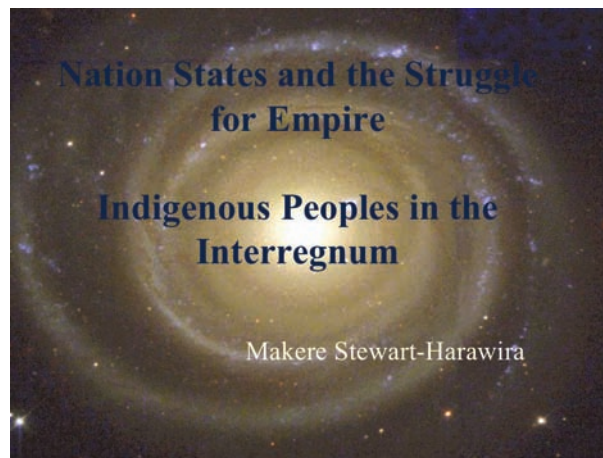




Nation States and the Struggle for Empire: Indigenous Peoples in the Interregnum by Makere Stewart-Harawira

Act 4: Finnish Sápmi, June 16 - July 9, 2006



Introduction

I begin by honouring the ancestors who lived in this land, and in particular, the Sámi peoples of these territories. And I bring very warm greetings from the peoples of the Waitaha Nation in Aotearoa New Zealand.

I am deeply honoured by the invitation to participate in this wonderful gathering and I very much thank the organisers of this wonderful series of events for this invitation and for the opportunity to put my toe in one part of this very special territory of the Sámi people.

The accompanying power point slides highlight some key points, although not necessarily in the time and order that I talk about them. Some are about particular cases such as the Cree people of the Lubicon in North America. Some slides are of home, Aotearoa New Zealand, of our mountains, of our river, the Waitaki River, which recently narrowly escaped being put through an enormous twenty-foot high canal containing six turbines for energy generation. Some of the slides are of protests by indigenous peoples against corporate encroachment into our sacred places – in Aotearoa New Zealand and in Canada.

Other slides are of the Maori university where I taught in New Zealand before I went to Canada. As a Maori tribal university, or wananga, it illustrates one indigenous struggle against the state, an attempt to rectify, or at least ameliorate, some of the damage done to our people through colonialism. Some slides are of my whanau or extended family, and friends, some of my children, some of my mokopuna – grandchildren. And others graphically illustrate today's critical moment.

The opening slide uses a spiral galaxy for the background because it has the appearance of the double spiral so widely used in Maori artwork and traditional carvings. For Maori artisans, this symbol represents the coming into being, from the world of pre-existence into the world of potentiality and finally the world of light. It also represents our view of time which instead of being linear is spiral in shape. Thus we are always able to reach out to contact those that have gone before, and those still to come.

Another way of understanding the spiral is represented in these words:

*Te Ao Hurihuri
is a world revolving;
a world that moves forward
to the place it came from;
a wheel that turns
on an axle of strength.*

Because I believe that indigenous peoples are the axle of strength on which the wheel of the world turns, in my view there is almost nothing more urgent today than the task of determining what exactly that means for us in this moment of great global crisis and the best means of responding. And for those of us in positions of relative privilege, who are not being bombed out of existence or suffering other blatant acts of genocide – for us, it seems to me, that is the very heart of the issue.

Indigenous Peoples-States Relationships

I have been asked to talk about the nation state, the changes that globalization has caused and how these things impact on indigenous peoples. Globalization as a contemporary manifestation of a long historical process of expansionism, in which tensions between the contested mandates of expansion and accumulation have been in constant interplay with the world's indigenous peoples. In its

contemporary manifestation, both the shape and outcomes of globalization are complex and contradictory. One of the ways in which it is most problematic for indigenous peoples is in terms of our struggles to regain measures of self-determination. And it is of course stating the obvious to say that the right to self-determination is the most contested right and principle in terms of international law and the development of international order. It is inarguably the primary goal of indigenous peoples and the most critical issue in indigenous peoples-states' relationships.

Struggles for self-determination are played out in the context of the development of the world order of nation states, in which the most important governing principle in inter-state relationships in the international world order is what is termed "inviolable state sovereignty". The doctrine of state sovereignty has historically functioned as an instrument for the advancement and protection of capital and the ownership of property. Linked to it is the principle of non-intervention, meaning non-intervention by other states in the internal affairs of a sovereign state. The doctrine of state sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention are an important part of the context, in which the struggle for juridical recognition of indigenous rights, including the right to self-determination and the freedom to exercise these, occurs.

These indigenous rights are nebulously defined in international human rights law and are critical principles in the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Since the advent of neoliberalism in particular since the 1980s and 90s, these rights are increasingly pitted against market rights, against the principle of the so-called free market and the right to profit.

Expansion and accumulation were the twin impulses, which drove the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their traditional territories and their redefinition in international law from sovereign independent peoples and nations with the rights that accrue to such status, to dependent populations to be governed; populations who exist within and across the fluctuating boundaries of nation states in a global world order. Historically, indigenous peoples have resisted these processes in multiple ways, including through the agencies of international human rights law and in recent decades, attempts to negotiate redress through the colonizing nation states.

Relationships between indigenous peoples and nation states of course vary in different regions of the world and even in adjoining territories. Take, for example,

Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia. Although next door and colonized in the same period of time by the British Crown, they have different histories of contact and different relationships with colonizing agencies. The impacts of these histories are significantly different in important ways. For instance, New Zealand Maori did not experience genocide, whereas the indigenous peoples of Australia, Canada and the United States of America most certainly did. In other parts of the world, particularly where influenced by Spanish or Portuguese colonialism, indigenous peoples-states relationships have played out differently again. Although these consequences vary according to the regional and national specificities that define indigenous peoples' historical experience and contemporary engagement with the nation state, there are a number of critical elements in common. In all cases, indigenous peoples were subjected to assimilationist policies. In all cases, the same sets of agendas were present – the de-territorialisation and re-territorialisation of the lands and territories of indigenous peoples for the expansion of empire and the advancement of capitalist society.

The “de-colonization” program of the 1960s and 1970s did nothing to change this. De-colonization applied to countries which had been colonized during the expansionist regimes of first *Pax Britannica*, then *Pax Americana*. De-colonization created new states, which were expected to strengthen and support the American agenda of expansionism and re-inscribed the indigenous peoples within these new states as dependent populations and in need of modernisation.

Resistance and Transformation in the 1970s

The 1960s and 70s was a time of chaos and upheaval, a time of great activism across the Western world. Indigenous activism through international networks as well as locally became the catalyst for a redefining of the relationships between indigenous peoples and some, but certainly not all, states. Although indigenous peoples had of course been lobbying in the UN long before, the impetus of the 1970s was unique in many ways. Indigenous peoples and their allies took to the streets, occupied lands and lobbied the in UN as never before, including gate crashing a meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission who was meeting to discuss indigenous peoples. These activities caused high degrees of embarrassment for states, some of whom were thus impelled to meet indigenous peoples' demands for renegotiated relationships.



During the 1970s, for instance, Maori successfully blocked the acquisition of Maori land through protest action starting with the Land March in 1975, the 507 Day Occupation of Bastion Point in 1977, and in 1978, occupied the Raglan Golf Course in protest against sacred lands being leased to the golf course. Concerns that lands, which Maori wanted to include in treaty claims, would be sold before claims were heard, led to the insertion of a clause into policy that ensured that nothing could be done that was “contrary to the principles of the Treaty”. This in turn enabled a pan-tribal group to successfully sue the government for ignoring those principles when selling state assets.



The 1980s also saw the beginning of the Maori immersion education movement, which successfully turned around a language which was facing imminent extinction, re-conscientised Maori parents in new ways and re-positioned Maori language and culture in the forefront of New Zealand society.

In some states, attempts to mediate indigenous peoples' demands were framed around the concept of shared governance, as in the "nations within nations" concept in the US. In cases such as Canada and New Zealand and to some degree in Australia, they involved negotiated settlements of past grievances (although not without protracted struggle and contention), usually involving land, resources and financial compensation. Inevitably, they include the final extinction of Aboriginal customary rights. Defined as they are by states, these negotiations have given rise to their own problematics. Framed within discourses of restitution and reconciliation, these settlements are construed as providing indigenous peoples with the means of self-development and the re-establishment of a level of social and economic, if not juridical, autonomy. Seen from another perspective, the settlement of treaty claims by the bestowal of financial recompense and the return of some natural resources has the more prosaic purpose of removing hindrances to and opening up opportunities for foreign investment.



While we might perhaps concede that these negotiations were originally initiated through a good desire to amend past injustices, by the 1980s these negotiations were strongly influenced by neo-liberalism and the shift that occurred in nature of governance.

The Impact of Neo-liberalism

Unquestionably, the shift to the right that occurred in the 1980s in the wake of the 1970s protests – and what the highly influential right-wing think tank, the Trilateral Commission¹, Council for Foreign Relations, described as an “excess of democracy” – resulted in important changes in the nature of states. And even more so during the 1990s, when negotiations for the final round of the General

Agreement on Tariffs (GATS) took place, their role and the economic architecture for global order took shape.

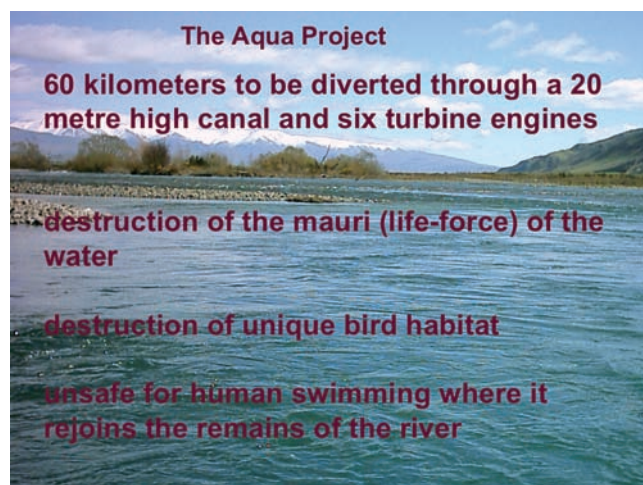
During the 1980s, states in both developed and under-developed countries were under intense pressure to restructure – generally an euphemism for selling off state and publicly owned assets at bargain-basement rates most often to companies in which the policy-makers and politicians who acted as consultants for this process had major holdings, devaluing currencies and drastically reducing workers' rights. Not only were indigenous peoples the most severely affected by these changes; these pressures impelled particular kinds of responses by states to indigenous demands. The responses included:

1. Placing time constraints around the process of responding to indigenous peoples through treaty settlements (a bill before the NZ Parliament proposes to cease treaty settlements in New Zealand by 2008 and to repeal the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi, signed between Maori and the British Crown in 1840, from all legislation).
2. Renewed efforts to redefine who is or isn't indigenous and the invention of pseudo-traditional corporate structures through whom to devolve both compensation and responsibility.
3. Increased efforts at co-opting indigenous leaders into the corporate development process.

Undoubtedly, the negotiation of new relationships with states saw the position of some indigenous peoples significantly improve in certain ways. In some instances, the successful negotiation – or in some cases, re-negotiation – of treaty settlements has enabled enhanced decision-making authority and the opportunity to exercise forms of self-determination within the limited parameters of state sovereignty. By drawing on international indigenous rights law, Maori were able to reconfigure their status and rights in decidedly important ways. As part of the devolution of state responsibility for public management, changes in policy enabled Maori organisations to successfully bid for service provision contracts to the extent that the Maori record of entrepreneurship is outstanding. In some considerations, this represents the achievement of collective efforts to challenge and negotiate within the local as well as the global market economies.²

There are also, and inevitably, some important problematics attached to this process, for some of which we may have to hold ourselves responsible. One of these is the critical issue of mandate and representation. Often, there are contestations between corporate entities, established in conjunction with the Crown and purporting to represent tribal groupings, and sub-tribes who comprised the traditional political, social, cultural and economic entities of the indigenous society and are frequently invisibilised or disenfranchised in the claims process.³ The 1990s in New Zealand, for instance, also saw the emergence of Maori business entities built on the money of compensatory treaty settlement packages. The development of business interests as a form of self-determination gave rise to the “corporate tribe”, which was represented by imposing buildings, highly-paid economic consultancies and the trade of assets. Additionally, the confrontational and divisive nature of a “double-edged” claims process frequently subordinates indigenous rights and aspirations to “national interests”.

One example is that of the Waitaki River, long-held sacred to my people of Waitaha. The Waitaki River and surrounding valley is the location of sites that have deep spiritual significance to Waitaha. Close to the Waitaki River mouth, for instance, is the site of an ancient Waitaha Whare Wananga or traditional place of specialised learning. Scattered throughout the river valley are sacred burial places and ancient cave drawings. Within and along the river system itself are traditional fishing sites, places where our people sailed in their unique mokihi, canoes made of rushes, and wonderful, unique ecosystems. The Waitaki River was claimed as part of a major treaty settlement by a large, corporatised and relatively recent arrival in our part of the country, who declared the river to be a significant part of their treaty settlement. So today, the valley and river are shared with a later tribal group who came from the North some 200 years ago, and who have successfully forged a partnership relationship with the state.



In 2003, Project Aqua was a one billion dollar energy development proposal by Meridian Energy (a power company backed in this instance by Bechtel, the same company who incidentally has made a great deal of money out of pseudo-reconstruction in Iraq) to build an enormous 60 km long and up to 20 metre high canal containing six turnbines on the Waitaki River. 70% of the river was to be diverted through the canal, in the process destroying precious unique ecosystems, traditional food-gathering places and numerous sacred sites. Sitting on the board of Meridian Energy at that point in time was the former leading claims negotiator for the Waitaha tribe. From having previously argued that the Waitaki River had deep spiritual significance to his tribe, the chief tribal negotiator was now cited in the local paper for describing the river as an “ecological shambles anyway”, thus justifying the proposed destruction of the river’s ecology. While this particular project was defeated at least temporarily, it is typical of the countless development projects undertaken on indigenous peoples’ traditional territories and the incredible damage that they cause.

Any potential further harm by this new development was thus presented as irrelevant and the proposal to develop a damn was given a top priority by the state, who considered it necessary for power generation. At the end of the day – due to the large-scale combined action protests by Waitaha and environmental groups, plus the refusal of some farmers to sell the requisite land – the project was deferred until such time as resource consent would be guaranteed.

At issue here though, I would argue, is the interpretation of self-determination in terms of a corporate model of economic development, which is based on an ideology of accumulation. The interpretation of indigenous self-determination as economic development allows for treaty settlements mostly in the form of cash, though in some cases with the return also of some land; it allows taonga or treasures such as the land, rivers, lakes, to be translated as economic commodities and encourages the commodification of indigenous identities, so that instead of being referred to as the descendants of our particular ancestors, we are now referred to as beneficiaries of corporate distributive bodies, new postmodern tribal structures that claim to be based on traditional models.

Development such as this confirms the view of some indigenous scholars, who contend that through the settlement process, indigenous peoples become participants in the “consumptive commercial mentality shaped by state corporatism that has so damaged both earth and human relationships around the globe”.⁴ Whilst this position perhaps re-inscribes us as helpless victims of neo-colonialism, other more relevant considerations are 1) the difficulty of claiming the

right of self-determination through a state whose legitimacy is challenged in the process, and 2) that resolution through treaty settlements inevitably means the negotiation of compensation in return for the relinquishment of Aboriginal customary rights over the resource, and with that, the relinquishing of the responsibility to protect. When you are an indigenous nation whose experience of colonialism has led to extremes of poverty, ill-health, alcoholism and suicide, and you have oil drilling right on your doorsteps and offers of jobs and compensation, it is very difficult to say no.



The 1990s also saw ongoing and sometimes renewed protest action by indigenous groups. The Oka protest in Montreal is one infamous example, where protest and occupation concerning sacred burial grounds that were to be bulldozed to make way for a golf course led to military action against the First Nations people. In Aotearoa New Zealand, there were protests at Pakaitore. Maori were in the forefront of a global indigenous campaign opposing the Multilateral Agreement of Investment – a move which subsequently saw the New Zealand Government develop strong measures to co-opt Maori into the 1999 APEC negotiations held in New Zealand and increased surveillance of Maori (and other) activists. In Botswana, indigenous peoples protesting against their forceful removal from their traditional lands and with that their ability to hunt and feed themselves, has led to military action against the Botswana people up until the present moment.



Implications of the Increasing Influence of Indigenous Peoples in World Politics

The influence of globalization and neo-liberalism is felt in negotiations taking place at the international level. The negotiations taking place in Geneva last December around the UN Draft Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples were torpedoed by the governments of New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States, as they insisted that rights to self-determination should be limited to a “domestic interpretation”.

Similarly, the negotiations undertaken within the UN Permanent Forum in New York in May were effectively undermined again by the New Zealand Government, who ceased to consult with Maori on these issues – its Treaty partner – five years ago. It is most heartening that despite such sabotage, the United Nations Human Rights Council recently adopted the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and it now moves forward to the final stage of debate within the UN General Assembly. Nonetheless, it cannot be ignored that the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, once ratified, will have no legal enforceability and state sovereignty will nonetheless prevail. Indigenous peoples are responding to the new global challenges in some exciting ways. One is an emerging global pan-indigeneity and the forging of new political alliances. There is, for instance, the proposed United League of Indigenous Nations – a contemporary Treaty between American Indian and Alaska Native Tribal governments and indigenous peoples of the Pacific – Maori and Australian Aborigines. The intent of this Treaty is to address five key points:

1. Indigenous tribal or customary law as the basis for recognition under international law of the inherent rights of Indigenous Nations and for defining the parameters of self-determination.

2. The laws of each indigenous Nation should be the basis for protection of cultural properties by Indigenous Nations against illegal claims of ownership and other forms of appropriation.
3. Scholarly exchanges and programs of joint study on strategies of self-determination undertaken by indigenous scholars.
4. Mutually beneficial and profitable trade agreements between our Indigenous Nations should be researched and explored.
5. Indigenous Nations collaboration on environmental protection issues that directly impact indigenous homelands.

There is the extremely strong indigenous nation movement in Latin America, which directly challenges the status quo and I refer here to the re-nationalisation of lands, of water, of oil and the massing of American troops along those borders. It is significant that in the international negotiations around the UN Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples as well as the Permanent Forum for Indigenous peoples that the voices of indigenous peoples located in English-speaking states have significantly diminished, whereas the voice of indigenous peoples from Latin American countries, as well as Asian countries, has increased.

Latin America, the site of the most radical opposition to neo-liberal restructuring in the past five years, has emerged as one of the strongest examples and symbols of hope for the indigenous sovereignty movement. Transnational indigenous advocacy and global indigenous activism, which affirm cultural survival, self-determination and land and resource rights, play a key role in Latin America's highly effective indigenous movements. It is surely no accident that, according to lawyer José Aylwin, there is a perception in the United States "of indigenous activists as destabilising elements and terrorists," and that "their demands and activism have begun to be cast in a criminal light."⁵

Deep Integration and Postmodern Imperialism

Debates about the changing role of the state in all this, for instance the diminishing role of the state in favour of international institutions such as the World Bank and multinational corporations are, I think, wrongly placed. The state has always acted as an agent of capital and this role is far from diminished. Neo-liberalists argue that globalization signals the end of the nation state and a shift to a borderless world. While I see the state as an active agent in this; an

important manifestation of these new formations is deep regional integration such as in the European Community.

According to Robert Cooper, senior security adviser to the European Union (EU), the kind of world we have depends on the kind of states that compose it. 1989, he states, marked the end of the balance-of-power system in Europe and the beginning of a radically new postmodern structure in which nationalism gives way to internationalism, and in which the freedom of the individual has finally triumphed over the will of the collective.⁶ He describes the world today in terms of a new three-way division between what he calls a premodern or barbaric zone of chaos, a zone of danger which consists of the classical nationalist state system, and the postmodern “zone of safety”. This latter is the EU model which he describes both as “the most developed example of a postmodern system”⁷ and a “postmodern empire”.

There are some interesting things about this postmodern empire, as he describes it. To begin with, it is characterised by mutual interference in traditionally domestic affairs coupled with mutual surveillance, the breaking down of the distinction between domestic and foreign affairs, the growing irrelevance of borders, and the relinquishment of state sovereignty in favour of regional cooperation with regard to security arrangements. Most significantly, this model of empire also advocates a return to the notion of the Just War and reserves to itself the right of a pre-emptive strike.

A similar process is underway in North America. It was given formal recognition with the Security and Prosperity Partnership of North America (SPP) announced in March 2005. The twin agendas of national security and economic prosperity are supported by three key principles: “improved security from external threats to North America; strengthened internal measures; and bolstered economic growth for the region as a whole, particularly in the face of increased global competition.”⁸ The influential right-wing US think tank, the Council for Foreign Relations, has a more ambitious agenda: a North American Community to be achieved by 2010. Specific recommendations for achieving this include: a common security perimeter; a dispute tribunal; a review of previously excluded sectors of NAFTA; a North American energy strategy; the restructure and reform of Mexico’s public finances; the full development of Mexico’s energy resources, and a North American inter-parliamentary group.⁹ These new state formations have undoubted implications for indigenous peoples’ aspirations to cultural autonomy, political and economic self-determination, and control over their own natural resources.



Regional political and economic integration is, on the surface, ambiguous and deeply contradictory, as is exemplified in the rapid construction of new security measures on America's borders, including a 40 foot wall built between Mexico and US. On the one hand, then, increasing economic cooperation and on the other, increasing militarism and tightening of borders.

The State as Terrorist

Since the launch by the US of a pre-emptive strike against Iraq in March 2003, despite failure to win support from the UN Security Council and in the face of opposition from most of the European Union heads of state, the terms "empire" and "imperialism" are taken for granted in relation to the concept of American empire. However, the American model of new empire is increasingly being contested by other models. Another model of empire, which has quietly but rapidly emerged on to the global stage as a major threat to the distribution of power, is the China-Russia bloc. These blocs – America, EU and China – are under-girded by the alliances of military might with economic power and control of resources.



Overarching all of this, as Hardt and Negri eloquently elaborate in their book *Empire*, is the permanent threat of terror – a discourse which is proving to be the ultimate success story in legitimatising the removal of citizenship rights and freedoms, the re-conceptualising of citizenship obligations and duties, and the redefining of the other as “terrorist”.



The pattern of this current unholy phase of the War of Terrorism is completely predictable against a reading of Brezinski's *Grand Chessboard* published in 1997, in which he defined the three critical imperatives of America's geo-political strategy as: "...to prevent collusion and maintain security dependence among the vassals, to keep tributaries pliant, and to keep the barbarians from coming together."¹⁰

There are urgent questions to be asked here. What does postcolonialism mean in the contexts of this new “postmodern” empire? How does this affect indigenous peoples-states relationships? In the area of natural resources in particular, it affects them very much indeed. In regards to freedom to move between and across our homelands, it matters very much.

One of the embedded contradictions of globalization that has accompanied the privatisation of goods and services and the liberalisation of trade is that between the discourse of freedom and the loss of individual liberties under increasingly aggressive legislation that targets people of colour, indigenous peoples and the most oppressed, and defines them as terrorist “other”.



Questions that Remain

For some, the issue is clear. It is about indigenous rights to political self-determination and economic development. In colonized countries in which indigenous national government is not possible, it has been proposed that what we need is a total redefining of constitutional arrangements between states and indigenous peoples. Thus, it becomes a matter of redefining constitutional arrangements within some sort of bi- or plurinational constitutional arrangement, more inclusive forms of democracy and greater citizenship rights.

To what extent might this sort of redefining resolve the issue? For instance, new forms of plurinational states? Bi-lateral states? What might be the likely effect of such constitutional arrangements?

How would we resolve internal issues of representation and mandate? Would it engender more competitiveness amongst indigenous tribes? Would the same issues of indigenous elites and hierarchical power structures still remain?

At the end of the day, with or without such a constitutional redefining, important internal questions remain regarding our underlying goals and objectives and the extent to which these can and should reflect our traditional values, our traditional ways of knowing and being in the world.



For some of us, then, there are critical, urgent questions about how we co-exist in peace on this planet, and the relevance of traditional values and ways of being and knowing. Under these conditions, what kinds of political ontologies will help us to construct new constitutional arrangements and new ways of being together? As indigenous peoples, who have been oppressed and marginalised through centuries of colonization and imperialism, who are now seeking to “get out from under” in some cases, what should we see as our responsibility and what should be our response?

Another postcolonial question of major importance, I believe, and that I know others will be addressing, is that of the role of indigenous women in responding to the multiple crises of the present. Surely, the answers lie in the teachings of our ancestors. In this respect, the genuine aligning of Bolivian leader Evo Morales, an Aymara Indian, with the First Nations peoples of the North Americas and his expression of the need for greater commitment to Mother Earth strengthens the hope that together much can be achieved that is good.

Ko te whenua te ukaipo. Whenua means both land and afterbirth. The land is our breast milk.

Ko te ukaipo, te whenua. That which gives us substance, is the land.



The spiral turns – first inward, then outward...our traditional knowledge, our traditional teachings show us that we were all connected. Maori trace our genealogical relationships outwards to the stars and beyond, and inward to the smallest ant.

Once we deeply understood the interrelationships between all the worlds, including the spiritual and material worlds, and how one is a reflection of the other. Those understandings sat at the heart of how we treated our resources, how we honoured, if you will, our genealogical connections first to the earth and all her children, and then to other human beings. They taught us the nature of being; they taught us how to be in the world, together.

Has the spiral yet turned in far enough... and are we now on the turn outward? Which way are we turning?

I wrote in my book¹¹ that I believe traditional indigenous ontologies have absolute relevance to the crisis of today. I argued that these ways of knowing and being in the world make a critical contribution to the development of new political ontologies and new kinds of development. And I think that the urgent task of indigenous leaders, activists and scholars is to find ways of doing exactly that.

Thank you very much.

Notes

1. The Trilateral Commission was launched at a Bilderberg meeting in 1971 under the impetus of David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank. One of the aims in launching the Trilateral Commission was the reversal of protectionist US policies perceived as threatening to undermine the free movement of international capital essential to the internationalization of production and accumulation (see Makere Stewart-Harawira, *The New Imperial Order: Indigenous Responses to Globalization*, London: Zed Books, 2005).
2. Lindsey MacDonald & Paul Muldoon, "Globalisation, Neo-liberalism and the Struggle for Indigenous Citizenship", in *Australian Journal of Political Science* vol. 41, no. 2, June 2006, London: Routledge, pp. 209-223.
3. Augie Fleras & Paul Spoonley, *Recalling Aotearoa. Indigenous Politics and Ethnic Relations in New Zealand*, Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1999.
4. Taiaiake Alfred, *Peace, Power, Righteousness. An Indigenous Manifesto*, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 114, pp. 119-128.
5. Gustavo Gonzales, "War on Terror has Indigenous Peoples in its sights", in *Inter Press Service*, June 6, 2006. Available at <http://www.commondreams.org/headlines05/0606-03.htm>.
6. Robert Cooper, *The Postmodern State and the World Order*, London: Demos [1996], 1998.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-18.
8. Ackleson & Kastner, "The Security and Prosperity Partnership of America", paper presented at the Association for Canadian Studies in the United States Conference, November 2005. Submitted to the *American Review of Canadian Studies*, December 2005.
9. Michael Crozier, Samuel Huntington & Joji Watanuku, *The Crisis of Democracy. Task Force Report No. 8*, New York: New York University Press, 1975.
10. Zbigniew Brzezinski, *The Grand Chessboard. American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives*, New York: Basic Books, 1997.
11. Makere Stewart-Harawira, *op. cit.*, p. 13.