following way: "A city of flies moves back and forth between the sewage and the children playing in it. Sewer effluent is used to water lettuce, tomatoes and other vegetables that are eaten raw."[288] The suggestion that Iraqi peoples do not know to keep raw sewage and human feces out of their own food is as ridiculous as it is racist. Moreover, one can note the issues of time and maternity shaping this article's title: "Saddam's land *now* a cesspool [emphasis mine]."[289] This obsession with the filth in Iraq was a way in which newspapers skirted the issue of poverty in our own backyard. Interestingly, the United Nations

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[287] Dale Brazao, "Throwing a Lifeline to a Northern 'Hell:' Hank Turtle has Tried to Commit Suicide. His Younger Brother, 13, also Tried. Two of His Brothers Succeeded." *Toronto Star*, Mar 13, 1994. A1.
[288] "Saddam's Land Now a Deadly Cesspool," *The Vancouver Sun*, Nov 20, 1991, A.10.
[289] *Ibid.*

Human Development Index (HDI) Report found in 1993 that while canada sat near the top of the board, First Nations People within canada were categorized as having a "medium" HDI, sharing this distinction with the country of Iraq.[290] This blind ignorance to the prevalence of poverty in canada continued. In 2008, for example, the *National Post* reported in an article titled "Why Arabs Suffer" that by "modern standards, contemporary Middle Eastern Arab nations are failed societies. On virtually every index of socioeconomic and political development, they compare poorly with other parts of the world."[291] Discussing northern communities in the domestic sphere of dispossession, the *Star Phoenix* wrote that "they" had "few harvestable resources…[and] a low-skilled (or no-skilled) workforce for *today's* environment [emphasis mine]."[292] These last two quotations, coupled together, demonstrate the common Orientalist notion that the other is essentially ill-equipped to survive the modern world, whether Indigenous or Iraqi – whether in the Orient of the 'rez', or the Orient of the Middle-East.[293] The language of modernity, progress, and civility was used in canadian newspaper coverage of the 'imaginary indian' in order to construct Anishnawbek peoples as aliens on their own

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[290] For a good study on this topic (which includes the comparison with Iraqi's HDI), see Russel Lawrence Bush, "Canada's Abroginal Peoples: Social Integration or Disintegration?" Master's Thesis: University of Lethbridge, 1994). Available online: see http://www2.brandonu.ca/library/cjns/14.1/barsh.pdf [accessed June 12th, 2012].

[291] Philip Carl Sarzman, "Why Arabs Suffer; what Lies at the Root of the Middle East's Culture of Violence?", *National Post*, Jan 11, 2008, A19.

[292] Curtis Bell, "Give Saskatchewan some of it." *Star - Phoenix*, Apr 13, 1999, A4.

[293] For other relevant (read: extremely racist) examples of articles that constructed Indigenous Others as non-modern and stubborn to progress, see John Lewandowski, "From Trading Post to Modern Mall; Micmacs have Grand Plan to Break Poverty Cycle and Rebuild Self-Esteem." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Apr 16, 1990, A9. Also, see William Johnson, "Natives Need Vision, Not Reactionary Hocus Pocus." *The Gazette*, Apr 25, 1992, A5. Also, see "Visit to the Past Reveals Pain in the Present," *Toronto Star*, May 31, 1998, A1. For articles reconstructing Iraqis as fixed in a static past, see Norman Webster, "'Let Us Leave our Enemies with an Example'" *The Vancouver Sun*, Jan 15, 1991, A8. Also, see Paul Koring, "Allied Jets Rule Skies Over Iraq: Sophisticated Arms Spearhead Assault," in *The Globe and Mail*, Jan 18, 1991, A1. Finally, see Jane Sushil, "Muslim World Supports Saddam Against West," *The Windsor Star*, Feb 20, 1991, A7.

land.[294] This is, as I hope to have demonstrated in my discourse analysis, also the case in the depictions of the Iraqi peoples by canadian newspapers.

In all the quotations reproduced above, one sees the reconstruction of the "white man's burden." With no regard to the historical, political, economic, or social context of the others' suffering, newspapers argued that Anishnawbek and Iraqi bodies were suffering because they were too savage to handle the frills of the modern world, or to understand its simplest suggestions (such as keeping feces out of one's food, or remembering to bath "at least once a week"). While issues of gender here are much less visible than those of racism, it is important to conflate the concepts of masculinity, progress, technology and modernity in approaching the "colonizer's model of the world." In this way, a civ/sav binary is received and transmitted by Orientalist discourse, and filth, starvation, suffering and disease are foiled with these imagined modern characteristics of the white male settler. As wretched, needy, dysfunctional, and damaged as the other appears in these conversations is proportional to the ways in which settler society saw white men as modern, progressive, paternalistic, and benevolent. Through these kinds of conversations, canadian journalists discursively stripped Indigenous and Iraqi peoples of culture, politics, creativity, and the means of saving themselves from their own alleged savagery. This was a completely racist stereotype that was as widespread in the discourse as any other; however, to effectively communicate the ways in which this Orientalism functioned, one must interrogate the sexualized and gendered undertones of this racist language. As Sherene Razack reminds readers, when we discuss

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[294] Mark Cronlund and Carmen Anderson, *Seeing Read: A History of Native Americans in Canadian Newspapers* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2011), pp. 13.

racialized constructions of others in the colonial context of canadian settler society, "we are speaking of identity-making processes that are profoundly shaped through patriarchy."[295]

Signifying the Sneaky Savage

The 'Neophyte of Modernity,' with its attachment to notions of the wretched, the filthy, the squalid, and the non-progressive, interplays with the trope of the 'Sneaky Savage' as well as the 'Natural Victim.' In the section titled 'Natural Victims,' I engage more exclusively with Orientalist constructions of women and children on the 'rez' and in Iraq. In this section, however, I focus most heavily upon constructions of Indigenous and Iraqi men as 'sneaky savages,' 'welfare Indians,' and failed fathers. As one might read in the narrative sections of this chapter, the logistics of colonization and imperialism in both historical contexts were bound up within bureaucracy and red-tape. Consequently, it became possible for an Orientalist discourse to animate discursive spaces wherein the culprit causing human suffering was not western modes of patriarchy and politics, but the alleged selfishness and cruelty of brown men. My argument here is premised upon Paula Gunn Allen's (Sioux) assertion that white male colonizers attempt "to mislead white women, and themselves, into believing that their treatment of women was superior to the treatment of the men of the group which they consider savage."[296] In the discourse analysis below, therefore, I reproduce canadian newspaper articles about the 'rez' and Iraq that continued to construct the genocidal suffering of colonized peoples as a function

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[295] Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law*, 13.
[296] See Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). Quoted and first encountered in Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 18.

of their own savagery and failed concepts of masculinity. Drawing upon notions of the 'Sneaky Savage' I mean to bring to the surface the tendency of my primary source material to attach notions of indulgence, irresponsibility, sneakery and self-interest to the behaviour of the Indigenous and Iraqi father and national leader.[297]

"After years of *indulgence*," reported the *Edmonton Journal* in 1990, it looks as if Saddam Hussein's Iraq may finally get the critical attention it deserves [emphasis mine]."[298] The notion of indulgence seen in this quotation is indicative of a wider conversation that sought to view the non-white male as an oversexed and abusive failed father of his nation. Popular western stereotypes of the 'ugly Arab' that were attached to Saddam echoed the construction of the 'welfare indian' or crooked band-council chief on the 'rez.' Underscoring Paula Gunn Allen's (Sioux) point, canadian newspapers also attempted to construct each male other as a patriarch who was more violent to Indigenous or Iraqi women than his white male counterpart. Touching upon all of these themes of the 'Sneaky Savage' was an article that had "Sneaky Saddam" in its title. This article reported that "belly dancers have reacted angrily to revelations that Saddam Hussein has been training female agents in the guise of exotic performers to target Iraqi dissidents in London, claiming that this will undermine their business."[299] This quotation shows that Saddam is into the business of sexualizing, objectifying, and using the female body to his

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[297] Many articles regarding the sneakery of Native and Iraqi men (mostly Saddam Hussein and other Iraqi government officials) could not be included in the text. For excellent examples of the former, see: Neil Thomasson, "Connecting the Dots on a Native Reserve," *The National Post*, Mar 11, 2011 A3; also, Andrew Duffy, "Keep Tight Rein on Corrupt Chiefs: Native Coalition: Disgusted Women Want Watchdog to Monitor Finances," *The Ottawa Citizen*, Mar 03, 1999, A4. For good examples of the latter, see Jim Hoagland, "Blood on Arab Hands," *Edmonton Journal*, Apr 06, 1990, B6. Also, see "Iraq Offers Iran a War Settlement; Isolated Saddam Woos Ex-Enemy" *The Gazette*, Aug 16, 1990, A1.

[298] Ailene McCabe. "Global Gaze Swings on Iraq." *Edmonton Journal*, Mar 30, 1990. A.14

[299] Christina Lamb,"Sneaky Saddam has a new `weapon'." *Calgary Herald*, Aug 10, 2000, A1.

own sinister ends. It also constructs him as a threat to their economic well-being, as well as the white western world more broadly. Saddam is cast as indulgent and irresponsible in much the same way Native men have been characterized by canadian newspapers. Discussing a northern community as the agent of its own suffering and dispossession, the *Star Phoenix* wrote: "Here's a band that can spend $1 million in a single year on 'land acquisition costs,' yet can't provide all band members with running water. This is an administration that can hand out cheques to chosen band members at will, yet can't provide natural gas hookups to all."[300]

These signifying practices that labeled brown masculinity as the main problem were similar to the ways in which Saddam Hussein was constructed as a failed father who toyed facetiously and cruelly with the well-being of his own national family. *The Ottawa Citizen* reported that "Saddam Hussein's defiance knows no bounds. His *cat and mouse game* in complying with UN disclosure requirements about Iraq's nuclear program was infuriating and *disingenuous*. His soldiers and supporters are well fed and tended, while the Iraqi people bear the brunt of *his twisted personal ambitions*: starvation, disease and crime [emphasis mine]."[301] That the male other was the engineer of the humanitarian disaster was similarly said of Indigenous peoples. Referring to one community leader, T*he Star Phoenix* reported that his travel records were "breathtaking. It's little wonder that many reserves have difficulties running their affairs."[302] The *Vancouver Sun* also underscored the gendered nature of this problem, reporting that the "accusations of electoral fraud and nepotism against the chief of the tiny reserve are just the tip of a

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[300] Randy Burton. "Native Governments cant do it all Alone." *Star - Phoenix*, Feb 20, 1999. A.2.
[301] "Undermine Saddam with Aid." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jul 30, 1991. A.6
[302] Randy Burton. "Native Governments can't do it all Alone." *Star - Phoenix*, Feb 20, 1999. A.2.

monstrous iceberg of fraud, intimidation, and theft on Canadian reserves, according to a number of aboriginal women."[303] Jack Anawak, prominent First Nations politician, was reported as flashing a "lightning smile…charged with mischief" when asked about sovereignty and self-determination.[304] With quotations such as these – especially ones that spoke for Indigenous and Iraqi women – canadian newspapers sustained the illusion that settler-societies were not violent to women (despite the views of the international community), and that the role of the white men in the modern world was to "save brown women from brown men."[305]

The notion of the selfish and sneaky non-white male patriarch as the lynchpin of a humanitarian problem was thick in the discourse of Saddam and Iraq: "When Saddam Hussein cannot kill or terrify his enemies, he waits. The tactic has been evident time and again in his political career. He has been playing this waiting game since the Gulf War, and his patience now looks like it is paying off on the issue of international sanctions."[306] Interplaying with the "Neophyte of Modernity" who hijacked or fumbled western technologies to self-destructive ends, the "Sneaky Savage" was used as a trope to construct First Nations and Iraqi male leaders as failed father figures playing the system for selfish, indulgent, and irresponsible ends.[307] This Orientalist story expresses itself in the rhetorical image of the 'welfare indian,' or the oil-rich Arab tyrant, whose money-

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[303] Dianne Rhinehart. "Indian Women Say Fraud, Nepotism Rife on Reserves." *The Vancouver Sun*, Apr 13, 1999, A1.
[304] Andrew Duffy "Nunavut Challenged to Retain Traditional Values while Solving Social Problems among Inuit." *Star - Phoenix,* Jan 23, 1999, E1.
[305] See Gayatri Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Towards A History of the Vanishing Present* (Boston: Presidents and Fellows of Harvard Publishing, 1999), pp. 6-7.
[306] Julie Flint. "Saddam Likely to Win Waiting Game on Sanctions." *Edmonton Journal*, Aug 29, 1994.
[307] Of course, the relevance of Chapter Two's discussion on alcoholism and bodily indulgence is here a useful reference point for reading my larger argument.

grubbing and self-serving behaviours cause starvation and suffering for his family, community, or nation. One quotation from the *National Post* – in an article titled "Soiled by Money" - described one 'rez' with this representative "sneaky savage" archetype":

> Although the federal government pours $10-million into the town of 1,200 every year, life expectancy is low and welfare dependency high. Band council elections are corrupt, with candidates dispensing bingo tickets and alcohol in exchange for votes. According to a recently released audit, hundreds of thousands of dollars in improper gifts and unsecured loans are dispensed every year at the discretion of the chief or council. And substance abuse -- primarily alcoholism among adults and gasoline-sniffing among children -- is rampant.[308]

This quotation offers a fitting example of how the dominant discourse about the 'rez' in canadian newspapers operates. The settler-state's benevolence is first established as if the "$10-million" being "poured" into the town is somehow separate from the larger colonial project whereby this community was created. Thereafter the tribal council or chief is accused of corruption, indulgence, and trickery. The victimization of women and children is then immediately ascribed to the sneaky behavior of the non-white male. In so doing, the dominant discourse allows a settler readership the chance to "to come to know ourselves negatively as the not-other," that is, as modern, democratic, and non-patriarchal.[309] Challenging the notions of a 1990s Iraq as in any way liberative towards women, the *Toronto Star* reported:

> Iraqi women are said to be the most empowered and educated in the Arab world. They are free, unlike their sisters elsewhere, to learn and practice a profession, drive and go forth unveiled.

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[308] "Spoiled by Money." *National Post*, Dec 07, 2000, A19.
[309] This quote is taken from a lecture given by Paul Fry at Yale University in the Spring of 2009, entitled "Postcolonial Criticism." This is a well-known lecture widely available online: see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UarXGSuyyrw [accessed 2012].

> Why then, have you seen only moustaches, guns and truncheons in the post-war news? Every crowd is all male, and all the "opposition members" who are currently meeting to plan Iraq's future are thoroughly steeped in contempt for and ignorance of women's equality.[310]

The message in this passage is clear: mainly, that the factor prohibiting the free expression and dignity of Iraqi women is the tyranny of brown men who "are thoroughly steeped in contempt for and ignorance of women's equality."[311] The corollary or implicit assumption needed to sustain this argument is that, of course, the journalist comes from a society that is safe for women (which is hardly the case especially as concerns non-white women).

In an almost systematic and rigidly defined storytelling motif, all of the quotations in this section go towards substantiating Paula Gunn Allen's (Sioux) assertion that white male colonizers attempt to reconstruct all male others as a savage threat to women, while at the same time referring to themselves as champions of women's freedom.[312] In constructing the male other as a sneaky, selfish, indulgent failed father, newspapers constructed white western men and settler societies as honest, selfless, benevolent, and successful. Whether consciously or not, the journalists quoted above sexually brutalized Indigenous and Iraqi men, and also constructed the 'rez' and Iraq as male-dominated spaces wherein patriarchal abuse of the sexual, social, political and economic variety took place unrestrained by decency or law. In this way "place becomes race," as the very

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[310] Michele Landsburg, "Iraqi Women are Conspicuous by their Absence." *Toronto Star*, Apr 19, 2003. K.01.
[311] *Ibid.*
[312] See Paula Gunn Allen, *The Sacred Hoop* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986). Quoted and first encountered in Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 18.

location of the 'rez' and Iraq is understood in settler eyes to be a space whose objective reality mirrors the nature of those who exist within. The spaces *and bodies* of the other are symbolically connected, and the filth in the streets corresponds in these articles to a toxic other whose very identity is filth. This naturalizes the suffering of not only Indigenous and Iraqi men, but also women and children. In the following section, I sketch the female counter-part to the 'sneaky savage' in order to show the gendered frames of discourse through which racial hegemony is affirmed.

Natural Victims

In *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*, Andrea Smith (Cherokee) draws on Ann Stoler who writes that "racism is not an effect but a tactic in the internal fission of a society into binary opposition: a means of creating biologized internal enemies against whom society must defend itself... it is internal to the biopolitical state, woven into the web of the social body, threaded through its fabric."[313] Smith continues to contextualize the ways in which colonizers see targeted peoples, and argues that the "biologized internal enemies" of the settler-state are often articulated with reference to bestial, filthy, and wretched rhetoric. This is, of course, a very common practice in genocidal campaigns and well documented historically. For example, 'rats', 'cockroaches,' 'nits,' 'lice,' and even 'tall trees' have been discursively employed in other genocides to dehumanize human beings into what I am calling 'Natural Victims.'[314] Although Smith is certainly not the first scholar to theorize the ways in which notions of

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[313] See Ann Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire* (Chapel Hill: Duke University Press, 1997). Quoted and first encountered in Andrea Smith, *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide* (Brooklyn: South End Press, 2005), pp. 8-9.

[314] I refer to the Nazi final Solution, the american colonial project of Colorado, and the Rwandan genocide in these examples of bestial imagery used to dehumanize humans and justify genocide.

the biblical, the bestial, and the biological become attached to victims of colonization and genocide, she is certainly the most comprehensive and articulate. The other, according to Smith, is a completely toxic object in the eyes of a settler subject, and is seen as "too abject, too dysfunctional, too sick, and too damaged to govern themselves and, consequently, too damaged to own the land."[315] In order to capture effectively the precise way in which this Orientalist model is constructed, I use the word 'natural' in both of its contexts: first, the animal or environmental; second, the proper and inevitable. I argue that by discussing the other as an animalized and damaged body, the Orientalist discourse of the settler-state coloured the colonial and imperial project being undertaken as natural, progressive, and inevitable. Drawing upon the natural, environmental, and even biological realm, canadian journalists went to great lengths to dislocate the responsibility for suffering far from the settler-state.[316]

In the most marked example of constructing 'Natural Victims', the newspaper articles discussing the high rates of diabetes and amputation within the community of the Sandy Lake 'rez' were quite certain that the root of the problem was not colonialism. "Natives are predisposed to obesity," reported the *Toronto Star, "*They carry a 'thrifty

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[315] I am here quoting Sherene Razack in an online lecture discuss the policing of the Indigenous body in the canadian settler-state. This lecture is available online, see: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gv9RIIeqapM [accessed June 12, 2012].

[316] For excellent examples of articles that naturalized and animalized Indigenous peoples that do not appear in this discussion, see Kevin Libin, "'Help Us'; Remote Ontario First Nation Dives Headfirst into Chaos." *National Post*, Oct 23, 2010, A1. Also, see "Healer Aims Cures at Solvent Sniffers." *The Windsor Star*, Oct 15, 1990, A6. Also, see Tina Baumbach, "Sexual Abuse, Not Lacking a Gym, is a Cause of Natives Sniffing Gas." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Jan 31, 2001, A15. For Iraqi articles, see "Bombing Raids Bring Terror to Children of Iraq; Scenes of Parents Comforting their Children in Air Raid Shelters Grow Commonplace." *Edmonton Journal*, Feb 06, 1991, A5. Also, see Don Atkinson, "Spilling the Beans." *The Ottawa Citizen*, Feb 22, 1991, A12. Finally, see Solomon Moore, "Iraq's Widows Shunned, Penniless; Many Live on just $28 a Month; 35 Police Recruits Killed in Bombings." *Toronto Star*, Nov 13, 2006, A10.

gene' that stores fat in the body for times of famine, a necessity for their hunter-and-gatherer ancestors. That need has disappeared over the past 50 years, erased by the sedentary nature of reserve life and the influx of Western foods high in fat and sugar."[317] Aside from touching upon the 'Neophyte of Modernity' trope, this quotation, and the many like it, helps demonstrate how settlers saw suffering on the 'rez' as a function of anything but colonialism. Referring to the mounting issue of diabetes in Sandy Lake, the *Toronto Star* insisted that it was "a genetic disease at its root" and that the problem is especially bad "among people who until relatively recently lived the feast-or-famine existence of traditional hunter/gatherer societies."[318] The proximity of the other to their primordial past was identified as the cause of their suffering in the here and now. Many different political, economic, historic, and scientific discourses have been used to explain away the culpability of the settler-state in the suffering at Sandy Lake.

Drawing upon ready-made tropes of the dirty, the wretched, and the bestial, the deaths of non-white children in Iraq were said to be a function of similar such racial traits. The *Montreal Gazette*, for example, argued that "ignorance about hygiene and symptoms of illness worsened children's conditions before they entered hospitals," and that a lack of modern medical knowledge in the spaces of an Orientalist Iraq could be used – like the genetics of the Sandy Lake community – to explain their own suffering.[319] *The Edmonton Journal* wrote of Iraqi women that "they don`t bring seriously ill babies to

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[317] Louise Elliott, "Lost People: Forgotten Communities Stalked by a Silent Killer." *Toronto Star*, Apr 30, 2000, A1.
[318] Joseph Hall, "Small Indian Community Battles Diabetes Epidemic." *Toronto Star*, Feb 10, 1997, E.7.
[319] Tom Heinen, "The Pain of Iraqs People: A Mothers Lament: `I Hope the Mothers of America Never have to Go through what I have." *The Gazette,* Sep 02, 2000. B.1.BRE.

the hospital until it is too late."[320] Read carefully the following passage describing the death of a small Iraqi boy, and note the construction of his mother as a wailing beast of burden:

> Death was still distant as soft sighs rose from little Hassan's throat with each rapid breath. Doctors clustered around the 6-month- old boy's bed, but his glazed eyes stared vacantly beyond them. Nurses slapped his feet and hands, preparing for an injection they knew could not save the pale, feverish boy. Hassan's anxious mother sat on the bedside and hoped. Thirteen hours later, when death came, she wailed in anguish with other women in a hallway, rocking back and forth.[321]

That newspapers in canada would *never* refer to the death of a white baby in this fashion is something I assert theoretically and empirically.[322] The tiny details of slapped feet, wailing mothers, and life-leaving sighs do not make it into this kind of white-on-white coverage because – as this primary source material suggests – victimhood is something othered, something non-white, and non-'modern.' Textually indulgent towards the pain of non-white others, the sado-masochism of this coverage is not uninteresting or even difficult to uncover, and doubly so in the context of the 'rez.'

There is something certainly celebratory, indulgent, or pornographic about the way canadian newspapers have and continue to discuss issues of substance abuse, suicide, and youth victimhood on the 'rez.' Consider the following passage discussing the troubled children of Pikangikum:

> It's 6 a.m. and most people on this northwestern Ontario reserve are still asleep. Not the gas sniffers. They've been up

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[320] Anne McIlroy. "Women Pay the Price for Saddams Defeat; War, Post-War Sanctions Turn Lives Upside-Down."Edmonton Journal, Nov 27, 1991. A5.
[321] Tom Heinen, "The Pain of Iraq's People: A Mothers Lament: `I Hope the Mothers of America Never have to Go through what I have." *The Gazette*, Sep 02, 2000.
[322] Consider for example, as Slavoj Zizek has, the absolute non-corporeality or bodylessness of 9/11 media coverage. See his *Welcome to the Desert of the Real* (London, Verso Publishing, 2010), pp. 10-12.

> all night. Inarticulate cries come from the boardwalk that leads from the beach on the Berens River toward the south end of the settlement near the band office. To the east, there's a lonely stretch dubbed Gasoline Alley where teens congregate in the surrounding bush. They're here as the sun rises above the treeline for another blistering hot day. A gaggle of boys huddles outside one of a cluster of small homes its siding defaced by graffiti but its lawn recently mowed, a line of white dishcloths running to a nearby tree….Visitors have been warned by other outsiders to stay inside if the sniffers are howling. These packs of stoned youths can be unpredictable and dangerous. [323]

These children live in a community suffering from one of the highest suicide rates in the entire world, and this journalist, Kate Harris, sees fit to describe them as animals. Harris constructs these children as nocturnal beasts. "Inarticulate cries," "gaggle," and "howling" are evocative terms that strip these children who are victims of colonization and genocide of humanity. They are "packs of stoned youths" that are discussed as if they were wounded wolves. Placed alongside the following passage describing the wailing Iraqi mother, one can see the ways in which the construction of the other as a howling, wild beast removes any human subjectivity from the events described, rather than infusing the discussion with any sense of compassion or basic moral standard. For example, the *Vancouver Sun* reported on grieving Iraqi mothers who were making "a pulsating, wailing sound that comes from their throats and is regulated by their tongues," whereas another article in the *newspaper* spoke of "images of maimed children and wailing survivors."[324] Critical race Feminists have argued that Native women are seen by settler societies as having no feelings, whereas women of colour are said to have

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[323] Kate Harris, "'I Don't Know . . . Sometimes I just Cry:' Suicides Haunt Remote Reserve." *Toronto Star*, Aug 18, 2001, A1.

[324] "Mideast Echoes to Sound of Wailing." *The Vancouver Sun*, Feb 15, 1991, A4. Also, see "Iraq: Hard Part is just Beginning." *Kingston Whig - Standard*, Apr 11, 2003, A6.

only feelings.[325] The effect of each of these Orientalist tropes was to describe this female other as not experiencing real emotions, and as being without pain.[326]As the above and below passages demonstrate, the wailing of women and the howling of children was discussed in both contexts to construct a model wherein victimized others are wild and animalistic beasts with emotions that are unreal, animated, or simply not there.

Again speaking of children on the 'rez,' the *Star-Phoenix* reported that because they are "High on solvents, they howl all night long."[327] Tiny corporeal details like the movements of the tongue, facial expressions, and physical motion such as "rocking back and forth" were curiously present in both newspapers articles. These Orientalist others appear to be defined by their bodies and devoid of mind, as if every thought, feeling, and emotion could be read and interpreted from their physical features.[328] For example, consider the following article that describes an Indigenous woman on a northern 'rez' stricken by poverty: "Killiktee speaks quietly, but her soft, dark features harden as she talks about the cost of living in Clyde River and points to the entries in her chequebook."[329] Again, one sees in this passage the racial undertones of the 'beast of burden' - her 'soft voice and dark hardened features' suggesting a victimhood that is passive, permanent, solidified and even noble. The woman is discussed as silent, stoic, and disappearing as modernity marches forward, presumably leaving her behind. This

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[325] *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*, ed. Sherene Razack, Malinda Smith, and Sunera Thobani (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 2010), pp. 1.
[326] For an example of an excellent study investigating constructions of pain, emotion, and racial Others, see Patrica Jasen, "Race, Culture, and the Colonization of Childbirth in Northern Canada,' in *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*, ed. Veronica Strong-Boag (Oxford University Press 2006): 323-35.
[327] Margaret Wente, "Who Will Save Kitty Turtle?" *The Globe and Mail,* Jun 23, 2001. A.13.
[328] Of course, this recalls Fanon's notion of the corporeal schema of the colonized subject in *Black Skins, White Masks*.
[329] "Food Prices Soaring Out of Sight in N.W.T." *Toronto Star*, Apr 08, 1990. A26.

'discourse of disappearance' was used to contextualize the grieving of 'wailing' Iraqi mothers as well as Native mothers who had lost children. In a very emotive article, one settler journalist offered the following account of one such scene of grievance:

> One evening near dusk, my friend and I were walking along the river road that passed through the Indian reserve. Suddenly, we heard an eerie, wailing sound. It made the chills run up my spine and I started to run. My friend, who knew a lot about the local Indians, told me it was only Old Lady Frenchie delivering a message to the river about a departed soul and that she did it every time someone died on her reserve. Whenever I heard it, after that first time, I thought it was very beautiful.[330]

There is a slight sexual violence in this quotation aside from the blatant racist overtones seen in the use of the words "eerie" and "wailing." I mean to interrogate the journalist's statement that she found this ceremony "very beautiful" and even quaint. Many articles in the context of the 'rez' as well as Iraq recast the reality of the other's victimhood as a play or performance for consumption by white eyes that looked to each Orientalist space with pornographic intent. The idea that the other was performing for a settler self was revisited in coverage of the suffering in Iraq to the extent that journalists accused Iraqi peoples of faking their own genocide – if only to entertain the west:

> Almost all of the death estimates that organizations around the world cite are based on counts made by the Iraqi government, and those are poor, incomplete and sometimes exaggerated… Some blame all of the deaths on sanctions. However, no one can say with any certainty what a normal death rate would have been after the Gulf War and subsequent air strikes, even without economic sanctions.[331]

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[330] Edith Garner, "Women of Yore were Real Characters." *The Vancouver Sun*, Jun 24, 1994, A3.
[331] Tom Heinen, "The Pain of Iraq's People: A Mothers Lament: `I Hope the Mothers of America Never have to Go through what I have." *The Gazette*, Sep 02, 2000, B1.

While Native women share with Iraqi women a construction in a dominant discourse as stoic, suffering, and disappearing traditionalists, they are also seen as somehow having engineered their own victimization in order to play an abject role for the colonizer, who can feel righteous in his own humanity while gleefully watching and reading about suffering of others as naturalized or non-human. Whereas the male other was discussed as a sneaky failed father, the female other was constructed as a simple, stupid, and unfit mother who killed her own children through her primitive state. Children in the spaces of the 'rez' or Iraq were discussed as hardly human wailing beasts – damaged, depraved, and disappearing from the modern world- as without hope. These racialized constructions of the other were articulated through the sexual language of gender, and their function was to recast the suffering on the 'rez' and within Iraq as a consequence of anything other than colonial history. Many of these journalists stated openly that they were attempting to represent and champion the humanity and dignity of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples, although the language employed was clearly chosen (however unconsciously) to deny the victims of settler-state violence their humanity. Using the trope of the 'Natural Victim,' canadian newspapers reported upon the destruction of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples in a fashion that intensified the original violence, and contributed to the destruction of their sense of even being a people.

Conclusion

The stories that newspaper told about the spaces of the 'rez' and Iraq, as well as the bodies located within them, were Orientalist fairy-tales that converged on predictable themes of racism and white male supremacy. The stereotype tale of the failed father, the unfit mother, and the starving, wailing child were all used to configure each colonial and

imperial project in a symbolic story of progress, modernity, and white male selflessness. Newspapers had almost no interest in approaching these stories outside of this Orientalist framework, and indeed they could not have. As this and previous chapters shown, the job of journalists in canada has hardly been to report the cold hard facts of history and present realities. Rather, they serve to revisit, reiterate, and reproduce the same racialized and sexually configured story of the failed family, corrupt community, or disappearing nation. One can see in the first section of discourse analysis the bare-faced racism and Orientalism of my primary source material, as well as its genocidal treatment of the non-white body as existing within and even signifying filth, wretchedness, and abject suffering itself. In the second, one sees how Indigenous and Iraqi men were presented to canadian settler society as sexually savage and infinitely selfish – as indulgent bullies who cared little for the suffering of their national families. In the third portion of discourse analysis, one can see the way in which this nuclear family story was rounded out, and the entire Orientalist cast was used to frame interpretations of genocidal events and colonial practices. Children became starving stick figures with insufficient maternal care – they were said to have died as a consequence of brown men's sneakery and brown women's lack of modern medicinal knowledge and appropriate maternal feelings.

Although I revisit and more fully flesh out the argument in the conclusion that follows, I wish here to underscore the ways in which the canadian newspaper discourse reviewed in this chapter complements the primary source materials investigated in chapter two. Journalistic coverage of the 'oka crisis' and the 'Iraqi insurgency' showed newspapers arguing that white masculinity might literally and symbolically *take the place* of the male other and national pattern of targeted peoples. These conversations were

heavily preoccupied with militarism, masculinity, and man-on-man competition. Many of these trends emerged in the discourses discussed above, although my research pointed to a marked difference between these two Orientalist stories. In addition to suggesting that white men must *take the place* of the male other, the quotations in this chapter reveal a worldview that sees the technology and modernity of the white western self as replacing motherhood and medicine. This is seen in the repeated references to the lack of dentist offices, hospitals, and medical personnel available to 'Others' living on the 'rez' or in Iraq. In this Orientalist way of looking at historical realities of human suffering, the problem plaguing the Other is not too much colonization, but not enough of it: no matter what was happening in the space of the other – war, famine, disease, dictatorship – the answer was always more outside intervention and white male paternalism. Expanding on the literal and symbolic arguments being made here, my conclusion draws upon these findings to engage with the idea that white male colonizers are seen as "the universal disembodied subject that can take anyone's place."[332]

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[332] Sherene Razack, Introduction to *Race Space and the Law,* 13. Also, see Radhika Mohantam, *Black Body: Women*, *Colonialism, and Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 167.

Conclusion

From 1990 to 2010, the colonial signifying practices and imperial modes of representation in canadian newspapers ran like clockwork: no matter what historical reality was put into the press machine, the same contorted story emerged between the lines of coverage. This Orientalist account of the other and her/his space was always the same, signifying a "racial journey into personhood" for white male settlers.[333] Sitting as I do within this "interpretative community," I interrogated in the previous chapters primary source materials from a postmodern canadian colonial culture. In the context of colonial signifying practices, my findings heavily reinforced the notion that there is a chasm of difference between the historical reality of Indigenous peoples and the "imaginary indian" or "newspaper indian" that appears in media coverage. This was also true for the image of the Iraqi other: not only was this figure completely disconnected from the reality of the experience or identity of an Iraqi individual, it closely and clearly resembled the fictional and fantastic character of the "imaginary indian."[334] My purpose, however, was not to establish that this Orientalist discourse was "a pack of lies which, were the truth about them to be told, would simply blow away;"[335] rather, I want to engage in this concluding discussion with a demonstrable and pervasive problem that exists on all levels of my "imagined community" of the white male settler society. The work done and the historical perspectives offered in the previous chapters, therefore, came from reading

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[333] I am, like many postcolonial thinkers of a male positionality, am unable to comment on the "interpretative community" and embodied experience of a white settler woman in canadian society. As Frantz Fanon writes of the Black woman in *Black Skins, White Masks*, "I know nothing of her." (pp. 42).

[334] In postmodern terminology, one might consider the Iraqi Other in canadian newspapers as a simulacra of a simulacra of an original sign.

[335] See Edward Said's *Orientalism* (Boston: Vintage Books Press, 1979), pp. 213.

canadian newspapers as texts and viewing the "representations [they produced] *as representations,*" so to speak, and acknowledging that while these purveyors of Orientalist discourse "originally intended their works as windows onto Indian [or Iraqi] worlds, they also served as windows into their own, presenting refracted images of [white canadian] longings, desires, and sometimes neuroses."[336]

In my first chapter, I undertook an unmapping of my settler city of thunder bay, and engaged with primary source materials in a discourse analysis that exposed and explained the ways in which "the national mythologies of settler societies are deeply spatialized stories."[337] In my second, I sketched out the Orientalist tales told about the 'oka crisis' and 'Iraqi insurgency,' arguing that one might theorize these stories as white male settler masculinity literally and symbolically *taking the place* of the other. The significance of this scope of analysis was its unearthing of terrorism paranoia in the canadian colonial context – long before the socio-cultural mutations of the 'war on terror' paradigm entered in national consciousness. In the second chapter, I switched scopes of analysis from the events of the 'crisis' and the 'insurgency' to spaces of the 'rez' and a sanctioned Iraq. Dovetailing with the previous chapter's theories on *taking place*, in the third chapter I theorized the Orientalist stories told about these places as white settler masculinity literally and symbolically *making the space* of the other. This comparison was a telling one in that it showed that the real and imagined histories of the colonized spaces of the 'rez' and Iraq converged upon common normative themes. Not only did the

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[336] Sherry Smith, *Reimagining Indians: Native Americans through Anglo* Eyes (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 8.
[337] Sherene Razack, "Introduction: How Place Becomes Race" in *Race Space and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, ed. Sherene Razack (Toronto: Between the Line Publishing, 2002), p. 10.

actual set of historical relations constitute an overdetermination of Indigenous and Iraqi community health throughout this period, but newspapers very clearly sketched out an Orientalist space in order to reimagine this colonial and genocidal history as (again) a function of racial savagery. In these narratives of *making space* – in direct contrast to those of *taking place* - the female other was fixed at the centre of discourse, and her male counterpart was pushed to the margins of discussion. Because the main arguments of this thesis project are in relation to these two theoretical concepts of *taking space* and *making space*, I centre my concluding discussion around these two foundational story-telling strategies used by canadian newspapers from 1990 to 2010.

Revisiting *Taking Place*

I theorized the notion of settler-states *taking place* quite literally, as it was in reference to the 'oka crisis' and the 'Iraqi insurgency' wherein canadian and american military forces actually occupied the space of the other. I also meant to encapsulate in this concept a more symbolic or metaphorical meaning that touches upon themes of critical theories about white settler societies and identity making-processes. In *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, Sherene Razack offers the following description of a "racial journey into personhood," or an identity-making story that reaffirms the white male settler self:

> The subject who comes to know himself through such journeys first imagines his own space as civilized, in contrast to the space of the racial Other; second, he engages in transgression, which is a movement from respectable space to degenerate space, a risky venture from which he returns unscathed; and

> third, he learns that he is in control of the journey through individual practices of domination.[338]

I submit that the Orientalist stories told by canadian newspapers about the 'oka crisis' and 'Iraqi insurgency' signified "racial journeys into personhood" for white male settlers. Much like the captivity narrative of the dime novel or hollywood films, these stories spoke of scary savage male Others who lived in mystical and romantic Orients and posed a sexual threat to women. In order to protect white women and to free brown women from the tyranny of brown men, a "racial journey into personhood" was undertaken by settler state soldiers (or so the stories go).

The newspaper tales told about the 'crisis' and 'insurgency' described civilized and disciplined military men moving steadfast and sure-footed into savage and hostile territory that was natural, exotic, treacherous, and filled with sinister indians or Iraqis. In order to communicate these extremely racist stereotypes, the Orientalist discourse drew heavily upon constructions of gender. It is for this reason that Razack reminds her readers that when we speak of a "racial journey into personhood…we are speaking of identity-making processes that are profoundly shaped by patriarchy."[339] Colonial racism is operationalized and made intelligible through the language of gender, and nowhere was this more obvious than in the Orientalist stories of the 'crisis' and 'insurgency.' I believe that this newspaper discourse fundamentally validates Radhika Montham's conception of the white male settler as a "subject who is able to take anyone's place."[340]

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[338] Razack, "Introduction: How Place Becomes Race," 14.
[339] *Ibid*., 11.
[340] Radhika Mohantam, *Black Body: Women*, *Colonialism, and Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 167.

The key argument in the chapter entitled "*Taking Place"* extended beyond the immediate context of canadian colonialism, as well as american imperialism. In this chapter, I demonstrated that the stories told about both events converged on normative rhetorical themes that were as numerous as they were predictable. This should come as no surprise, as canadian colonial society has attempted to justify "savage wars of peace" as "white men's burdens" before and after it became a nation state.[341] Speaking from a specifically canadian academic context, I believe that the findings of chapters two and three demonstrate that for settler scholars to effectively look to the realities of globalization and neoimperialism they must do so through a colonial lens. I do not mean to cast aside the valuable research done by critical race theorists who create frameworks for understanding Arab-Muslim others in discourse analysis.[342] Rather, I believe that it is ethically responsible and critically effective to theorize all others in the canadian colonial imagination as outgrowths or rewrites of an original "imaginary indian." In terms of developing theoretical precedence for an emerging school of Settler Studies, I believe

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[341] These quoted passages are from Rudyard Kipling's infamous poem the "White Man's Burden." See *The Collected Poems of Rudyard Kipling* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Edition Publishing, 1994), pp. 334-345. Conveniently for this footnote, this was one of many poems of Kipling's that went to support the Boer War in South Africa in the early 20th century, which is an excellent example of one of the many colonial "savage wars of peace" with which canadian culture has always found itself obsessed.

[342] For example, the popular framework of the "good Muslim, bad Muslim" is one which fits neatly into a "civ/sav dichotomy," and many similar theories are also ready to be integrated into a wider critical race theory of settler state racism. See Mahmoud Mamdani, *Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: America, the Cold War, and the Roots of Terror* (Toronto: Random House Publishing, 2004). For an excellent and timely edited collected of Orientalist discourse analysis of canadian imperial racism against Muslim peoples, see *Islam in the Hinterlands: Muslim Cultural Politics in Canada*, ed. Jasmine Zine (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

that theorizing imperial racism as a function of colonial mentalities may be an effective way to "theorize our place when that place itself is stolen."[343]

Reexamining *Making Space*

Making space referred to the ways in which white settler-states exerted paternalistic political control over the spaces and bodies of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples from 1990 to 2010.[344] That is to say that white settler men have been somewhat successful in *taking the place* of the male other at difference places and time across this twenty year period. After disrupting or destroying pre-existing Indigenous and Iraqi systems of governance, community health, medicine, and food security, settler-state policies left men, women, and children in Iraq and on the 'rez' in "conditions of life calculated to bring about their physical destruction in whole or in part."[345] As sure as *taking place* was about replacing the male other with a symbolic white male patriarch, *making space* had everything to do with displacing Indigenous and Iraqi motherhood, and replacing it with modernity. Although the failed father trope appeared in each context, it is important to note the ways in which stories of *taking place* and *making space* used this stereotype to reinforce the same sets of relations between colonized and colonizer. This is to underscore the extent to which the image of the male other called for more militarism and violent aggression in *taking place* narratives, whereas the same image was used to

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[343] This quotation is taken from the introduction to *States of Race: Critical Race Feminism for the 21st Century*, eds. Sherene Razack, Malinda Smith, and Sunera Thobani (Toronto: Between the Lines Publishing, 2010), pp. 1.
[344] See Cole Harris's *Making Native Space*: *Colonialism, Resistance, and Reserves in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002). Mary-Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-50* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006), pp. xxvii.
[345] I use this legalistic language to recall the United Nations General Assembly, *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide* (December 9th, 1948).

call for increasing amount of bureaucratic control over others in stories of *making space*. Clearly, canadian newspapers viewed the problems plaguing the 'rez' and Iraq as issues of failed fatherly leadership, poor motherhood, nuclear family dysfunction, and a lack of personal responsibility – in other words, as caused by anything but colonialism or imperialism. This served to further legitimize and naturalize the *making of space* on the 'rez' and in Iraq – which continues to take place (or *make space)* as I write this thesis.

Conclusion: Settler-States and Sexual Violence

In theorizing *taking place* and *making space*, I am trying to articulate the ways in which white male settlers attempted to literally and symbolically displace Indigenous and Iraqi men and women. Representing the other as a failed father or unfit mother served to naturalize the inscription of white male patriarchy in Indigenous and Iraqi communities, or allowed white men to *take the place* of the other. These two theoretical concepts dovetail neatly with one another to demonstrate exactly why Andrea Smith says "sexual violence is how you do colonialism."[346] Bullets, bayonets, sanctions, and subsidies all visited a very embodied, interpersonal, and immediate sexual brutality on the bodies of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples. In the Orientalist discourse that followed these assaults in canadian newspapers, this sexual violence was reiterated and reimagined as being for the victim's own good or of their own making. This is perhaps the most telltale sign of the sexual violence of settler-states. As Ward Churchill (Cherokee) claims, this sexually violent set of relations is a "predictable result" of colonialism, "and you'll see its

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[346] See Andrea Smith, "Heteropatriarchy and the Three Pillars of White Supremacy" in *The Color of Violence: The Incite! Anthology*, ed. Incite! Women of Color Against Violence (Cambridge, South End Press, 2006), pp. 142.

counterpart in any colonial context you ever examine…All of those polemics that are used to redeem a rapist – the apologetic, defensive posture, which is hackneyed in the extreme, which is transparent (we see through it) – its all exactly correlated to the arguments used to justify colonialism."[347]

I have come full circle in this study by beginning and ending with a comment from and about my own community. The theories that I have engaged with and employed in this study have had an extremely profound effect on the ways in which I perceive my own involvement in and experience of canadian settler society. I believe that the set of racialized and gendered relations that so precariously positions Native women in my own community is completely analogous to the ways in which Iraqi women were constructed as victims of american imperialism. In both cases, settler-states attacked the image of the male other as a national leader and the female other as a community healer so as to replace both with a white, western, and patriarchal model of modernity. The natural resources of Indigenous and Iraqi peoples are both ambiguously bound up within these settler-state policies; moreover, accountability and responsibility is obscured through a latticework of bureaucracy, aid agencies, economics, politics, and corporatism to the extent that there is no clearly defined perpetrator. Though many smoking-gun documents have been released in recent years, ambiguities abound as to the motivations, intentions, and joint criminal enterprising of settler-states against Indigenous and Iraqi peoples. What is clear, however, is that settler-state imperialism in Iraq is a war waged from stolen land, and this undeniable fact must be acknowledged and engaged with for any effective

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[347] Ward Churchill, quoted in a film documentary produced and directed by Yellow Thunder Woman and Robert Dave, *The Canary Effect* (Weapons of Mass Entertainment Productions, 2006).

power analysis of the 'war on terror' or settler-state foreign policy to take place. As this study shows, the boundaries of positionality are hardly a limitation on our scope of study, and do not relegate settler scholars solely to discussions about canadian colonialism. Due to the shared nature of colonial histories and the forward force of globalism, an effective conversation about canadian colonialism *is necessarily* one that acknowledges this interconnectivity between a wide array of coercive and oppressive forces. I insist on the strength of the arguments made above that any critical review of history made by a white male settler scholar ignoring his own positionality and implication in colonialism will simply have no teeth, and should not be taken seriously. If a historian who shares my identity took his scholarship seriously, he would not look across space and time to find a subject worthy of critical attention and academic awareness – he would simply look to his own backyard.

For purposes of clarity, I summarize the findings of this study with the following argument: *gender justice, decolonization, and an end to the furious unfolding of the 'war on terror' cannot be approached separately if they are to be effectively theorized, much less ethically practiced.*

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