DRAFT Anishinaabe Cumulative Impact Assessment
On the Proposed Enbridge Line 3 Expansion and Abandonment Plan
Prepared by Honor the Earth
for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe
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Introduction

“The Anishinaabe person is inseparable from the land; identity, sense of place and history is intimately related to the land. We originated here. The North American Indigenous person did not migrate from anywhere else, nor originate from any other peoples. The Creator took four parts of Earth and molded the form of the first human person. Since then, all of humankind has been related to the Earth in a very intimate way -- the Earth, in fact, is our Mother. The human person is a relative to all other persons of the Earth, and, along with all creatures call the Earth, Mother.”

James Dumont, 2010 (Foushee and Gurneau)

After 500 years of genocide and colonization, Anishinaabeg Akiing (and the Anishinaabeg people) has been degraded. Most of these impacts have been from the relentless march of industrialization across Turtle Island. Now, Anishinaabeg Akiing (and the Anishinaabeg people) face another industrial expansion. This push takes the form of pipeline and mining projects. The system that both of these projects represent is deeply broken and threatens the very survival of human culture. Anishinaabeg (and other Indigenous Peoples) must be the ones to lead a global change of direction. This is because Anishinaabeg (and other Indigenous Peoples) share similar covenants with nature that emphasize community, respect, and living in balance.

Indigenous peoples have a different way of understanding the world and humanity’s role in creation. This alternative way of understanding is known as Indigenous science. Knowledge formed through this understanding is known as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK). Understanding Indigenous science and how it differs from Western science is essential to have true government to government relationships and guarantee true “prior and informed consent.” The lack of understanding of Indigenous science and TEK by western regulators leads to the approval of projects that continue the legacy of colonization and genocide experienced by Indigenous Peoples (IP). To alleviate this issue, we have prepared this document to serve as a primer for the regulators in Minnesota. We do this not only to illustrate TEK for the regulators, but because we have a deep responsibility to protect our Mother Earth.

The Anishinaabeg world consists of eight planes of existence, with an understanding of the deep

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2 Anishinaabe is the traditional name for the original people of what is now the Great Lakes area of the U.S. and Canada. We may be more commonly referred to as Chippewa or Ojibwe, but those terms have been imposed upon us.
relationship between the time of the ancestors and the time of the descendants. Because of this, Anishinaabeg are required to make decisions for the 7th generation, working to ensure decisions made for current generations do not negatively impact the quality of life of future generations. This worldview also understands the physical world as animate and inanimate, possessing intangible and tangible values, and family or relatives who are winged, rooted, pawed, finned, and hooved. Anishinaabeg worldview\(^2\) and other indigenous knowledge systems employ an in-depth understanding of the inter-relation of all of creation. This is similar to the understanding of ecologists but incorporates a deep element of responsibility to all these parts. The Western scientific process is reductionist and mostly unconcerned with the ethical implications of scientific research. This is in direct contradiction to Indigenous scientific processes. The gap between the two scientific approaches must be bridged to create a sustainable society.

In the Indigenous context, terms like *interspecies equity, intergenerational equity, valuation of intangible,* and *acknowledgement of the realms* carry weight in decision making processes. We will further explore these concepts and our responsibilities to them in succeeding sections.

“... Indigenous worldviews recognize the interdependency between humans and nature, the physical and spiritual worlds, the ancestors and the future generations; all living things, animate or inanimate, are bound by a connection to everything else. This interconnectedness of all things is the first law of ecological thought.”

(Cajete 1999)

**Indigenous Science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK)**

Traditional Ecological Knowledge has been developed over centuries of living in the landscape, through a methodology known as Indigenous science. Indigenous science is just as methodological and empirical as Western science, but is defined by several important distinctions. First, Indigenous scientists, and cultures, see time as cyclical. Second, Indigenous science is holistic and systems based. Third, Indigenous scientists utilize a sixth sense that is not understood by Western scientists. Finally, Indigenous science structures Indigenous societies in a much more fundamental way than Western science does.

The recognition of the inseparability, reciprocity, and responsibility between humans and the rest of creation, particularly land and place, serves to create an ethical code of conduct in interacting and being in the world. TEK emphasizes that all aspects of physical space are considered part of a connected, interrelated community (humans, animals, plants, land), shifting the Western emphasis from the human to the ecological community of which humans are an integral part. According to Pierotti and Wildcat (2000), a core component of TEK is that non-humans and nature exist on their own terms independent of human interpretation. Additionally, TEK acknowledges that IP are

\(^1\) by European and American colonizing forces, and hence many of us choose to use Anishinaabe when referring to ourselves. The plural of Anishinaabe is Anishinaabeg, and Anishinaabemowin is our language. Akiing is our name for our homeland. - Quoted from Freeland, 2015.

\(^2\) A worldview is the cultural framework of interrelated logics which establish a relationship to land, time, the rest of life and prescription for interacting with that life. - Freeland, 2015.
native to a place and live with nature – following an ethical code of conduct that exists in relation with ecosystems. By contrast, dominant Western worldviews (e.g., Manifest Destiny) assume humans are superior to, separated from (e.g., going “into nature”), or in opposition to ecosystems – that nature needs to be tamed or conquered primarily for the benefit of humans (Pierotti and Wildcat 2000).

Many of the principles of western science are based on a type of logic and mindset which require hierarchical thinking. Non-reciprocal causality, for instance, requires that one think of phenomena in the following way, according to Marayama as cited by Cajete:

“‘That for every effect there is one single cause which can be objectively observed and described given the proper tools, the correct hypothesis and appropriate experimentation.’ Non reciprocal, or what has been popularly termed ‘linear thinking’ conditions for ‘mono-polarization' in both thinking and personality development. ‘Mono explanation’ is defined as a ‘psychological need to believe that there is one universal truth, and to seek out, find secret in, and hang onto one authority, one theory, uniformity, homogeneity, and standardization.”

In TEK systems, there is a more holistic understanding of cause and effect. There is an understanding that cause A and effect B cannot be isolated from cause B and effect A in a system. This is known as “mutualistic logic” and “reciprocal causality.” In practical terms, this is the difference between examining the increase of GHG from a pipeline project (by direct emission, replacement increases, etc) and examining the impact increased investment in fossil fuel infrastructure will have on future generations.

As TEK system recognize a mutual relations between all things in the natural world, animals, plants, humans, celestial bodies, spirits and natural forces, they strive to maintain a balance in this system. Instructions for maintaining this balance are handed down, generation to generation through rituals, storytelling, and other means. Often, these rituals and knowledge-transfer activities are directly tied to the place the knowledge relates to.

**Ways of knowing**

In addition to linear thinking, western science also emphases knowledge developed through experimentation and repetition. These processes form the basis of logical/mathematical and spatial intelligence, however, there are more domains of intelligence than these two. These include; linguistic, kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal (understanding of people), and intrapersonal (understanding of self). Indigenous scholars also recognize the existence of additional domains- spiritual intelligence and interspecies intelligence as well. Simply stated, this is an ability to communicate with the spiritual world, a plane which exists in the Anishinaabe world as a parallel world, and is accessed through prayer, ceremony, or may manifest when it decides to do so.

In preparing this cumulative impact assessment, experts, both Tribal and non-native have been

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consulted. The purpose of this document is to explain and illustrate interspecies equity, intergenerational equity, the value of non-economic principles, cultural and spiritual knowledge, and full-cost accounting for Euro-western regulators and non-native allies. These concepts are inherently present in an Anishinaabeg management, economic, and political governance system. These are also systems which are valued internationally in United Nations agreements, including the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, as affirmed in 2007 by the General Assembly. In short, the issues which have surfaced through the permitting process for these projects are issues which far exceed the state of Minnesota. These issues have broad implications for the Anishinaabeg nation.

State and federal processes have allowed crude oil pipeline permitting processes to ignore or underestimate the full social costs of the oil sands, and existing policies ignore cumulative impacts. These are not simply business decisions. Responsible policies should address the interwoven, system-wide impacts of oil sands development, from mines and refineries, to pipelines, rail and tanker traffic, to impacts on economies and the global climate system. Current laws, regulations, and policies are not designed to assess cumulative impacts (Johnson and Miyanishi 2008, Office of the Auditor General of Canada 2011). When oil sands development is viewed as an integrated whole, the costs and benefits of individual decisions can be evaluated responsibly (Chan et al. 2014). Land use and regulatory decisions are considered lease-by-lease with no single agency responsible for oversight, accounting of cumulative impacts, or information flow. For example, decisions regarding mineral rights are made by Alberta Energy, those for timber by Alberta Sustainable Resource Development, while Alberta Environment decides on water and air impacts, and the National Energy Board decides on pipeline and rail transport of oil sands products (Johnson and Miyanishi 2008).

Ways of Seeing

In addition to different ways of knowing and interacting the land, Indigenous people have different ways of presenting the land.

The following two maps were created by Charles Lippert and Jordan Engel. They display Indigenous names for areas in Anishinaabeg. They also utilize a East-West orientation vs the conventional N-S orientation. This is because Anishinaabeg traditionally orient themselves to the East. The compass rose is a medicine wheel, an indigenous symbol used across the continent to denote the four directions. It also includes the English word “North” and the Anishinaabemowin word “Waabang,” meaning East.
Wenji-maajiijiwang (From Where the Waters Start to Flow) – The Headwaters of the Mississippi River in Anishinaabemowin (Ojibwe)  

Place Names found on the map are:

- Omashkoozo-ziibi (Elk River) – The Mississippi River between Lake Itasca and Lake Bemidji
- Bemijigamaag-ziibi (Traversing Lake’s River) – The Mississippi River between Lake Bemidji and Cass Lake
- Gaa-miskwaawaakokaag-ziibi (River abundant with Red Cedar) – The Mississippi River between Cass Lake and Lake Winnibigoshish
- Wiinibiigoonzhish-ziibi (Little Stagnant Murky River) – The Mississippi River between Lake Winnibigoshish and the Leech Lake River
- Gichi-ziibi (Big River) – The Mississippi River between the Leech Lake River and the Crow Wing River
- Misi-ziibi (Great River) – The Mississippi River between the Crow Wing River and the Gulf of Mexico
- Omashkoozo-zaaga’igan (Elk Lake) – Lake Itasca
- Bemijigamaag-zaaga’igan (Traversing Lake) – Lake Bemidji and Lake Irving. These are considered a single lake in Ojibwe.
- Gaa-miskwaawaakokaag-zaaga’igan (Abundant with Red Cedar Lake) – Cass Lake
- Wiinibiigoonzhish-zaaga’igan (Little Stagnant Murky Lake) – Lake Winnibigoshish
- Ozagaskwaajimekaag-zaaga’igan (Abundant with Leeches Lake) – Leech Lake
- Ozagaskwaajimekaag-ziibi (Abundant with Leeches River) – The Leech Lake River
- Gaa-mitaawangaagamaag-zaaga’igan – Big Sandy Lake. For the Gichiziibiwininiwag (Mississippi Ojibwe), Big Sandy Lake is a culturally important location.

7 https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/01/12/the-headwaters-of-the-mississippi-river-in-ojibwe/
Gaagaagiwigwani-ziibi (Raven's Feather River) – The Crow Wing River
The places on this map are as follows:

- Nayaano-nibiimaang Gichigamiin- “The Five Freshwater Seas”
- Aabitibiwi-zaaga’igan (In-Between Waters Lake): Lake Abitibi (ON / QC)
- Aazhawayi’iing (At the Canoe-crossing): Oshawa, ON
- Adikokaan (Caribou Grounds): Atikokan, ON
- Amikwag-endaad (Beaver Abode): Beaver Islands, MI
- Animiigo-zaaga’igan (Dog Waters Lake): Lake Nipigon (ON)
- Anishinaabewi-gichigami (Anishinaabe’s Sea): Lake Superior (MI / MN / ON / WI)
  - ALSO AS Ojibwewi-gichigami (Ojibwa’s Sea): Lake Superior (MI / MN / ON / WI)
- Baawitigong (At the Cascades): Sault St. Marie, MI/ON
- Baketigweyaang (At the Side-flow): London, ON
- Bakeyaabashkiikaang (At where a Muskeg is off to its Side): Hayward, WI
- Biidaasige (Shine): Petosky, MI
- Biidaaweweng (At where It Is Heard Approaching): Petawawa, ON
- Binesii-wikwedong (At the Thunderbird Bay): Thunder Bay, ON
- Boojwiikwed (Horn Bay): Green Bay (MI / WI)
- Dakwaanikwaan (Buzz-cut Hair): Ft. Wayne, IN
- Eshkwesing (The End): Oakville, ON
- Gaa-biskising (At the Turn-around): Kapuskasing, ON
- Gaagaagwinzhki-minitigoong (By the River Island of Hemlocks): Steven’s Point, WI
- Gaa-ginwawjiwanaaang (At the Place of Long Rapids): Grand Rapids, MI
- Gaa-niyogamailig (Place of the Four Lakes): Madison, WI
- Gaa-zhigaagowanzhiigokaag (At the Place Abundant with Skunk-grass): Chicago, IL
  - ALSO AS Zhigaagong (On the Skunk): Chicago, IL
- Gakaabikaang (At the Waterfall): Minneapolis, MN
- Gakiwe-ongaming (At the Foot Portage): Hancock / Houghton, MI
- Gete-oodenaaang (At the Old Town): Superior, WI
- Gichi-biitoobiigong (At the Great Harbour): Sandusky, OH
- Gichigami-zibi (Sea River): St. Louis River (MN / WI) / St. Marys River (MI / ON) / St. Claire River River (MI / ON) / Niagara River (NY / ON) / St. Lawrence River (NY / ON / QC)
- Gichi-namebini-ziibiing (At the Big Sucker River): Marquette, MI
- Gichi-nibiinsing-zaaga’igan (Big Little-Waters Lake): Lake Nippising (ON)
- Gichi-wikwedong (At the Big Bay): Grand Traverse Bay (MI)
- Gichi-ziibi (Big River): Ottawa River (ON / QC)
- Ginoogamaa-zaaga’iganiiing (At the Long Lake): Longlac, ON
- Gitigani-ziibiing (At the Garden River): Maniwaki, QC
- Gojiiing (At the Inlets): Fort Frances, ON / International Falls, MI
- Ininwewi-gichigami (Illinius’ Sea): Lake Michigan (IL / IN / MI / WI)
  - ALSO AS Mishii’igan (Grand Lake): Lake Michigan (IL / IN / MI / WI)
  - ALSO AS Mishigami (Great Lake): Lake Michigan (IL / IN / MI / WI)
- Maadaawaang (At the Confluence): Mattawa, ON
- Manidoowazh (Spirit Cave): Manitouwadge, ON
- Miinoong (Blueberrying): Isle Royale, MI
- Minjikaning (At the Fence): Orillia, ON

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8 https://decolonialatlas.wordpress.com/2015/04/14/the-great-lakes-in-ojibwe-v2/
Minwakiing (At Milwaukee): Milwaukee, WI
  ● ALSO AS Mino-akiing (At the Good Land): Milwaukee, WI
Mishibikwadinaang (At the Grand Hill): Michipicoten, ON
Mishibikwadin-minis (Grand Hill Island): Michipicoten Island, ON
Misi-zaaga’igan (Grand Lake): Mille Lacs Lake (MN)
Misi-ziibi (Great River): Mississippi River (MN / WI / IA / IL / MO / KY / TN / AR / MS / LA)
Mooniyaang (At Montréal): Montréal, QC
Naadawekwe-neyaashiing (At the Iroquois Woman’s Point): St. Ignace, MI
Naadowewi-gichigami (Iroquois’ Sea): Lake Huron (MI / ON)
  ● ALSO AS Odaawaawi-gichigami (Odawa’s Sea): Lake Huron (MI / ON)
  ● ALSO AS Gichi-aazhoogami-gichigami (Great Crosswaters Sea): Lake Huron (MI / ON)
Name-wiikwedong (At the Sturgeon Bay): Owen Sound, ON
Niigani-gichigami (Leading Sea): Lake Ontario (NY / ON)
  ● ALSO AS Gichi-zaaga’igan (Big Lake): Lake Ontario (NY / ON)
Niswaakamog (The Three Trails): Sudbury, ON
Odaawa (Odawa): Ottawa, ON
Odaawa-minis (Odawa Island): Manitoulin Island, ON
Onagamiinsing (At the Little Portage): Duluth, MN
Opwaaganasining (At the Pipe-stone): Nipigon / Red Rock, ON
Waabishkigoo-gichigami (Neutral’s Sea): Lake Erie (MI / NY / OH / ON / PA)
  ● ALSO AS Aanikegamaa-gichigami (Chain of Lakes Sea): Lake Erie (MI / NY / OH / ON / PA)
Waaninaawangaa (At the Sandy Depression): Sioux Lookout, ON
Waasekaasing (The Brightly Shining): Parry Sound, ON
Waaseyaagami-wiikwed (Shining Waters Bay): Georgian Bay (ON)
Waaowiyaataan (Curved Shores): Lake St. Claire (MI / ON)
Waaowiyaataanong (At the Curved Shores): Detroit, MI
Wayaa-gonaatigweyaazibiing (At the Clearwater-flowing River): Eau Claire, WI
Wayaanag-gakaabikaawang (At the Curved Waterfalls): Niagara Falls (NY / ON)
Wewebijiwang (At the Intermittent Current): Little Current, ON
Wiikwe-wayekwaa-gichigami (Bay at the Far end of the Sea): Fond du Lac Bay (MN / WI)
Wiiniibiigo-zaaga’igan (Murky Waters Lake): Lake Winnebago (WI)
Zaagiinaad-wiikwed (Of the Outlet Bay): Saginaw Bay (MI)
Zaagiinaang (At the Outlet): Saginaw, MI
Zhooniyaang-zaaga’igan (Of the Silver Lake): Lake Simcoe (ON)

While the impetus for the CIA has been the Enbridge Line 3 Expansion and Abandonment (XL3 & L3A) proposal, it is necessary to fully understand the existing stressors on Tribal communities. These stressors include the degradation of Anishinabe Akiing, historical and current trauma, and subsequent mental and physical health issues. The Line 3 proposal would impact the wealth of Anishinaabeg Akiing and is centered upon communities who are not protected by current state and federal policies. This document illustrates some facets of this ecological, economic, and cultural history.
This assessment is not limited to Anishinaabeg treaty areas of Minnesota, as the XL3 also impacts crude oil extraction and refining areas, especially Indigenous communities that are most impacted by climate change. Indigenous peoples are responsible for each other - regardless of political boundaries- and the Rights of our Mother Earth. The state review process has been undertaken without adequately acknowledging or documenting of uppipe and downpipe potential impacts.

Several methodologies are being utilized to explore and explain these impacts. The analysis is grounded in the Anishinaabe worldview. Where appropriate, the voices of Anishinaabeg people have been included. These Anishinaabeg teachers and experts in traditional ecological knowledge are more familiar with this territory than any Enbridge (or State) contractor. The Anishinaabe worldview and the oral history of Anishinabe Akiing are used to open each section, as that is the language and knowledge of these lands, waters, islands, and relatives, and it precedes the state of Minnesota by millennia. While western science methods such as GIS are used, the aim is to support oral testimony and an integration of indigenous science methods. This means that any impact is not examined alone but understood in the context of the Anishinaabe responsibility to land and relations and the impact of the historical trauma the Anishinaabe people have faced.

The document includes the following sections:

1. Anishinaabeg: Akiing- an exploration of the Anishinaabeg people and the land they belong to.
2. Treaties and International law- a review of treaties between the Bands in Minnesota and other state, federal, and international laws, policies, and standards that relate to these projects.
3. Methodology- an explanation of the assessment methodologies used in this document.
4. Projects Overview- descriptions of the major projects that threaten the northern treaty areas.
5. Cumulative Impacts- a review of historical impacts and potential impacts from the projects of concern.