

# Redressing Redress: The Neoliberal Appropriation of Redress in the anti-Native Backlash at Caledonia

A.L. McCready  
McMaster University

What has become glaringly obvious ... is that within that province there are two tiers of justice, a preferential one for aboriginals and another, lower tier for non-Natives. This unequal treatment throws the justice system into disrepute. The dangerous message it sends is that, in some cases, whites seeking justice against aboriginals have no choice but to take the law into their own hands.

*"The Ongoing Disgrace of Caledonia,"*

*an unsigned editorial in The National Post, 28 November 2009*

**S**INCE 28 FEBRUARY 2006, when the Six Nations of the Grand River Territory reclaimed a small parcel of land just south of their reserve in the non-Native suburban town of Caledonia, the town has become nearly synonymous with images, promoted by an increasingly corporatized and sensationalistic media, of burning tires, blockades, and standoffs between Natives and non-Natives, a hostile breach of the civility that Daniel Coleman notes is held dear in the Canadian imaginary (9). This paper examines the response of the predominantly white community at Caledonia in the context of the powerful discourses now circulating around redress and reconciliation and the diverse avenues they offer for political contestation. I argue that the local non-Native backlash against Six Nations' Reclamation (as it was termed by participants) sought to render itself intelligible as a redress movement in its own right. Investigating the demands put

A.L. MCCREADY is a PHD candidate in English and Cultural Studies at McMaster University. McCready's dissertation on the militarization of Canadian national identity in a new age of Empire investigates the tensions between Canadian legitimating myths of peacekeeping and multiculturalism and the imperatives of global neoliberalism, on the level of cultural production and cultural practices.

forward by the Caledonian community can help us think about redress as a genre of political activism within a neoliberal colonial-settler state like Canada. By understanding redress as a genre I am suggesting that it is a set of strategies, political discourses, and forms of activism, mostly addressed to governments, by which wronged groups make a call for justice and just compensation for past wrongs. However, in a moment marked by the atomization, isolation, and individualism of neoliberal culture, and the assertion of neoconservative social values to which neoliberalism frequently gives rise, the genre of redress is ironically subject to cooptation and mobilization by dominant groups and privileged citizens against marginalized groups' calls for justice. This occurs in Canada in a context in which dominant discourses of state multiculturalism rely on and perpetuate the "racelessness" that David Theo Goldberg defines as "the attempt to go beyond—without (fully) coming to terms with—racial histories and their accompanying racist inequities and iniquities" (217). The redress genre, severed from racial histories and structures of oppression and exclusion, offers a readily appropriable form of political discourse. This ironic inversion of claims to persecution, abuse, and victimhood demonstrates the rhetorical and logical contortionism akin to the slander of "reverse-racism" that privileges white injury and facilitates the historical amnesia that, in this case, perpetuates ongoing colonial injustice.

After discussing global neoliberalism as the foremost political project and ideology characterizing the present political context in Canada, I elaborate an understanding of redress as genre and question the degree to which land claims can be read in this register. I then provide a brief account of the reclamation of *Kanohstaton* at Caledonia, focusing my analysis on how local non-Native community residents and come-from-away agitators have staged a troublingly successful social movement that has taken up much cultural space and been favoured in local and national media at the expense of Indigenous claims. Racially coded fears about diminishing property values and the integrity of Canada's territorial sovereignty reveal the unexamined entitlement characteristic of white privilege, in this case in the literal sense of "title" to the land, and the dedication to preserving that entitlement. Ironically (albeit perhaps predictably), the appropriation of redress tactics and strategies by Caledonians and their supporters—what I theorize as the "redressing of redress"—has been remarkably successful in achieving immediate goals such as monetary compensation, sympathetic media representation, and audiences with various levels of political power. Meanwhile, the fundamental issue—that is, the continued failure of the Canadian government to abide by its own (as well as international) laws

and negotiate in good faith to repair relations with the Haudenosaunee and settle their grievances which include reparations for stolen land, unpaid rents owing and expired, and misappropriation of funds—has been in no way redressed or reconciled. Indeed, as I suggest, this avoidance of real redress through the mobilization of concern over the plight of privileged, ostensibly average citizens highlights a deep paradox in Canadian colonial-settler society: the crimes on which the state was built continue to this day and undergird the current neoliberal political and economic order. Forms of redress that challenge that order are unlikely to be willingly embraced by its executors.

## Neoliberalism

As critics like David Harvey (40) and Wendy Brown (“American Nightmare” 692) note, neoliberalism as a hegemonic economic doctrine, ideology, and political movement is underscored by the belief that there is no alternative to capitalism and that the only way to create prosperity is through the free flow of capital and the removal of all barriers to trade (such as environmental and labour regulations). As corporate power has intensified, due in part to the global mobility of capital, nation-states are increasingly beholden to the dictates of the market that they themselves aid and abet (Bauman 68). Education, culture, healthcare, transportation, seed stocks, water, and other public assets and common resources are commodified by a combination of privatization, deregulation, and trade liberalization that together make up the core of the neoliberal project. Historic injustices, inequalities, and local forms of oppression and exploitation are not erased at the so-called end of history but, rather, become de-raced and discursively displaced under the banner of economic equality promised by the free market. This ideology of colour-blindness that relies on an absolute equivalence between de-historicized social subjects (and is, of course, not blind to colour at all) makes way for the preoccupation with white injury that comes to dominate the “postracial” neoliberal society (Goldberg 219). Legacies of colonialism repeat themselves in the seemingly neutral garb of economic necessity and market neutrality, in which race-based exploitation is privatized and outsourced from the ostensibly race-neutral or equal opportunity state to the corporate sector.

But as John and Jean Comaroff argue, as much as neoliberalism is an economic doctrine and a seemingly compulsory political option, it is also a cultural force that perpetuates individualism, cynicism, and the frantic guarding of social privilege (15). Alternatives to global capitalism appear unthinkable, even in the face of looming ecological and financial collapse,

while at the same time public services and spaces are eviscerated. Social movements in so-called Western industrialized countries like Canada find themselves with little leverage over the popular imagination, where a relative level of wealth and apathy on one hand and cynicism and hopelessness on the other preclude politics of social transformation on a mass scale. The mounting opposition to neoliberal globalization, the origin of which is usually dated to Seattle in 1999 in the North American context, became dampened as the former coalition-based anti-globalization activists redirected their energies into organizing against the burgeoning wars in Afghanistan and, later, Iraq. While anti-globalization activists were being framed as terrorists even before the onset of the War on Terror, in its Manichean aftermath, as Henry Giroux notes, patriotic fervor and fear on the one hand and disillusionment with corporate media spectacle on the other have left little to no meaningful public space for addressing the neoliberal agenda (46). Indeed, as the U.S.-based anti-racist feminist collective INCITE! demonstrates, the force of capitalist globalization has seen many social justice, ecological, and equity-seeking social movements co-opted, either packaged into saleable commodities like charities or lifestyles or partnered with major corporations eager to purchase the public relations value of moral absolution (3). Neoliberalism unceasingly spins the gold of people's creativity, labour, and love into the dross of mass-produced faux-resistance chic, cycled and recycled endlessly in this age of digital reproduction, spectacle, and simulacra.

Perhaps enabled by the general zeitgeist of dispossession, inauthenticity, uncertainty, and fear, support for neoconservatism, including the base of support behind Canada's ruling Conservative party, coheres (Brown, "American Nightmare" 705–10). In Canada, right and far-right sentiments are most frequently expressed as reactions to a supposedly molycoddling state, arguing that the supposed gains of women and minorities have gone too far and are threatening the social fabric of the national community (Healy 9–20; Jeffrey 18). Right-wing social movements, such as those against abortion and immigration and in support of "our troops," have successfully appropriated the form of former progressive grassroots movements, typically citing themes of equality, fairness, justice, and rights in their defense of (perceived) traditions, hierarchies, and inequalities. Mary Ellen Campbell has referred to these postmulticulturalist social projects and the possibilities for subjectivity they offer as "cults of persecuted white masculinity," for whom a blanket rhetoric of individual equality under the market has become an effective organizing trope (15). We see, for instance, openly racist anti-Native organizers in Caledonia waxing romantic about

their respect for the Reverend Dr Martin Luther King, Jr, and explicitly likening their efforts to preserve white privilege to civil rights struggles (Dunphy). In this formulation, that insists that fairness and equality means one law for all, it is alleged that the Canadian government is racist against white people because it enacts a system of “two-tiered justice” that lets Native protesters “get away with breaking the law” (“McHale”).<sup>1</sup> Categorically rejecting the argument that Six Nations is governed by and bound to uphold its own laws which predate Canadian Confederation and may at times stand in contradiction to the laws of Canada, these skilful rhetoricians are quick to issue ultimatums premised on an absolute colourblind equivalence between individuals and to call for militarized solutions.

As a reigning ideology as well as a logic of cultural organization, neoliberalism’s valorization of the individual and destruction of the capacity for collective thinking and action has been well documented. I agree with Ravi De Costa who, writing about the Canadian government’s apology for Indian residential schools, suggests that we must be attentive to the ways in which “neoliberal imperatives may inhabit the politics of reconciliation” (2). Neoliberalism delimits the shapes which redress, reconciliation, and future constellations of Native and settler identities and relationships are able to take.

## Redress

The notion of genre is typically associated with discursive and literary works and speaks to the historically specific ways cultural acts become recognizable as distinct forms. Critics like Mikhail Bakhtin (1993), Georg Lukács (1971), and Roland Barthes (1972) have argued that genres are not stable or natural categories but, rather, politically charged vessels of meaning, shaping and shaped by the things they classify. This reciprocity between interventions and the frame in which they are understood makes the notion of genre particularly well suited to describing many strategies of political contestation today that rely not only on mobilizing people or creating disturbances but framing themselves in familiar and affective forms so as to be recognized by media, policy-makers, and the general public in an increasingly sensationalized and simulated public sphere. Redress, I suggest, may be considered a genre of representation, negotiation, and action through which diverse historically situated groups and interests do

1 See also Gary McHale’s website, [www.caledoniawakeupcall.com](http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com), and Mark Vandermaas’s website, [www.VoiceofCanada.ca](http://www.VoiceofCanada.ca), as well as [www.CANACE.ca](http://www.CANACE.ca), Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality, a joint project that boasts Gary McHale as Executive Director and Mark Vandermaas as the Secretary Treasurer.

The notion of genre is typically associated with discursive and literary works and speaks to the historically specific ways cultural acts become recognizable as distinct forms.

social, cultural, political, and economic work. It is comprised of a set of forms of discourse (the framing of claims, the locating of a distinct group within the population, the mobilization of common values) and action (protests, petitions, presentations to committees, lobbying) addressed to an overarching power—primarily, state power. While redress movements are commonly understood to seek justice for past wrongs, I would like us to consider that there is no inherent link between form and content, between the genre of redress and justice, or just-ness. While this genre originated in the struggles of the marginalized and disenfranchised, today it has also become a form through which hegemonic groups are increasingly able to articulate their claims.

In fact, much as official multiculturalism has been critiqued over the past twenty years as a technology for reproducing the nation-state, redress has become a recognizable cultural and institutional form that is particularly vulnerable to appropriation. As Himani Bannerji (11) and Eva Mackey (67), among others, note, state multiculturalism in Canada arose as a method to deflect the political, cultural, and economic demands of marginalized groups and emerged as a highly effective governmental technology for managing difference. In this post-9/11 era of the expansion of neoliberal ideologies and revitalized forms of virulent nationalism, the genre of redress, which has gained a kind of popular explanatory power, is especially vulnerable to appropriation by privileged groups. By explanatory power, I simply mean that redress has become recognizable as a form of seeking justice from one's government, employer, or other powerful institution. Leaving aside the actual, complex, and varied histories of redress movements in Canada, there is a general perception that past wrongs demand some form of attention and can be at least partially righted or put to rest by present government actions (usually monetary and/or commemorative), following the engagement of a set of discursive and activist techniques, usually staged for public and media attention, as well as backroom lobbying and other less spectacular procedures. All this is to say that protest tactics, as they are traditionally imagined to include chanting and picket signs, have become overdetermined and, in this disaffected era of postmodern irony, aesthetically cliché. It is this social saturation with redress-seeking that, in the present, enables the separation of the medium and the message.

In a series of polls between March and June of 2008 leading up to the apology for residential schools, Angus Reid found Canadian support for the apology grew from 42 percent in March to 53 percent in May to two-thirds of those polled three days before the apology was issued on 11

June 2008. Media coverage framed the poll results less equivocally, with headlines such as “Canadians support apologies for the past” (O’Neill, *The National Post*) and “Two-thirds of Canadians support apologies for historical mistakes: poll” (unsigned, *The Ottawa Citizen*). This seeming paradox, that a majority of the Canadian population (eventually) supported the more symbolic redress efforts of the state while remaining unsympathetic (if not openly hostile) to other contemporary Indigenous claims to justice, makes sense only within a logic of preferred national myths of civility and benevolence. Expressing sympathy for an historic wrong comfortably locates colonialism in the past rather than the present and is an act that confirms a dearly held narrative of the evolution of Canadian settler attitudes from regrettable original violence, through past “misunderstandings” and unfortunate “mistakes,” to present-day enlightened postracial equality. Support for the apology, in other words, frees the present from the implication of the past and frames the current political moment as “raceless” (Goldberg 217)—a level playing field where all citizens are equal and claims to special rights or recompense are suspect. Here, a national narrative of progressive benevolence, sympathy, humility and tolerance implies that the system and nation work and that demands and protests that fall outside of a narrow idea of civility and order are not only inappropriate but savagely retrograde.

The discursive field of redress in Canada is inflected by particular historical struggles as well as local, national, and transnational events. The internment of Japanese-Canadians during the Second World War, and their subsequent twenty-year struggle to have that experience acknowledged by the Government of Canada, is the subject of Roy Miki’s influential book *Redress*. Reflecting on his community’s hard won and precedent-setting vindication in that struggle, Miki observes a necessary correspondence between, on the one hand, existing languages of citizenship and national values (in this case liberalism and tolerance) and, on the other, the languages in which the demand for redress is articulated (322). In other words, redress movements often must articulate their claims in the very language used to justify the past injustices, exclusions, and oppressions. In the case of Caledonia, mobilizing dominant discourses of citizenship has required a kind of performativity that dominant groups have been able to master much more readily than the Haudenosaunee and their supporters who have ample cause to find those discourses problematic and ill fitting.

But Miki is also attentive to the very different national moment that prefigured the eventual redressing of the Japanese-Canadian community. In 1988, a postwar Canadian “nationalism in which citizenship

The most recent  
turn in the  
politics of  
redress has  
been the string  
of apologies  
offered by  
Stephen  
Harper's two  
successive  
minority  
governments  
since 2006.

values gave much more meaning to everyday lives than they do today” was waning and the emergent language of globalization and free trade was just growing into the hegemonic dominance it would obtain in Canada by the 1990s, introducing “an economic agenda in which cultural nationalism was superceded by the power of transnational corporations and global markets” (Miki 10–11). Indeed, the lexicon of transnational capital is another sphere in which the terms redress and reconciliation have a new, more sinister meaning: reconciling accounts, the ability of transnational corporations to sue governments for redress for potential lost profits. Under Chapter 11 of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), corporations have the right to sue governments for potential lost profits should they undertake environmental or labour regulations that can be construed as damaging or potentially damaging to investment. Settlements the Canadian government has been forced to pay include a \$13 million award to the United States–based Ethyl Corporation (for lost profits due to a temporary ban on the fuel additive MMT, a known neurotoxin) and \$8 million to United States–based S.D. Meyers waste disposal firm (for temporarily disallowing the transfer of a toxic waste material in accordance with local regulations) (Sinclair 3–8). With several more cases in process totaling hundreds of millions of dollars in claims, it seems that transnational capital has appropriated its own, particularly lucrative, language of redress.

The most recent turn in the politics of redress has been the string of apologies offered by Stephen Harper's two successive minority governments since 2006, including the apology for the Chinese Head Tax (Cho), the Komagata Maru incident (James), and (most directly relevant to this discussion) Indian residential schools. While the legal or official status of these apologies is at times unclear, they promote an image of dedication to the national ideal of multiculturalism, the rule of law, and liberal virtue. Their function in projecting the benevolence of the Canadian nation ought not to be underestimated. For the majority of Canadians protected from having to encounter and reconcile the nation's imperial and colonial legacies, the apologies of the Prime Minister and the government's commitments to relatively marginal funding for public memorials seems sufficient to address past wrongs that have heretofore gone largely unacknowledged. By (intentional) contrast, movements that seek redress beyond apologies and monuments are framed as strident and disruptive and their demands come to represent evidence of a lack of full belonging in the national community and a racialized ingratitude to the body politic. This deviation from civil or real citizenship confirms the neoliberal fears that Canada's

trumpeted social liberalism, openness to newcomers, and multicultural tolerance open it up to abuse and exploitation.

Not to diminish the very real affective value of apologies to individuals and communities, and the hard collective work of social movements to win them, the Harper administration seems to use recognition and apology to reward “good” racialized ethnic groups (that can be interpreted as embodying Canadian national values rearticulated by a right-wing government) and punish “bad” ones (that can be interpreted as uninterested in assimilation, stubbornly different, and threatening). This division between good and bad minoritized populations is symptomatic of a politics of recognition that reinforces the hegemony of the dominant group by “exalting,” in Sunera Thobani’s words, dominant national subjects (3–29).<sup>2</sup> Here, the politics of redress have been craftily mobilized to at once offer little actual material or cultural compensation while at the same time reinscribing dominant notions of Canadian identity and belonging. It is out of this context that movements for redressing redress emerge, in which privileged groups demand compensation and recognition for the inconvenience, discomfort, and anxiety they suffer amidst the failure of the multicultural project to manage difference.

### Are Land Claims Redress Movements?

The degree to which Indigenous land claims can be considered redress movements requires some contextualization. Redress movements are characterized by a set of discursive and political forms that see a distinct group within a dominant society demand recognition and reparation from their government for past wrongs. In seeking to establish clear title to their stolen lands and have that title recognized by the Canadian state, Indigenous land claims do, in a way, seek redress. Indeed, within the land claims process, the Government of Canada sets the rules, appoints the tribunals, and makes the ultimate decisions, meaning that while there might be the appearance of a legal process, land claims remain in essence a supplication to the government and inherently frame Indigenous claimants as subject to Canadian sovereignty (Alfred, *Wasáse* 29–31). Whether explicitly stated as such (as in the case of the Caledonia dispute) or only implied, Indigenous land claims strike at the very heart of the question of

<sup>2</sup> In addition to Thobani’s work I am thinking here of Sherene Razack’s arguments about the recent post–9/11 turn of Canadian cultural politics in her recent book *Casting Out*. I am also grateful to Wafaa Hassan’s recent work on the Harper government’s attacks on and de-funding of the Canadian Arab Federation, the subject of her forthcoming paper.

sovereignty because they concern the foundation of Canada's sovereignty in the control of territory, the power to make and enforce laws, and the legacy of international treaties. While Indigenous claims can represent a spectrum of interests beyond strictly land-based ones (such as having medical or dental coverage or potable water provided by the Canadian government as per its treaty obligations), it is fair to say that though formal sovereignty may not always be on the table, sovereignty is still always at stake.<sup>3</sup> Sovereignty in this context can have a range of meanings stretching from demands for a contiguous nation-state within (or across) Canadian borders to, say, some form of distinct minority status and self-government, depending on the specific history, treaty relationships, and community priorities in question. It is not the prerogative of this essay (nor should it be) to speculate on behalf of Indigenous people about the forms and implications of this hotly contested term. What is critical for my argument is that these claims, regardless of their immediate demands, deeply unsettle the project of the Canadian colonial-settler state to establish its own sovereign claim to its territory and the people who fall within it.

Paul De Pasquale succinctly characterizes the fundamental misrecognition that continues to underscore the treaty relationships on which that sovereignty is based:

The treaty relationship and negotiations between Natives and settlers from the nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries were unequal, guided by two very different sets of principles regarding land ownership. While traditional Aboriginal relationships with the land were communal and conservationist, Euro-Canadians were motivated primarily by private and commercial interests. From the perspective of many who have traditionally viewed Aboriginal peoples as stewards of the land for the Creator, it is inconceivable that those at the time of the treaty could possibly have agreed to “cede, release and surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion ... all their rights, titles and privileges” as is written in the treaty texts. The knowledge and values of Aboriginal people

<sup>3</sup> Admittedly, sovereignty is foregrounded here because my most immediate frame of reference is the Haudenosaunee, historic allies rather than subjects of the Crown, who have never renounced their own sovereignty and, as such, their struggles against the government of Canada are cast in explicitly nation-to-nation terms. But there is also a risk, as Taiaiake Alfred points out, of relying too heavily on the notion of sovereignty which calls up, after all, a deeply Eurocentric idea of autonomy based on notions of exclusive territorial ownership, internal stratification, unquestionable power, and international recognition that tend to be absent from most Indigenous world-views. I use the word under caution.

that shaped principles antithetical to European objectives should certainly not be misinterpreted as an indication of ignorance. (xxviii)

He elaborates: “Land ownership constituted the cultural heart of the English (idea) of America as theirs. Since occupation of the soil and distributing it according to English law were the officially designated goals of English colonization, it is not surprising that the central concern of aboriginal peoples subject to an English colonial system is to restore land and resource ownership in the present day” (xxix).

At issue here is the failure of the Canadian government to operate within the bounds of its own most basic legal tenets, the respect for property. Indeed, as Roland Chrisjohn et al., for instance, point out, the very essence of Canada’s national sovereignty rests, ironically, on its compliance with international law in honouring and maintaining the treaties it signed with Indigenous peoples or inherited from mother England (1–2). In framing land claims as redress movements, therefore, there is a very real danger of minimizing Indigenous claims to sovereignty and the fundamental challenge they pose to the sovereignty of the Canadian nation-state. As Taiaiake Alfred among many others has noted, it then becomes possible to interpret Indigenous peoples as just one category of minoritized people among many, and the genocide and dispossession that undergirds the colonial settler state disappears amidst a host of other grievances against the nation (Wasáse 248). Scholars and activists have seen this strategy of equalization or homogenization of difference as a vital function of the Multiculturalism Act itself, which makes no address to Indigenous Nations’ prior claims. Indeed, there have been successive waves of near-frantic attempts by the federal government to embrace Indigenous peoples within this minority frame in order to sublimate the existential terror of Indigenous sovereignty and the spectres of legal and moral illegitimacy it invokes.

In addition, unlike more formal redress movements which typically seek justice for minorities in the political arena and public sphere and imply a more diffuse set of goals (including but not limited to public memorializations, government apologies, and monetary compensation), Indigenous land claims are embroiled in very specific (if Kafkaesque) legal and quasi-legal processes that frequently require the dedication of excessive time, money, and energy across several generations (Miller 250–82) and do not rely directly on mobilizing public sympathy in Canadian society at large. Where Indigenous claims do require more public and direct action it is typically to put pressure on the Canadian government to restart stalled

Scholars and activists have seen this strategy of equalization or homogenization of difference as a vital function of the Multiculturalism Act itself.

or willfully obstructed negotiations, to assert sovereignty or power, or to prevent the continued theft and/or development of lands under claim (as in the case of the events at Caledonia and, more recently, Brantford). So while the Indigenous land claims (or, perhaps more accurately, the challenging of Canadian claims to Indigenous lands) that garner the most attention often take on the formal characteristics of the genre of redress, they exceed the politics of state recognition of internal minorities that typify the genre.

While for many marginalized groups the genre of redress might be mobilized to hold the state to its claims within contemporary logics of multicultural recognition and validation, in the case of Indigenous land claims redress will not produce justice so long as land title is not in some way repatriated or reimagined, as long as the colonial system of governance, dispossession, and apartheid is not fundamentally dismantled, as long as the genocidal project of severing Indigenous youth from their languages and cultural traditions is not undone, and so long as Indigenous sovereignty is neither tacitly respected nor formally observed. This would require not only a reversal of Canadian policy but seismic changes to the cultural assumptions, legal principles, and national myths and values on which the legitimacy of Canada is based. Unlike redress movements where apologies and financial compensation may appear as sufficient and desirable remedies and steps toward integration and equality within the multicultural nation, in the case of Indigenous claims these are not sufficient because they tend not to address the deep existential issues at the core of the injustice and there is no reason to expect that the oppression and social destruction of Indigenous nations will cease.<sup>4</sup> Where redress is a genre already built on compromise with and incorporation into the nation, Indigenous land claims have the capacity to unsettle the very substance of the nation. To accept formal redress and incorporation is, for many Indigenous activists, to succumb to genocide through assimilation. In a moment of neoliberalism, which sees the principle of private property expanded to nearly every sphere of our lives, the gulf widens and widens between formal redress (and the closure of economic compensation) and the substantive social transformation necessary to actually create a just and lasting reconciliation between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

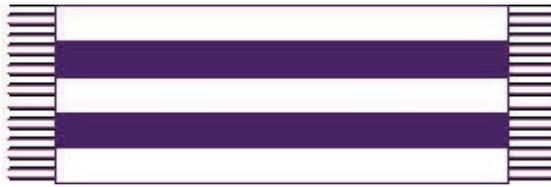
4 There is a great range of opinion and debate within Indigenous communities, and it is not my intention to comment on the politics of these positions for Indigenous peoples. Rather, I am seeking to demonstrate that the Canadian nation-state is deeply haunted by these problems in a way that takes Indigenous claims outside the genre of redress.

## Redressing “Douglas Creek Estates”: A Brief History of Kanonhstaton

In the interests of situating myself and my commitments in relation to this project, I need to share a part of my personal story here. I became involved with my union (Canadian Union of Public Employees, local 3906 at McMaster University) after moving to southern Ontario. When our union heard Native folks were blocking illegal development on their lands we had an automatic—if very basic—feeling of support and connection: colonialism bad, resistance good. Many of us had no knowledge whatsoever about the Haudenosaunee, an ignorance that, as I found out, is by no means exceptional in Canadian settler society and is in fact encouraged by an educational curriculum and an amnesiac relationship to history designed to protect the interests of the Canadian state. The knowledge I have subsequently gained about this issue (including the observation that sympathetic non-Natives have a rather predictable way of being more attracted to the visible politics of a land reclamation than some of the myriad other ways Indigenous people resist colonialism) is entirely indebted to others with whom I have collaborated on anti-racist and anti-colonial projects, and they have my deep thanks and highest regard.<sup>5</sup>

The Haudenosaunee or Iroquois are an ancient Confederacy of Six Nations (the Mohawk, Seneca, Onondaga, Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora) governed by the world’s oldest surviving democratic constitution, the *Kaianerikowa* or Great Law of Peace. It was with this politically, economically, and militarily dominant confederacy that the first treaty allowing non-Native access to Turtle Island was brought into being. The *Guswhenta*, or Two Row Wampum, was originally a compact with the Dutch and was reaffirmed with successive groups of European immigrants. Consisting of two rows of purple wampum beads against a white beaded background, the Two Row Wampum codifies the relationship between original peoples and newcomers based on friendship, peace, and respect. The importance of this treaty cannot be overstated, as it forms the basis of non-Native belonging on this land, so I treat it here at length. Translated into English, the agreed-upon treaty reads as a Haudenosaunee response to a Dutch treaty proposal:

<sup>5</sup> Not having express permission to publicly name individuals, I refrain from doing so here, but readers may be interested in the work of the Six Nations Settler Solidarity Network: <http://6nsolidarity.wordpress.com>.



You say that you are our Father and I am your son. We say, We will not be like Father and Son, but like Brothers. This wampum belt confirms our words. These two rows will symbolize two paths or two vessels, traveling down the same river together. One, a birch bark canoe, will be for the Indian People, their laws, their customs and their ways. The other, a ship, will be for the white people and their laws, their customs and their ways. We shall each travel the river together, side by side, but each in our boat. Neither of us will make compulsory laws or interfere in the internal affairs of the other. Neither of us will try to steer the other's vessel.<sup>6</sup>

Allies to the British Crown during the American War of Independence, the Six Nations Confederacy was forced to flee their traditional lands south of Lake Ontario to resettle in the “Haldimand Tract”: about one million acres stretching six miles on either side of the length of the Grand River, which winds from northwest of Toronto to Lake Erie. A strategic buffer against American invasion, the Tract was not the result of a treaty; it was given, instead, by the British Crown as recompense for military allegiance (much like lands granted to United Empire Loyalists who migrated from the U.S.)—a land transfer that was formalized in 1784. Six Nations has never conceded its sovereignty to its lands. However, over the subsequent decades Six Nations witnessed its control over the tract progressively eroded by settlement and the establishment of non-Native communities that were to grow into cities like Kitchener, Brantford, and nearby Guelph. In retaliation against Six Nations' fierce international legal and political resistance to colonialism, in 1924, the Crown sent armed police to dissolve the Six Nations' confederate council and establish its own form of colonial governance. Following the battery of apartheid-like laws which characterized Canada's approach to Indigenous peoples for the first two-thirds of the twentieth century, Six Nations emerged with less than 5 percent of

<sup>6</sup> I am using the text and image of the Two Row Wampum from wikipedia.com because they are in the public domain. For a more in-depth treatment see Muller, as well as an interpretation from the Akwesasne Mohawk community at [www.akwesasne.ca/tworowwampum.html](http://www.akwesasne.ca/tworowwampum.html).

the Haldimand Tract, despite being the largest and most (comparatively) wealthy reserve in Canada.<sup>7</sup>

The most recent set of disputes emerged from the rapid growth of suburban areas in Southern Ontario, Canada's economic centre. Responding to the threat of increased urban sprawl, the provincial government, in 2005, consolidated a variety of zoning and planning documents to create a greenbelt or buffer of development-free land stretching around the Western tip of Lake Ontario from Coburg to Niagara Falls and hugging the Niagara escarpment. The Haldimand Tract falls neatly outside this zone and communities like Brantford and Caledonia, which directly abut the Six Nations reserve and are close to major highway access, became the sites of intense suburban development (Rusk). On 28 February 2006, Six Nations' youth, with the support of community elders, walked peacefully onto Douglas Creek Estates, a suburban housing development on the outskirts of Six Nations and Caledonia, and refused to leave.<sup>8</sup> This protest came after years of stalled negotiations and broken promises by both federal and provincial governments to adequately settle Six Nations' claims and repeated warnings to the developer, Henco Industries, that the land was under claim ("Developer warned").

Following a court injunction against the reclamation and the subsequent refusal of Six Nations to leave, 4 April saw the first of what were to become regular non-native demonstrations, marked by aggressive behaviour and language as well as by racial slurs, occasional drunkenness, and the hurling of beer bottles and other objects, by residents of Caledonia and outside groups, as a backlash against Six Nations' claims to justice (Nolan, "Rally urges action"). Perhaps not surprisingly, the leaders of this backlash were among the town's developers, real-estate owners, and political elite who fanned the fears of local residents that the land reclamation would drive down property prices. For many of the largely white, middle-class residents of Caledonia, home values were a critical store of economic security in neoliberal times, and while the town had earlier been held up as a model of a civil and peaceable relationship between Indigenous and

7 See Hill. Wright also provides a very readable introduction to the history of these injustices.

8 The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation website provides a timeline indexed to contemporary news articles from 2006–2007 at <http://cbc.ca/news/background/caledonia-landclaim/>. See also Tom Keefer's work on the matter and *The Dish With One Spoon*, a Haudenosaunee documentary about the reclamation produced by scholar and filmmaker Dawn Martin Hill.

settler communities the racist sentiment which underscores the Canadian colonial project of dispossession quickly bubbled to the surface.

On 20 April the Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) mobilized their tactical units to perform an early-morning raid on the unarmed Six Nations land occupants but, while they made several arrests that proved disastrous for the individuals involved, the heavily armed authorities were forced out of *Kanonhstaton* (or “the protected place,” as Six Nations re-dubbed the reclaimed site) (Healy and Nolan). The subsequent weeks saw an influx of solidarity from Indigenous and settler allies and *Kanonhstaton* became a hub of activity. It also saw the first instance of Six Nations blocking the local arterial highway that runs adjacent to the reclamation site.

At the same time, however, the backlash movement was growing rapidly. By 24 April some three thousand anti-native protestors descended on the police who were attempting to keep a *cordone sanitaire* between the town and the reclamation site (Nolan, “Residents rise up”). Again on 28 April, and at weekly intervals thereafter through the spring and summer of 2006, Caledonia was rocked by increasingly hostile protests by town residents and far right organizers attempting to march on *Kanonhstaton* and, as Kate Milley documents,<sup>9</sup> calling for the military to “clear” Natives from the land (Milley 94). These non-native protesters

gathered around fire barrels chanting “Burn Natives Burn.” They held signs reading, “Where is John Wayne when you need him?,” “Don’t feed the animals. Natives running rampant,” “Oka strike one, Ipperwash strike two, Caledonia strike three,” and “What would George Bush do?” They demanded “military action now,” and some even pleaded for US military intervention. Local men expressed their desire to clear the land themselves, demanding that the OPP hand over their guns to “real men” who could get the job done. (Milley 94)

Meanwhile, negotiations between Six Nations and the federal and provincial governments rose and fell with the passions surrounding the reclamation.<sup>10</sup> By the fall of 2006 the figure of Gary McHale, a self-described anti-racist activist (protesting racism against white people, as he explains on his website)<sup>11</sup> from the Toronto suburb of Richmond Hill, perhaps an hour’s drive from Caledonia, arose as a key organizer of the backlash against Six

9 As Milley’s article just became available as this is going to press, I regret I cannot incorporate more of her excellent analysis of anti-native organizing and the responsibilities of the settler-left in this paper.

10 See [www.cbc.ca/news/background/caledonia-landclaim](http://www.cbc.ca/news/background/caledonia-landclaim).

11 [www.caledoniawakeupcall.com](http://www.caledoniawakeupcall.com).

Nations and settler redress movement. On 15 October, he organized a large rally in Caledonia at which he mobilized the rhetoric of law, civility, and fairness as key tropes (Nelson). McHale would go on to take up the cases of locals who perceived themselves wronged by what they called the “two-tiered justice system” which saw Indigenous people “getting away” with acts of civil disobedience. McHale was an exemplar and conduit for settler anger and resentment based on a refusal to admit the history and legal complexities of the Six Nations’ case and which mobilized a simplistic notion of formal equality to reframe the Indigenous struggle against colonialism as only the latest episode of the Canadian government’s continuous concession to liberal guilt over ancient wrongs. In addition to those mentioned by Milley, signs at protests bore the inscriptions “No more treaties,” and “No: land claims, reserves, freebies.”<sup>12</sup> A majority of settlers voiced outspoken support for Caledonia mayor Marie Trainer who defended what appeared in the media coverage as a mob of her citizens throwing rocks at and across police lines. She explained Caledonians’ behaviour in terms that invoked the racialized neoliberal spectre of Indians-as-welfare-recipients and a leach on the economically construed body politic, stating that the violence was in reaction to frustration in traffic delays, because “If they don’t go to work, they don’t get paid and if they don’t get paid then they can’t pay their mortgages and they lose their homes.[...] They don’t have money coming in automatically every month [...] They’ve got to work to survive and the natives have got to realize that” (“Mayor’s comments”).

But by the end of the year, public figures like McHale and others had begun to wear out their welcome and, while occasional anti-native demonstrations continued, much of the settler community, sensing a lack of sympathy from both politicians and the OPP and beginning to tire of demonstrations and rhetoric that did not result in the expulsion of Native protesters from the land, sunk into a morass of resentment and resignation. While the OPP had at the outset sympathized with town residents for their outrage at “native lawlessness,” by late 2006 its policy had come to focus largely on policing non-Native rioters and trying to prevent McHale and his followers from staging media stunts aimed at escalating tensions (Clairmont). McHale in fact attempted to move to Caledonia but was prevented by a court order which he incurred for breaching OPP restrictions when he tried to plant a Canadian flag at *Kanonhstaton* (“Two protesters arrested”). In the spring of 2009 he was involved with attempts to launch

12 There has been a curious reticence to cover this overt racism in the mainstream press. Images, however, are available from the Six Nations Settler Solidarity Network: <http://6nsolidarity.wordpress.com/the-far-right>.

“No more  
treaties,” and  
“No: land  
claims, reserves,  
freebies.”

a citizens' militia to confront native lawlessness and the perceived failure of police to intervene. (He and his associates were met with a much larger force of settler-led anti-militia protestors at the militia's first meeting at the Lion's Club in the nearby village of Cayuga, Morse). During the intervening time, Six Nations has also halted development at other sites in the Haldimand Tract, mostly in the city of Brantford that continues to race to develop in areas under dispute and to criminalize Indigenous opposition (Nolan, "Six Nations protesters").

Meanwhile, over the past three years, new forms of settler activism have evolved within the frame of solidarity with Six Nations claims. Activists from Brantford, Cayuga, Hamilton, Guelph, Kitchener, and Toronto have been experimenting with forms of political contention that draw inspiration and, in some cases, guidance from Six Nations (Keefer). Prominent local trade-unions including the Canadian Auto Workers, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and the United Steelworkers have expanded their social justice mandates to embrace Indigenous claims and have seen their members on the front lines of the struggle against anti-Indigenous racism.<sup>13</sup> In Cayuga, local residents and regional environmental activists partnered with people from Six Nations to create blockades and protests against the reopening of a toxic waste dump on the outskirts of town (Best). In Guelph, young solidarity activists sought to occupy a suburban business park to both protest the further development of the Haldimand Tract in contravention of Six Nations' claim and to protest the form of unsustainable corporate-led development prevalent in Southern Ontario (O'Flanagan). Elsewhere, activists continue to relearn their political commitments and aspirations through the long historical lens of colonialism as part of an ongoing process and have come to see the need for recognition of colonialism, genocide, and Indigenous sovereignty as fundamental to and interconnected with the ethics of political struggles internal to the settler community.

## Redressing Redress

Key to the success of the Caledonian backlash redress movement was its exceptionally skilled performative and symbolic politics and, particularly, its marshalling of affect through the genre of redress. This was achieved by

13 See this report, for instance, from the most active union in solidarity with Six Nations, CUPE local 3903, representing precarious academic workers at Toronto's York University: <http://3903fnswg.wordpress.com/2009/11/15/report-of-the-cupe-3903-first-nations-solidarity-working-group-to-the-2009-agm>.

framing the residents of Caledonia within the scope of the exalted national subject: the largely white, rural, enterprising, industrious, civil(ized), and tolerant figure so pivotal to formative and continuing narratives about the colonial settler state, its origins, its people, and its legitimacy. As in the case of the residential school apology, the exalted subject is pivotal to a narrative that can admit to past wrongdoing only by way of insisting on the present as a postracial order embodying untroubled equality, a narrative that allows no approach to the legacy of the past in terms of continuing injustices and oppression or the perpetuation of structures of white and settler privilege. The redress movements in Caledonia found (and continues to find) the most success when they cast the town and its citizens in this light, drawing on and perpetuating assumptions that, in the face of Indigenous protests, non-Natives are fundamentally innocent bystanders beset by minority claims and abandoned by the powers and protections to which they are entitled as taxpayers.

In this approach, the Caledonian redress movement demonstrates broader social tendencies. While people rarely fall cleanly into camps, two distinct organizing principles or currents are evident, one that sought largely economic redress (for disruption and inconvenience) and another that sought more formal political redress (for the challenge to the authority of settler governance and world views posed by Indigenous claims). In both cases, groups mobilized the redress genre, if not the term, framing themselves in the media as a distinct part of Canadian society that had been wronged and denied rights, mobilizing protests, lobbying, and other forms of redress politics to demand restitution from the Canadian state.

In the case of the former, the Caledonian Citizen's Alliance, an amorphous collectivity premised on concerns over individual business profit and home prices, was initiated and led by prominent members of the business community. The Alliance can be read as representing a neoliberalizing tendency, one primarily interested in what the group understands to be a return to "order" and "business as usual," as well as government compensation for the inconvenience of having "business as usual" disrupted (Burman and Nolan). Here, a language of suffering, victimhood, and helplessness suggested that Caledonians were merely caught in the crossfire and abandoned. This tendency has been initially successful in gaining the ear of power and winning monetary compensation for Caledonia business and homeowners (Burman and Nolan, "Not enough"; Kruchak and Nolan, "Caledonia trying to woo shoppers").

The other tendency, emblemized in the character of Gary McHale and associated supporters and fans, is a more immediate articulation of

redress as a neoconservative racial project (Omi and Winnant 56), one interested in articulating an alternative social vision of citizenship and community in which difference is subordinated to the language of free-market equality and a masculinized, white notion of Canadian belonging that calls up (anachronistic) images of Christian pioneers, the Somme, and Vimy Ridge. If the prior current can be bluntly described as opportunistic, this neoconservative tendency can be understood as its own avowed political and ideological project. A charismatic leader adept at rhetorically delimiting the nation in the image of the dominant racialized order and mustering affect through patriotic icons, most notably the politicized deployment of Canadian flags, McHale's public performances are troublingly reminiscent of fascistic spectacle. The rhetoric of an oppressed majority is mobilized and carefully stage-managed (he avoids the word "white" in his public speeches, for instance, and coaches supporters to guard their speech in front of media) aimed at fomenting tensions and sparking confrontation which can then justify state repression. Visually, the McHale-led marches adopt the chanting and placard-carrying elements of civil rights struggles but combine them with an authoritarian display of pomp and circumstance, flags, and military uniforms, conveying the power of the state.

Gary McHale, London-based fellow activist Mark Vandermaas, and at least one community resident have initiated a joint project they call Canadian Advocates for Charter Equality (CANACE) in which their self-representation is unflinchingly cast in the framework of diminished access to civil rights. Their mission statement expresses their aims, calling for

restoration of the Rule of Law in Ontario by ending Race-Based Policing practices through the use of peaceful, democratic methods. This is done via public protests & media attention; public & private educational presentations; gathering and reporting of evidence; and using courts & tribunals to show that the Constitution; Charter of Rights and Freedoms; Criminal Code; Police Services Act; Human Rights Code; and Canadian jurisprudence are not subject to the discretion of the McGuinty government [sic].<sup>14</sup>

The Charter that CANACE wants to mobilize is introduced with the subtitle, "No exemptions for use of violence during aboriginal land claims": "Canada is a nation that recognizes the supremacy of the rule of law. It is clear that the framers of our Charter of Rights and Freedoms wanted to ensure that

14 See [www.canace.ca](http://www.canace.ca).

native people were treated honourably, but never intended to grant them the right to use violence in support of past or present grievances, or the right to dominate other races or cultures.”<sup>15</sup>

Based on the assumption that Indigenous people are unambiguous Canadians and ought to be treated “no different than everyone else,” this rhetoric renders any form of Indigenous sovereignty utterly invisible<sup>16</sup> and poses “native violence” as a primitive and savage interruption of Canadian civility and rule of law. McHale’s masterful contortions of rhetoric equate Native protesters with “terrorists,”<sup>17</sup> by implication akin to those with whom Canadian troops are at war in the existential darkness of Afghanistan, who, in common parlance, are thought to “threaten our entire way of life.”<sup>18</sup> Not only does this rhetoric strive to justify the most repressive measures against Indigenous people, it also reinscribes the fundamental innocence of the presumed national subject and equates McHale’s movement to redress redress with the honour of “our troops” which, we are told, must be supported whether you agree with “the mission” or not.<sup>19</sup>

Reflecting on the discourse surrounding the Somalia Affair in which Canadian soldiers tortured and killed local teenagers while engaged in “peace-keeping,” Sherene Razack (*Dark Threats*) has noted the importance to Canadian national identity of what she calls “the worldview of imperialism” which renders invisible continuing injustices based on the legacies of imperialism and colonialism (xii). It does so, she argues, through a

15 See again the “CANACE” website.

16 The Canadian Charter is subordinate to the nation’s Constitution that enshrines Indigenous treaty rights. Section 25 of the Charter itself, to which McHale refers, reads:

The guarantee in this Charter of certain rights and freedoms shall not be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any aboriginal, treaty or other rights or freedoms that pertain to the aboriginal peoples of Canada including

(a) any rights or freedoms that have been recognized by the Royal Proclamation of October 7, 1763; and

(b) any rights or freedoms that may be acquired by the aboriginal peoples of Canada by way of land claims settlement.

He uses this document as further proof of how extremely accommodating the state already is concerning Aboriginal people.

17 Whole sections of McHale’s “Caledonia Wakeup Call” website are devoted to “native terrorism,” “home grown terrorism,” and “native lawlessness.”

18 Again, a connection McHale very explicitly works to inscribe, verbally and visually.

19 I address the politics of the yellow ribbon campaign and other citizen-led support-our-troops paraphernalia in other essays.

The exalted subject, in this case, becomes the victim not only of circumstance but also of his (for there is a patriarchal logic at work here) own government's inaction and betrayal.

national cultural climate and set of discourses that highlight the angst and affective torment of the White Man's Burden of impotent masculinity in the face of the barbarism of the colonial other. This narrative excuses violence perpetuated by exalted Canadian subjects (like peacekeepers) as breaches of decorum, attributing them to the stresses of trying to uphold the dignity of Canadian values and civility amidst an unreformed racial savagery. The exalted subject, in this case, becomes the victim not only of circumstance but also of his (for there is a patriarchal logic at work here) own government's inaction and betrayal, caused by a bureaucratic, idealistic, and effeminate commitment to values of multiculturalism, tolerance, diplomacy, and liberalism. Figures like Mark Vandermaas, a retired U.N. Peacekeeper and non-Native redress stalwart, render explicit the connection between the perceived failure of police and politicians to take charge of native lawlessness and an impoverished and troubled patriarchal authority. Vandermaas's description of his commitment to the "innocent victims" of Caledonia is worth sharing as one among many examples of how militarization and the War on Terror abroad are linked to this war on "Native lawlessness" at home:

I went to the Middle East with the Canadian Forces on a UN mission to preserve peace between Egypt and Israel; how could I refuse to go to Caledonia to defend justice for children on the 6th Line who live without policing? How can I dishonour my military brothers and sisters by putting a big screen TV ahead of the rule of law and fundamental justice here in Ontario while they face suicide and roadside bombs half a world away? ... 85 Canadian soldiers have come home from Afghanistan in boxes; thousands more are buried overseas—all killed while trying to defend people they didn't know. Many more have been maimed or scarred. The price we [he and Gary McHale and other non-resident supporters] have paid to restore justice in Ontario is nothing by comparison.<sup>20</sup>

The militarized ideas of individual sacrifice, national innocence, benevolence, victimhood, and betrayal thus produced easily lend themselves to exclusive, race-based nationalist iterations and mobilizations.

While this redress movement was to beat its chest over the one-sided media coverage which, it claimed, normalized native terrorism of com-

20 This is the text of Vandermaas's speech at a public meeting in Caledonia, titled "It WAS worth it Jack" of 14 January 2007, reprinted on his website: <http://voiceofcanada.wordpress.com/2007/01/14/voc-speech-in-caledonia-it-was-worth-it-jack>.

munities and (especially) businesses, there are ever more editorials in major Canadian newspapers that bemoan the fate of Caledonians who have been made to suffer unjustly and which, at the same time, laud all levels of government and law enforcement agencies as generous (perhaps too much so) in their tolerance (Blatchford; Wente). In suggesting in an anonymously authored article that perfectly matches the style of the McHale/Vandermaas duo that “whites seeking justice against aboriginals have no choice but to take the law into their own hands,” however, the *National Post* set a new low for standards of responsible journalism (“The Ongoing Disgrace,” cited above).

The project of raceless or colour-blind Neoliberalism is enacted here in multiple guises, in reducing all interests to private, individualized ones, in which all contentions within the body politic become equally weighted individual opinion, severed from history and overarching structures of power. Here, the rights of individual citizens to enjoy an untroubled existence on stolen native land comes to overshadow Indigenous claims to exercise their never-ceded sovereignty and to rectify a gross international injustice.

## Conclusion

Redress movements have emerged on the political field as a means to rectify, in some small degree, historical injustices and imbalances in power. In this postmulticulturalist age characterized by rising cultures of persecuted white masculinity, the form or genre of the redress movement is readily appropriated by dominant factions who are able to divorce the genre of redress from lived experiences of oppression and injustice precisely because of the privilege afforded to dominant white, settler citizens. The encounter of dominant white Canadians with the demands for redress from (most frequently) racialized groups that have been historically wronged by the state takes place largely through much abbreviated media (mis)representations that fail to engage privileged subjects relationally or in relation to the other. In an age of apologies, the real work of redress, which would imply a dismantling of the cultural infrastructure of white privilege, is forever deferred. Exalted Canadian subjects become silent partners in this process who, upon government action or proclamation, are excused from any obligation to question or change the basis of their material comfort, belonging, and myths of national benevolence and civility. When groups like Six Nations imply that these forms of redress are insufficient to create lasting justice, when they insist on disrupting or un-settling business as usual in the neoliberal colonial settler state,

movements to secure redress for redress emerge in response. The lack of meaningful public spheres in which to take up the privilege of dominant subjects who are able to understand themselves as normal or average and the ways in which their experiences of privilege are fundamentally connected to and rendered possible by the oppression and exclusion of the others who may constitute redress-seekers can be seen to contribute to a culture of misunderstanding in which liberal subjects are able to mis-recognize redress as state charity and benevolence, and neoconservative subjects are able to mis-recognize redress as racialized, minoritized groups getting or wanting something for nothing. In the absence of pedagogical projects with an ability to compel the interrogation of privilege relationally, neoconservative social and racial projects gain ground by appropriating and deploying languages of social justice to effect further injustice.

Given the imbrications of redress and reconciliation within the broader context of neoliberalism, the backlash against multiculturalism, and emergent forms of militarized Canadian nationalism, careful attention must be paid to the susceptibility of social justice movements, and their collective knowledge and strategies, to appropriation. A fulsome redressing of Canada's colonial legacy will continue to evade us so long as redress is thought of within logics of neoliberalism which cannot reconcile alternative worldviews of Indigenous communities. Neoliberalism, like the imperial modes of dispossession that came before it, cannot comprehend or abide a world organized in ways that do not depend on Western notions of private property and legal individualism<sup>21</sup> and which ascribe agency, creativity, and responsibility to communities and to complex interrelationships between human beings and the environments on which they are dependent, that model alternative forms of democracy and accountability outside formal representational frames and forms of freedom outside market measure. Recall Roy Miki's proviso that, in order for redress movements to be successful, there needs to be a correspondence between existing languages of "citizenship and national values" and the languages through which the demand for redress is articulated (322). It seems that in many Indigenous claims to justice, especially where sovereignty is foregrounded, there is a tragic incompatibility between, on the one hand, the dominant language of Canadian civility, neoliberal economic necessity, and postracial multiculturalism and, on the other hand, any language that could adequately

21 It may be able, though, to commodify it: the appropriation of Native culture, always a hit in Canada, seems to be currently experiencing a stylized Indian-chic revival, if the prevalence of dream catchers in car windows and non-Native girls in sweatshop-made moccasin-style boots is any indication.

represent the theft and genocide on which the nation still depends.<sup>22</sup> The present cultural, economic, legal, and institutional order of Canada is built upon a foundation of colonialism and injustice. In this sense, Indigenous claims that seek as a remedy an end to the systemic oppression of this order cannot be redressed without a project of social transformation that is almost unthinkable in the current political climate.<sup>23</sup> These claims demand a de-privileging of the exalted subject of (white) Canadian civility, rather than sharing access to that privilege which is both unjust and unsustainable. They demand a fundamental reconsideration of the legitimacy and scope of the nation-state (both as a concept and in the particular context of Canadian history) as well as the relationship of the government to its constituents and of people to the earth, one that moves decidedly beyond the neoliberal politics of economic supremacy. This movement would demand a paradigm shift in the forms of political representation, community, and subjectivity that characterize mainstream settler society,<sup>24</sup> one that would reverberate through the hearts and spirits of the Canadian people and ready settlers to return to the Two-Row Wampum as full and healthy partners in its obligation to peace, friendship, and respect.

To this end, pedagogical strategies that imbue individuals with a sense of agency over their own communities and explain social ills are urgently

22 When I suggest that the Canadian state still depends upon the theft of Indigenous lands and resources, forgive me if I am being excessively literal. In order for Canada to exist geographically it needs a geography, and in order for it to exist economically it needs to render crown land, to which its title is frequently dubious, available for exploitation by mining, oil and gas, mineral, and forestry corporations.

23 For instance, one can imagine that should Six Nations win partial sovereignty along some area of the Grand River, it would be undermined fundamentally by the continuing expansion of residential, commercial, and industrial development upstream in Kitchener and Brantford. Clearly, redress will demand a political, moral, and economic relationship that can imagine a shared future of wellbeing. Mobilizing the sort of public pressure necessary to enact these policy and economic changes in the face of growing corporate power, since such a relationship would fundamentally un-throne deeply-seated Canadian traditions of the autonomous rights of private property holders, municipalities, and corporations, will be challenge indeed.

24 Let me hasten to make clear that I am not suggesting that Indigenous claims to recompense and sovereignty cannot occur until settler society undergoes revolutionary transformation. Indeed, the slow, painful process of facing colonialism's legacy and doing justice to Indigenous claims, as per legal and moral obligations, will necessarily be part of a transformative process. I am, rather, suggesting that the sought-after moment of genuine redress will not arrive until settler society abandons the systems of injustices that have, thus far, sustained its socially, culturally, and ecologically destructive momentum.

In the  
redressing of  
redress,  
malevolent and  
twisted  
explanations  
for the basis of  
social problems  
flourish and  
gain adherents.

necessary. In the redressing of redress, malevolent and twisted explanations for the basis of social problems flourish and gain adherents, framing privileged white settler-citizens as victims of Native lawlessness. Until social movements in Canada can find a way to make these difficult conversations unavoidable, we are likely to see the further incorporation and cooptation of the genre of redress. Indeed, we are likely to see, as we have in Caledonia, redress mobilized by forces actively seeking to ensure these difficult conversations are never engaged and the basis of settler privilege is never interrogated, transformed, and reconciled.

## Acknowledgements

With thanks to my editors and also to Susan Giroux and Daniel Coleman for their valuable insights on earlier drafts of this paper. Thanks especially to Max Haiven for his constant collaboration, intellectual and emotional labour, and support. All faults are of course my own.

## Works Cited

- Alfred, Taiaiake. *Wasáse: Indigenous Pathways of Action and Freedom*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- . *Peace, Power, Righteousness: An Indigenous Manifesto*. 2nd ed. Don Mills: Oxford UP, 2009.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail, Caryl Emerson, and Michael Holquist, eds. *Speech Genres, and other Late Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Bannerji, Himani. *The Dark Side of the Nation: Essays of Multiculturalism, Nationalism, and Gender*. Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 2000.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1972.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. *Globalization: The Human Consequences*. New York: Columbia, 1998.
- Best, Karen. “County and Six Nations residents prevent garbage deliveries; United over fast tracked government approval.” *The Dunneville Chronicle*. 21 November 2007.
- Blatchford, Christie. “Caledonia’s forgotten family a symbol of national shame.” *The Globe and Mail*. 11 October 2008: A2.

- Brown, Wendy. "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy." *Theory and Event* 7.1 (2003): 1–43.
- Brown, Wendy. "American Nightmare: Neoliberalism, Neoconservatism, and De-Democratization." *Political Theory* 34.6 (2006): 690–714.
- Burman, John, and Daniel Nolan. "Not enough, say residents; 'Property values have dropped like a rock,' says MPP, calling payouts 'insulting.'" *Hamilton Spectator*. 20 March 2007: A12.
- . "Resident response plan launched; Fearful Caledonia homeowners organize to repel aggressive and intimidating native protesters." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 14 June 2006: A4.
- "Caledonia trying to woo shoppers; Province to pay town's marketing bill." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 3 January 2007: A10.
- Campbell, Mary Ellen. "'Take the Money in Your Wallet and Invest it in Your Mind': Racism, Patriarchy, and the Culture of Persecuted White Masculinity in Ontario Universities in the 'Age of Globalization.'" Canadian Women's Studies Association Annual Conference. Carleton University, Ottawa, May 25 2009. Conference presentation.
- Cho, Lily. "Rereading Chinese Head Tax Racism: Redress, Stereotype, and Anti-Racist Critical Practice." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 75 (2002): 62–84.
- Chrisjohn, Roland, Andrea Bear Nicholas, Karen Stote, James Craven (Omahkohkiaayo i'poyi), Tanya Wasacase, Pierre Loiselle, and Andrea O. Smith. "An Historic Non-Apology, Completely and Utterly Not Accepted." *Department of Native Studies Website*, St Thomas University, Fredericton. 2008. 17 October 2009. [www.nativestudies.org/index1.html](http://www.nativestudies.org/index1.html).
- Clairmont, Susan. "Fantino Takes Aim; Says agitators play big role in \$32m cost of policing Caledonia." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 8 November 2007: A1.
- Coleman, Daniel. *White Civility: The Literary Project of Early Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Comaroff, Jean, and John L. Comaroff, eds. *Millennial Capitalism and the Culture of Neoliberalism*. Durham and London: Duke UP, 2001.
- Da Costa, Ravi. "Reconciliation and Neoliberalism." Canadian Political Science Association Annual Conference. Carleton University, Ottawa, May 26, 2009. Web-based conference proceedings. [www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2009/deCosta.pdf](http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2009/deCosta.pdf).

- DePasquale, Paul, ed. *Natives and Settlers Now and then: Historical Issues and Current Perspectives on Treaties and Land Claims in Canada*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2006.
- “Developer warned four months ago about Six Nations land.” *The Hamilton Spectator*. 9 March 2006: A06.
- Dunphy, Bill. “Caledonia activist urges 50 to join him in jail.” *The Hamilton Spectator*. 15 January 2007: A11.
- Giroux, Henry A. *The Terror of Neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the Eclipse of Democracy*. Boulder: Paradigm Press, 2004.
- Goldberg, David Theo. “Raceless States.” *Race, Racialization, and Antiracism in Canada and Beyond*. Eds. Genevieve Fuji Johnson and Randy Enomoto. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford and New York: Oxford UP, 2005.
- Healey, Deirdre, and Daniel Nolan. “Angry clash; Natives, townspeople in a faceoff after police arrests spark fires, anger.” *The Hamilton Spectator*. 21 April 2006: A1.
- Healy, Teresa, ed. “The Harper Record.” Ottawa: The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2008.
- Hill, Susan M. “Conducting Haudenosaunee Historical Research from Home in the Shadow of the Six Nations—Caledonia Reclamation.” *American Indian Quarterly* 33.4 (2009): 479–98.
- INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence, ed. *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex*. Boston: South End, 2007.
- James, Matt. “Scaling Memory: Reparation Displacement and the Case of BC.” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 42 (2009): 363–86.
- Jeffrey, Brooke. *Hard Right Turn: The New Face of Neo-Conservatism in Canada*. Toronto: Harper-Collins, 1999.
- Jung, Courtney. “Canada and the Legacy of the Indian Residential Schools: Transitional Justice for Indigenous Peoples in a Non-Transitional Society.” Social Science Research Network Working Papers (8 April 2009). Web-based article. <http://ssrn.com/abstract=1374950>.
- Juris, Jeffrey. *Networking Futures: The Movements Against Corporate Globalization*. Durham: Duke UP, 2008.

- Keefer, Tom. "Six Nations and the Politics of Solidarity," *Upping the Anti* 4 (2007).
- Kruchak, Matt, and Daniel Nolan. "\$500,000 in aid for Caledonia." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 26 May 2006: A1.
- Lukács, Georg. "Preface." *The Theory of the Novel: A Historico-philosophical essay on the Forms of Great Epic Literature*. Trans. Anna Bostock. London: Merlin Press, 1971.
- Mackey, Eva. *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- "Mayor's comments anger aboriginal protesters in Caledonia standoff." *CBC.ca*. 25 April 2006. Web-based document. [www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2006/04/25/caledonia-protest-060425.htm](http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2006/04/25/caledonia-protest-060425.htm).
- McGonegal, Julie. *Imagining Justice: The Politics of Postcolonial Forgiveness and Reconciliation*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2009.
- "McHale: Troublemaker or defender of his beliefs?" *The Hamilton Spectator*. 27 February 2007: A11.
- Miki, Roy. *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian Call for Justice*. Vancouver: Raincoast, 2004.
- Miller, J.R. *Compact, Contract, Covenant: Aboriginal Treaty-Making in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.
- Milley, Kate. "Anti-Native Organizing and the Caledonia Crisis." *Upping the Anti* 9 (2009): 91–104.
- Morse, Paul. "Activists want to form Caledonia Peacekeepers." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 24 June 2009.
- Muller, Kathryn V. "The Two 'Mystery' Belts of Grand River: A Biography of the Two Row Wampum and the Friendship Belt." *The American Indian Quarterly* 31:1 (Winter 2007), 129–64.
- Nelson, Marissa. "Caledonia Braces for Rally." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 14 October 2006: A9.
- Nolan, Daniel. "Six Nations protesters want new developments halted." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 13 March 2008: A3.
- Nolan, Daniel. "Residents rise up; Angry, frustrated Caledonians revolt against native occupation." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 25 April 2006: A1.

- Nolan, Daniel. "Rally urges action to end occupation; Hagersville lawyer claims 'laws are being flagrantly violated.'" *The Hamilton Spectator*. 5 April 2006: A3.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial Formations in the United States from the 1960s to the 1990s*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- O'Flanagan, Rob. "Hanlon Creek protesters stand their ground." *The Guelph Mercury*. 31 July 2009.
- O'Neill, Juliet. "Canadians support apologies for the past." *The National Post*. 8 June 2009.
- "The Ongoing Disgrace of Caledonia." *The National Post*. 28 November 2009.
- Razack, Sherene. *Casting Out: The Eviction of Muslims from Western Law and Politics*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- . *Dark Threats, White Knights: The Somalia Affair, Peacekeeping, and the New Imperialism*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.
- Rusk, James. "Caledonia land dispute is spilling over." *The Globe and Mail*. 5 May 2006.
- Simon, Roger. *The Touch of the Past: Learning, Remembrance, and Ethics*. New York: Macmillan, 2005.
- Sinclair, Scott. "NAFTA Chapter 11 Investor-State Disputes to Jan. 1st 2008." Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, 2008.
- Thobani, Sunera. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007.
- "Two-thirds of Canadians support apologies for historical mistakes: poll." *The Ottawa Citizen*. 8 June 2009.
- "Two protesters arrested at Caledonia rally." *The Hamilton Spectator*. 8 December 2006: A10.
- Venne, Sharon H. "Treaties made in Good Faith." *Natives and Settlers, Now and Then*. Ed. Paul DePasquale. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2006. 1–16.
- Wente, Margaret. "What Dick Pound said was really dumb—and also true." *The Globe and Mail*. 24 October 2008.
- Wright, Ronald. *Stolen Continents: The "New World" Through Indian Eyes*. New York: Penguin, 1992.