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Since Predator Came: Notes From the Struggle for American Indian Liberation\$By Ward Churchill.

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preserving the history of the Trail of Tears. Another interesting aspect of this final section is the introduction of Cherokees living in Missouri today, and the author provides a short profile of Beverly Baker Northrup, the current principal chief of the Northern Cherokee Nation of the Old Louisiana Territory. In closing, Joan Gilbert highlights the history of historic preservation and commemoration of the Trail of Tears. Cherokee initiatives are presented in conjunction with those of associations and organizations in Missouri as well as in other states.

Inevitably, due mainly to the journalistic license of the narrative, there are those who would undoubtedly argue that the content of the book is tinged with a grain of the romantic. Nevertheless, Gilbert does not really leave the solid ground of documentation in order to travel into designs or theories of her own making. While the author certainly brings to light some of the harsh realities and tragedies of the Cherokee Removal, she does not dwell incessantly upon those issues. Rather, Gilbert should be commended for utilizing primary documents and for taking the perspective of the Cherokee in her presentation. Likewise, in her implied suggestions for further research into this area, Gilbert has produced a work nearly on par with the slightly more scholarly *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (1995), edited by Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green.

Overall, *The Trail of Tears Across Missouri* is easy to follow, written in a non-technical journalistic tone, and full of illustrations, maps, and photographs. Additionally, Gilbert provides a list of Missouri sites along the Trail of Tears, a list of further suggested readings, and addresses for several museums and tribal or community agencies to contact for more information about the Trail of Tears. All of these elements combine to present an excellent introductory account of the Trail of Tears for a general audience. Since the book is both succinct and instructive, it follows that this treatment of the Trail of Tears would be quite appropriate for high school and especially college level courses.

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Since Predator Came: Notes From the Struggle for American Indian Liberation. By Ward Churchill. Littleton, Colorado: Aigis Publications, 1995. 404 pages.

This is a book about genocide, and resistance to it.

In 1976, after reviewing evidence of the ongoing extermination of the Aché Indians of Paraguay throughout the 1960s and 70s, Elie Wiesel acknowledged: "I didn't know. But is it only an excuse? I can't think of any other. I didn't know that this evil...was still going on." (53) In essay after searing essay, Ward Churchill documents the varied forms that genocide and resistance have taken, are now taking, in the lives and cultures of indigenous peoples throughout the North, South and Central Americas. The case he makes, conceptually and empirically, is compelling. Many who read it will come away repeating Wiesel's stunned, ashen words. After the arguments and evidence presented here, there can be no more excuses for the failure to acknowledge as genocidal the policies and practices visited upon indigenous peoples since Europeans arrived in the Americas. Nor should there be any excuses for failure to support current struggles against their continuation.

The essays in this book come full circle. So to begin at its end is only to show how "Another Vision of America" in the work of Acoma poet Simon Ortiz is conjoined to that of Cherokee anthropologist Robert Thomas. It is an exercise that reveals a good deal about the vision of America embedded in the work under review.

At Sand Creek in 1864, 104 women and children and 28 men of the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho nations were massacred by over 700 heavily armed soldiers. President Lincoln had assured the People that the U.S. flag they flew above their lodges, as a sign of peace, would protect them. Simon Ortiz's *From Sand Creek* is one of the most stunning acts of poetic remembrance, recognition and resistance in contemporary literature. The massacre commemorated in *From Sand Creek* is a microcosm of the devastation documented in *Since Predator Came*. Ortiz's theme, as Churchill perceptively observes, is "the basis laid in understanding the carnage of the past for achieving an altogether different sort of future". (379) Churchill's, I suggest, is much the same. Both works are fiercely committed to the tenet that "for constructive alteration of any process to occur, it is plainly essential that it be recognized for what it is" (59); they similarly give voice to "an honest and healthy anger...the rising of our blood and breath which will free our muscles, minds and spirits" (*From Sand Creek*, 84); and together they are given over to the hope that finally "we will all learn something from each other. We must. We are all with and within each other." (*From Sand Creek*, i) Decidedly, for both, writing is an

act of advocacy. Whether poetry or scholarship, it is "never neutral or objective; it always works...to make corrective action possible or to prevent it." (23) I would add only that their work is itself, already, corrective action.

One of Churchill's great strengths lies in discerning the many faces of indigenous resistance - whether poetic, academic or armed. He has an unerring ability to identify and widen those sundry small spaces upon which the chance for change depends, those moments of pivotal insight when - in Marcuse's words - 'false consciousness' is breached. Bob Thomas's discussion of internal colonialism, Churchill argues, was such a political and conceptual Archimedean point, preparing the way for an entirely new analysis of the state of Native North America. The 'classic' UN definition of colonialism required separation by at least 30 miles of open water, thereby ruling out use of the term for contiguous or encapsulated nations. Its scope was thus not only arbitrarily restrictive, but in application, distortive. Above all it was unable to address contemporary political realities - most notably the ongoing, as opposed to historical, oppression and exploitation of indigenous peoples. Thomas was, in 1966, "the first to openly and coherently apply the concept of colonization to American Indians"(5), but a generation of native scholars followed him, drawing on anti-colonialist theorists such as Fanon and Memmi to enrich their critiques and to inform their political activism. This led, in the 70s, to emphasis on treaty, rather than civil, rights and to growing recourse to international law.

Churchill's contributions, as a scholar and activist, have been crucial in these developments. *Since Predator Came* demonstrates yet again the potency of his own resistance, his own facility at breaching 'false consciousness' and opening conceptual space, so that a more comprehensive political and intellectual emancipation may be forged. The analysis of genocide at the heart of the book confirms this, eloquently and decisively. The substantive conceptual work is accomplished in "Genocide: Toward a Functional Definition", although it sustains and is sustained by each of the other essays. Churchill aims to contribute to a better understanding of genocidal occurrences so that it may be readily understood and agreed when a genocide is taking place; he offers a model which, with further refinement, should serve to make juridical apprehensions of genocide conform more closely to the phenomenon. Such a development in law, he notes, "could hardly help but benefit the emergence of a more just and humane world

order." (100)

After reviewing various accounts of genocide, especially those of Lemkin, Horowitz and Sartre, Churchill proposes that we follow the prescriptions established through the statutory codes on murder. Whether genocide has occurred then, turns not on the agent's intent but on the consequences of agency. 'Intent' goes only to degree of criminality, not to whether an act has occurred. In the resulting typology of genocide (illustrated with diverse historical examples) the establishment of clear intent - always elusive and easily contested - is requisite only for genocide in the first degree. Where specific intent is unclear or lacking, genocide may yet have occurred. By construing genocide as legally analogous to statutory murder, Churchill removes it from the morass of determination of national intent and allows its determination to be a function of what a nation actually does. Enforcement of the Genocide Convention, of course, is an issue apart. To address the attendant jurisdictional problems, Churchill - following Falk - suggests replacing the strictly formal application of legalism embedded in "the indictment model" with a "responsibility model", wherein the conception of crime is based on a community's obligation to repudiate, and to resist policies involving, certain governmental behaviors. The latter, it is argued, is more effective as regards application of international law.

Churchill's typology of genocide turns on the centrality of consequences, rather than intent. But what sort of consequences suffice? Two further qualifications are introduced. The scale, or magnitude, of genocide is irrelevant to whether genocide has occurred. The destruction of an identifiable group of people as such is what is at issue, not the size of that group. (The extermination of 85% of the Aché Indian population in 1959 was an act of genocide, even though there were only 25,000 Aché still alive at that time.) Also irrelevant to whether genocide has taken place is the use of a specific methodology to accomplish it. As a collective entity, a group can die many different deaths; the more or less immediate killing of its individual members is only one. There are also the "slow death measures" referred to in the original U.N. Secretariat's draft convention - forced removal of children to another group, prohibition of a peoples' use of their own language or spiritual practices, destruction or dispersal of their cultural heritage or historical records, devastation of the environmental conditions which sustain them as a people, and so on. A group plainly, may die even when its individual members live on.

Forced assimilation policies, Churchill notes, "are but clinical descriptions of the process of cultural genocide". (97) They have as their express objective the complete dissolution of particular groups, which are effectively "disappeared" by the forcible "absorption" of their individual members into the "mainstream". Genocide then, is to be regarded as "the coercive elimination of human groups per se, by *whatever* means and under *any* rubric". (99)

There is considerable elegance and power in these proposals, and they richly deserve the further development for which Churchill calls. They sharpen our ability to recognize and agree on the vital matter of when genocide is underway; they enhance the adequacy of the concept of genocide so that it is better able to account for current socio-political realities; and they begin the process of refinement which is requisite if the concept is to become a more serviceable resource in international legal forums. Of course, whether genocide of indigenous peoples has taken place rests not only on conceptual agreement, but on empirical evidence as to how they have been impacted by the behavior and policies of specific nations. Churchill spends much of the book marshalling such evidence, documenting in massive - and scholarly painstaking - detail the range of means by which the coercive elimination of indigenous communities in the Americas has been/ is being conducted. The physical and cultural devastation that began with the European invasion, and the forms of indigenist resistance that it has generated, is carried through to the present - with chapters tracing the nature and development of US Indian policy, political repression of Indian resistance movements, the struggle in Chiapas, the collusion of academe in masking genocide, and the failure of ideologies on the Left as well as the Right to support indigenous peoples' right to self-determination. These and the other essays in this volume represent advocacy scholarship at its best. The incisive reasoning, decisive argumentation, thoroughness and breadth of scholarly documentation, and the passionate, sustained articulation of indigenism also represent Ward Churchill at his best.

Haunani-Kay Trask's Preface aptly acknowledges Churchill as "the best in the field". In this book, he continues to enhance the methodological, conceptual and empirical resources of indigenism as a socio-political theory and as an agenda for activism. His focus and proposals are increasingly international in scope, moving beyond Native North America to the Americas. The need for such

movement - and for comparative indigenous/indigenist studies more generally - is readily apparent with economic globalization and the attendant resurgence of colonialism. (See Martin Khor, *The Nation* 263, No. 3:18) The struggles of indigenous peoples are no longer (if they ever were) solely with, or within, individual nation-states; they are as subject to these international forces as the nation-states themselves. Indigenous resistance must itself be international, and indigenist scholarship, especially in the hands of activists such as Churchill, increasingly reflects and facilitates that.

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Visions of America Since 1492. Edited by Deborah L. Madsen. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994. 164 pages.

Major historical anniversaries seem to stimulate introspection and academic ambition in equal measure. The hundredth anniversary in 1993 of the presentation of Frederick Jackson Turner's paper on the significance of the frontier in American history left Western historians with a smorgasboard of conferences to attend and special issues and anthologies to contribute to. Of course, Turner's paper was presented at a meeting of the American Historical Association held in Chicago in 1893 to coincide with the World Columbian Exposition celebrating the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America. A century later, Turner's thesis, like the Columbian Quincentenary, was in for serious reevaluation. And the conferences, special issues and anthologies followed in predictable order.

Visions of America Since 1492 derives from a lecture series held at the University of Leicester in 1992, and has a slightly different take on the subject at hand. In fact, it features mainly British scholars pondering the issue of American exceptionalism—the cultural assumption that the history of the United States has produced a distinctive national character that sets Anglo-Americans apart from their European forebears. The lectures, marking the establishment of American Studies as a degree program at the University of Leicester, offered an opportunity to probe this premise. Four of the lectures—published here under the heading “Cross-cultural Interactions”—examined early European re-