

論文

Distorted Histories under Colonialism:
Comparative Study of Native American History in the
United States and History of Ainu People in Japan

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I. Introduction

History should be neutral but in reality it may not be because it could reflect the views of the writer. American history books, for example, were written from a Eurocentric perspective, especially the perspective of White Anglo Saxon Protestants (WASP). The preponderance of socioeconomic and political power remains in the hands of the descendants of those first Europeans who migrated to the U.S. since Christopher Columbus accidentally reached America in 1492. The distortions found in many American History books have attempted to justify what was done and have become a tactic for maintaining power.

The Eurocentric perspective existed not only in American history books but also in other traditional academic disciplines. The field of Ethnic Studies in the United States; therefore, evolved from the civil rights movement of the 60's and took the interdisciplinary approach. It was the institutional response to non-white minorities who felt they had been neglected, undervalued, and denied long enough, and demanded a change to a more level playing field.

Today, professors and scholars, including those who are white, are attempting to provide the parts of history that were omitted. I studied in similar to Ethnic Studies departments in California that employed the interdisciplinary approach. The focus is on the economic, social, and political structures and their impact on minorities acquired by conquest and/or annexation, as well as, how these social structures have evolved to their present form. Being a foreigner from Japan provided me with a more neutral third person perspective, and I was able to assimilate the new information without an emotional reaction. This was not the case with some white students, especially white males who had been taught “White” history what Prof. Loewen referred to as “feel-good history for affluent white males” (1995, p. 301), that Columbus was a courageous hero. These students felt under attack when their comforting historical myths were

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exposed.

In the United States, Columbus Day has been celebrated as a national holiday since 1937. Schools in most states usually give lessons for the students about Columbus as a great white male founder and often organize events to honor him before the holiday. But for Native Americans¹ whose ancestors were brutally killed by Columbus (Zinn, 1995), is he a hero? While a great numbers of people in the United States honor Columbus, a few states like South Dakota² commemorate the day as an official state holiday known as “Native Americans’ Day” to celebrate the heritage of Native Americans.

These ethnic related history classes which I participated in California revealed why the U.S. does not provide a full picture of its history. At the same time, it caused me think about the history of my own country, Japan. There are indigenous people called, Ainu in our society, and I believe the history of Ainu people is very similar to the history of Native Americans. I believe that rationalized history is not limited to the United States, but also exists in Japan. In this paper, therefore, I will first discuss historical similarities between Native Americans in the United States and Ainu people in Japan, and how their histories were rationalized by the dominant group. Then I will further discuss the social, economic, and political aspects of that surrounding the history. It may be painful for the people of the dominant group to accept a more complete history, but more painful yet was that suffered by its victims.

II. Historical similarities between Native Americans in the United States and Ainu people in Japan

Strangely enough, as Columbus reached the New World by sailing westward, and established the new colonization in the 15th century, Japanese began to expand its territories into “Ainu Moshiri (The land of [Ainu] people in Ainu)”³ in the 15th century. The conflicts between Ainu people and Japanese caused the “Koshamain’s Battle” in 1457. Although the revolt seemed to be successful at one point, the Ainu were not victorious. Since then, the small conflicts between the Ainu and Japanese repeated continuously over two centuries. And once again, a massive uprising against Japanese by Shakushain and his 3000 armed Ainu took place in 1669. It looked like the resistance was going to be successful, but Shakushain was assassinated at the peace settlement. As a result, Japanese coerced the Ainu into an agreement that guaranteed their forced labor. Ainu people were required to supply goods such as deer hides and processed salmon. However, the Japanese history books make it sound like it was an exchange trade. The truth is that the Japanese only compensated with 2 cups of rice⁴ for the “exchanged trade.” Horiuchi compared the amount with what the Japanese government provided for the migrants from Nara prefecture to “Ainu Moshiri” due to a torrential downpour disaster of 1889 as 5 cups of rice for adults and 3 cups of rice for a child (Horiuchi, 2013). This means the Ainu forced labor was furnished for less than a

Japanese child who did not even work. In 1789, Ainu in the Northeastern part of Hokkaido arose with the Menashi-Kushir rebellion against the Japanese government that was imposing the forced labor. But they were defeated. Like the Native Americans of the contiguous United States, their land, what we now call Hokkaido and the southern part of the Kuril Islands, was completely taken over, and Japanese colonizers divided the land into 85 sections (Horiuchi, 2013). This is a brief history of how the Ainu lost their land, “Ainu Moshiri”, and how the Japanese government renamed the land as Hokkaido after the Meiji Restoration of 1869.

Because of forced labor and diseases such as smallpox and tuberculosis brought over by the colonizers, and for which the Ainu had not yet developed an immunity, the Ainu population decreased dramatically in a short period of time. According to Chikapp (1991), smallpox decimated approximately 1/2 of the 8000 Ainu population who were forcibly removed from Sakhalin into Hokkaido in 1875. In the Americas, epidemics of smallpox and chicken pox also took the lives of a great number of Native Americans. Viola (1990) asserts that within 40 years, new European infectious diseases rapidly decimated 90% of the inhabiting population of Hispaniola⁵ where Columbus founded the first European colony.

After the 13 colonies declared their independence from British Empire in 1776, they established the United States of America. The more the number of European settlers increased, the more aroused became the tensions and conflicts between the European settlers and the native inhabitants. In the 19th century; therefore, Manifest Destiny, the doctrine that European American settlers were destined by God to expand throughout the American continent took hold and provided the colonizers with a divinely ordained superiority and the moral authority to govern the United States. Manifest Destiny called for the massive relocation of Native Americans to arid and less productive lands called reservations, so the colonizers could take possessions of the more fertile lands. The other purpose of these relocations was to reduce the amount of land needed by Native Americans, so European American could acquire more lands for “better use” for themselves. Andrew Jackson before he became the 7th President of the United States, he had long been an advocate of forced removal of Native Americans, an example would be the Creek Tribe in 1814. After Jackson was elected President, he continued the crusade and the American government authorized the “Indian Removal Act” in 1830. One of the devastating removals was “The Trail of Tears” of 1838; it was the forced march expulsion in mid-winter, on foot, without food or help from the government. It was estimated that over 4,000 of the 15,000 Cherokees travelers died along the way (Viola, 1990).

Just like the Native Americans who were expelled from their land due to the increasing number of European settlers, the Ainu people were also driven off from their homelands when a great number of Japanese migrated into Hokkaido after 1868. Horiuchi observes the process as “It is the universal law for the colonizers to plunder

the inhabitants' land in order to settle down successfully instead of developing newly undeveloped or wilder lands" (2013, p. 34). Nemuro and Sapporo prefectures of Hokkaido advocated an allotment policy⁶ in early 1880s. The Japanese authorities promoted removal by providing Ainu people with 2 square meter (2 hectare) of land for farming and about 45kg of rice and 90~135kg of potatoes. The author continues to state that however Japanese officials responded by providing only 1 square meter (1 hectare) of land and no food supplies were given the Ainu. It was commonly known by the Japanese that one needs at least 5 square meters (5 hectares) of land for start farming, and Setsuri, where the Ainu were relocated to farm, for example, was known to be too cold to grow plants and it was more suitable for grazing. Not to mention, the land which was taken by Ainu and given to Japanese people from Nara Prefecture in 1889, now became outstanding grain growing region in Hokkaido (Horiuchi, 2013). Traditionally the Ainu fished and hunted, but were forced to move to places with harsh and unyielding environments. Coincidentally two years earlier in the United States, "The Dawes Act of 1887," a federal law which intended to convert Native Americans into field farmers was authorized, and in part, their hunting rights were restricted. Moreover, much of their best reservation lands were eventually taken away by the European colonizers.

Another similarity is the policy of "civilization" or assimilation by the dominant group. The new settlers regarded inhabitants hunting activities as primitive and uncivilized. Making the inhabitants into farmers as I explained above was the part of the "charitable" civilization policy in order to take their lands. But it wasn't enough; cultural colonization was advocated by the dominants. The natives were prohibited to speak their language, sent to schools and forced to live like the dominant groups. In the case of the Native Americans, they were sent to boarding schools or some Native American children were removed from their parents, even a federal law of the Indian Child Welfare Act (ICWA) of 1978 was enacted to assure transferring them. Assimilation meant that the government did not have the responsibility to provide social services or economic aid, and, since they are now assimilated, they are no longer Native Americans, and as such, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) declared such tribes as "extinct", and the government has taken away their reservations legally. Koning (1993) states that Native Americans owned only 48 million acres of land when the Dawes Act was abolished in 1934 while they had owned 138 million acres in 1887. In the case of Ainu, glossing the Japanese policy over with "protective," Ainu people were sent to Japanese schools. There, they were forced to speak Japanese and were taught to admire the emperor and military discipline. Ainu culture is viewed as primitive and savage and they were prohibited to practice their hunting and rituals. Moreover, Japanese surnames were given to register them into Japanese society (Horiuchi, 1993).

The historical similarities between Native Americans in the United States and the Ainu people of Japan are no coincidence. The similarities rest on the fact that they

both were victims of forced colonization. The political and economic interests of the colonizers in their colonized lands created the historical similarities between Native Americans and Ainu people. And unfortunately, distorted history was used to downplay and erase the brutal and tragic fate of the colonized people and their lands. There are several techniques of justification used by colonizers.

James W. Loewen (1995), who has authored several books on American History books in state of Mississippi explains that one of the techniques used in American History books is “heroification.” He uses Columbus as an example of heroification and notes that the Anglocentric history textbooks devote about two and a half pages to present the heroic collective account of Christopher Columbus alone, starting with how he “discovered” the America. The heroification of Columbus and Europeans rendered invisible what they had really done to Native Americans.

Another procedure that was used by European colonial administrations was the emptiness of the colonial land. Europeans referred to the continent which was “discovered” by Columbus in 1492 as the “New World.” From the European standpoint, the Americas were previously unknown to the Europeans⁷; therefore, it seemed to be the New World, but they ignored the fact that the Americas were populated with indigenous people. The numbers of inhabitants vary widely depending on the scholar. Denevan (1992) in his “The Native Population of the Americas in 1492” reveals that some scholars estimate the number as high as 112 million natives while some scholars estimate the number as low as 8 million. By describing Columbus’ voyage as the discovery of a “New World” conveyed the idea that the Americas were empty. And the colonizer attempts to portray the policy of colonization as a natural phenomenon in which white people are destined to colonize and rule the Americas. In Japanese history textbooks, the account of how the Japanese entered the Ainu Moshiri is noted as “reclamation” while Utsugi (1990) refutes it was an “invasion” since Ainu people were forming their culture before Japanese. “Reclamation” comprises in some what very positive expression of life in the forward expansion in a settlement just like “American frontier” of the Manifest Destiny, but what Japanese claim for “reclamation” and what European settlers transformed as “American frontier” are actually mean “colonial expansionism” and/or “invasion.”

Blaut (1993) claims that another technique used by the dominant group to justify the process of taking the land over from Native Americans is to indicate that Native Americans did not have the concept of private property with regard to land. The same is true of the case of Japanese “reclamation” of Ainu Moshiri. The Japanese government induced people by announcing Hokkaido as “the land without lord” and informed that “There are some Ainu people dwelling (in Ainu Moshiri), but they do not seem to have the idea of possessing property” (Horiuchi, 2013, p. 27).

Whatever the method used, they had one purpose. It was to cover up the murderous savagery with which they stole the land of the indigenous people under

colonization. History books were used to deceive the reader of the dark past and to project an image of progress and civilization under the guidance of a divine hand. Many students were ready to accept this attractive version as fact. Loewen expresses that “The authors of history textbooks have taken us on a trip of their own, away from the facts of history, into the realm of myth” (1996, p. 39).

III. The aftermath of colonization and the teaching of distorted history to the subjugated people

The distorted history taught by the colonizers caused Native American students and Ainu students to develop a negative self-image and to develop an inferiority complex. As a history teacher, Loewen (1996) noticed that African American, Native American, and Latino students dislike history in particular and learn history poorly. This is not accidental. This is because “White” history blames victims, non-whites, and there is nothing to be found in American history books to make non-whites feel proud. It rather promotes inequality between colonizers and colonized, “conquerors and conquered, masters and slaves, capitalists and workers, dominators and dominated in race and gender” (Zinn, 1995, p. 9-10). An Ainu man recalls his indignation once when he was taking a Japanese history class in Japanese and Ainu mixed primary school in Hokkaido, his Japanese teacher told his class that Ainu people are descendants of traitors (Horiuchi, 1993). The dominant groups create “feel-good” history that portrays them in a favorable light. Their teachers enforce the system and the subjugated people are once again victimized by being depicted negatively.

Chikapp, an Ainu activist argues that “the invaders seek to evade the problem by defining a different ethnic group (Ainu) as genetically inferior to the invaders (Japanese) in order to illuminate invaders’ justice. And Japanese invaders regard themselves as naturally superior (Chikapp, 1991, p. 248). The invading Japanese needed to establish a system of discrimination in order to maintain political control. The system of discrimination served to justify the invasion. Japanese scholars insisted that Ainu should assimilate into Japanese society in order to end their discrimination. But did the assimilation policy really end discrimination? “Not only did the assimilation policy not eliminate discrimination, it actually served to strengthen it” (Chikapp, p. 250-251). Under the Japanese “charitable” assimilation policy, the Ainu lands were taken for Japanese new comers, and the Ainu were forced to move to arid and unproductive lands that the Japanese did not want. The situation of Ainu has not changed at all. According to the “Investigation of the Actual Situation of Ainu Ethnic”⁸ which was conducted by Hokkaido University in 2008, the number who received welfare doubled in Ainu: 5.2% of Ainu receive welfare while only 3.5% of Japanese who live in Hokkaido or 2.1% of Japanese in general receive welfare (p. 4).

Although the dominant groups stereotype their victims as primitive and uncivilized, Bernal Díaz del Castillo, a Spanish who participated as a foot soldier when

Hernán Cortés conquest Tenochtitlán, Mexico observes:

When we arrived [in Tenochtitlán,] we saw so many towns and villages built both in the water and on dry land and on a straight causeway... that we would not restrain our admiration. It was like an enchantment, because of the high towers which rose from the water. Some of our soldiers asked if what we saw was not a dream... All was bright, with many kinds of stone with pictures that gave reason for thought. Many kinds of birds came to the lake, and I stood looking, thinking that never in the world would lands like these be discovered again. (Koning, 1993, p. 36)

Inhabitants were actually highly civilized as an example of Tenochtitlán, and it was the case with the Native Americans in the contiguous United States. So why were the inhabitants unable to defend themselves if they were highly civilized? Blaut (1993) points out two factors. The first major reason was the pandemic diseases brought by the Europeans for which the indigenous people had no immunity. The impact of these diseases decimated the native population drastically in short period of time. The other main reason was the advanced military developed in Europe. There was no comparing the steel swords and guns of the Spaniards and the bow and arrows of the native people which were used primarily for hunting and not the killing of humans. You can see how peaceful they were in Columbus' writing when he encountered the Arawaks of the Bahama Islands, "They do not bear arms, and do not know them, for I showed them a sword, they took it by the edge and cut themselves out of ignorance" (Zinn, 1995, p. 1). Columbus referred to the injury with the sword as "ignorance"; however, from a third person point of view, it was written from the point of view of a highly developed militaristic society. The inhabitants of the Bahamas were peaceful and had no need for weapons of human destruction. The question must be asked, who was more civilized the natives who lived in peace and harmony and had no need for weaponry, or the Europeans who slaughtered them?

Under colonization, Native Americans and the Ainu people were subjugated and their cultures devalued. Demoralization was inevitable. They lived under circumstances that devalued them and they developed an inferiority complex. As a result, both Native Americans and Ainu people were debouched by alcohol introduced by colonizers. Yet, when the dominant group looked at an indigenous person who may be drunk on a certain day, they confirm their superiority by humiliating them as perennially drunk and lazy instead of looking at the root of the problem. Chikapp (1991) argues that the Japanese scholars are even worse. They came to Ainu as a "shisamu (it means "good neighbor" in Ainu) and took most of the important ceremonial goods away under the guise of "collecting for scholarly work" just like Japanese colonizers who says their entry into Ainu Moshiri a "reclamation" rather than an invasion. Moreover, scholars who are supposedly "good neighbors" do not mention anything about the present discrimination that exists in Japanese society nor the dire situation of the Ainu

today. They rather confirm that Ainu people are primitive and uncivilized, and Ainu are dying out quickly. For them the Ainu are mere objects that they can add to their fame and fortune by undermining their culture and taking their material wealth. For them, that is all they care about. “We (Ainu people) didn’t abandon our culture or language; they were extorted from us” exclaims Chikapp (1991, p.175).

“Investigation of the Actual Situation of Ainu of 2006”⁹ by the Hokkaido prefecture’s research shows that although Ainu people see the importance in Ainu language, the young generation (under 30 years of age) is not able to speak their language and 45.1% of the younger generation “don’t want to speak Ainu.” It is the highest percentage of all by generation who “don’t want to speak Ainu” and the percentage in this generation is getting slightly higher each time. I see it as a result of severe discrimination against the Ainu that still exists in Japan. As in a case of Makoto (Horiuchi, 2013) whose parents are able to speak Ainu, they decided not to teach him Ainu language or culture thinking that he would be facing much discriminations being Ainu. Many accounts like this were recorded in Horiuchi’s books.

However this is not the case with many Native Americans now. Despite their harsh experience of subjugation and discrimination, Native Americans seem to be more active in pursuing their traditional identity and in promoting their culture, especially within the educational system. They established Native American higher educational institutions within the tribal territory instead of sending them to non-Indian communities. Navajo Community College¹⁰, the first tribal two-year higher educational institution, was founded “by Native Americans for Native Americans” in Navajo Reservation in 1968, teaching Navajo history, language and culture. According to American Indian Higher Education Consortium, currently there are 37 tribal colleges and universities in the United States including Alaska natives. These tribal institutions help the younger generations of Native Americans build their self-confidence within a comfortable environment. It seems like the comfortable educational settings both economically and physiologically are lacking for Ainu people. There are several research centers that focus on the Ainu in Japanese universities; unfortunately there no colleges or universities established by the Ainu for the Ainu in Japan. Moreover, many Ainu have economical difficulty to pursue their studies. Among the Ainu people who answered “wanted to continue studying” in the “Investigation of the Actual Situation of Ainu Ethnic,” 76.1% answered that couldn’t attend school for economic reason and 24.6% answered that they needed to work.

Native Americans are also politically and socially active. The Occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in 1969 which lasted for approximately a year and half became well known to the public as a Native American protest demonstration. A group of young native students reached the island and claimed the “right of discovery” imitating Christopher Columbus’ discovery of America. This focused the spotlight of the media on the emerging issues. The occupation helped them gain visible results and

inspired subsequent actions led by American Indians Movement (AIM). The founders of AIM such as Dennis Banks and Clyde Bellecourt, first focused on spiritual strength within tribal communities, but soon, they started to get involved in acts of protest such as “The Take Over of the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) Building” of 1972 and “71day Take Over of Wounded Knee” in 1973. Unlike Native Americans who in especially large numbers got involved in publicizing the unfairness of old treaties as well as the current situation, Ainu people in Japan looked almost passive and their protests were more individual level. Genjiro Arai¹¹ during 1930s and Shoji Yûki¹² of 1970s~1980s were well known Ainu activists during 20th century. But both Horiuchi (2013) and Chikapp (1991) mention that many Ainu people were in terror of bringing up issues that would engender more abuse and discrimination and defended themselves with silence.

IV. Conclusion

There are a great number of historical similarities between Native Americans in the United States and the Ainu people in Japan. These similarities are not coincidental. Both American and Japanese societies have historically derived great benefits from exploitation of indigenous people’s land and labor under colonization. The exploitation became an essential lubricant for the flourishing of the colonizer’s society. The monopolistic and despotic political, social and economic control by colonizers is what engenders the economic dependence that compromises the sovereignty of all social institutions, and of course history textbooks. The colonizer needed to erase the true historical facts in order to justify their immoral and illegal actions; therefore, history is not neutral, but became “his story” (only one side of the story).

Colonizers used the techniques of "heroification" and "emptiness" in portraying their one-sided "his story." History books asserted that there were sparse populations, and those that were there did not have the concept of "private property" with regard to land. We (colonizer) did what we could to civilize them in our image and continue on. Loewen, a history teacher refers to American History as “lies, half-truths, truths, and omissions” (1996, p. 36). On the surface, the policy of assimilation appears protective and rational; however, many ethnographical studies have shown that it has a cumulative effect. It has only reproduced inequalities: colonizers as elitists and indigenous people as the subordinated. The inequalities and contradictions of the society at large are mirrored and reproduced by the educational system and their political enforcements.

When I stand at the architectural site of the Templo Mayor de Tenochtitlán (now Mexico City) looking aside is the symbol of the conqueror, the Mexico City Metropolitan Cathedral, which was built on the site of the Tenochtitlán using the stone from the destroyed temple. I was deeply saddened to recall how beautiful Tenochtitlán was as described by Bernal Diaz. The monopolistic and despotic political, social and economic control imposed by colonization is at the root of the problem. It shames me to

know that my people, supposedly more civilized, were the colonizers who forcefully took the land and labor of the inhabitants for their own personal gain.

Chikapp (1991) explains that Ainu people did not exploit their natural resources as did the Japanese colonizer. "We only catch what we need" she continues. The Ainu people knew that exploitation would harm nature and that in turn would harm people. I believe that the key to a contented and peaceful life is to live in harmony with nature and your fellow man, free of domination. And this is what Russell Means, a prominent activist in the American Indian Movement, meant when he spoke of "wisdom" in a speech to his "relatives," the young Native American students of Navajo Community College in 1995. Means advised them to "Learn your wisdom - the missing link. The Euro-centric, linear, mathematical way of thinking, they only teach limited knowledge, not wisdom" (Means, 1995).

I believe change is possible through the democratic principle of a united people. When a sufficient number of people shed the attitudes and thinking of a conditioned education and begin thinking for ourselves and take action, change will take place. Despite the awesome power structure, I believe there is hope because I have faith in the power of a united people. Throughout history, despite overwhelming obstacles, this has been the case. The civil rights movement in the United States during the 1960's is a great example. I have faith that, in time, this change will reach a global level. Some people may argue that the cultural differences among people preclude any coalescence of forces sufficient to bring revolutionary change. However, I disagree with the idea, and strongly believe that the cultural differences can be overcome because as human beings we have more in common and can work together towards a common goal. Because our current system generates the need for protests and change, the time will come when "wisdom" will be shown to be superior to "knowledge." The change may not come in the form that is expected, nor as quickly as we might want. It may take years as in the case of slavery in the United States. From a Western perspective, this may seem a bit too long and too slow a process, but when we think of this in terms of the life of the universe, it is but the blink of an eye.

Notes

1. The term "Native Americans" refers to the native people of the Americas, and technically, it includes the indigenous people in North America to the indigenous people of Central and South America. Native Americans, therefore, are not geographically homogenous. However, in this paper I will refer to "Native Americans" as the indigenous people of the contiguous United States as well as those who encountered Columbus. Native American activists like Russell Means voted to accept the term "American Indians" in reference to themselves at an International Conference of North, Central and South American Indians held in Geneva, Switzerland at the United Nations in 1977. But I have decided to use Native Americans as opposed to American Indians, because it is

historically more accurate since they were natives to the Americas at the time of colonialism and linguistically they are not “Indians.”

2. Dakota is the name of a Native American tribe. And the Dakota holds one of the largest tracts of land.
3. It refers to the lands where Ainu used to live before Japanese, includes Hokkaido, Kuril Islands and Sakhalin nowadays (Chikapp, 1991).
4. Horiuchi (2013) uses the traditional Japanese measurement, “gou (合)” for measuring rice. Here I translated what he says 2 “gou” as 2 cups of rice. A cup of rice = 1 gou, and it is approximately 150g of raw rice.
5. Hispaniola is located in the Greater Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. Columbus named the island “Española” in Spanish or Hispaniola in English (meaning “the Spanish island”), but now part of Haiti and the Dominican Republic.
6. 「旧土人救済方法」 in Japanese.
7. Although Christopher Columbus was not the first European to reach the Americas, his expeditions initiated European expansionism into the Americas (his voyages led the first lasting European contact with the Americas). L’Anse aux Meadows, an Archaeological site of a Norse settlement on the island of Newfoundland in the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador, is regarded so far as the first European to land in North America. It was approximately 500 years before Columbus. It became UNESCO World Heritage Site in 1978.
8. 「平成 20 年度北海道大学アイヌ民族生活実態調査 (速報版)」 in Japanese. It was held in 2008, but was publicized in May, 2009.
9. 「平成 18 年北海道アイヌ生活実態調査報告書」 in Japanese.
10. “Navajo Community College” later changed its name as Diné College. Cited from the Diné College’s web site.
11. 荒井 源次郎 in Japanese characters.
12. 結城 庄司 in Japanese characters.

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