

This course syllabus may be changed or modified by the instructor before and during the semester. Please use MyCourses to access the most recent document.

POLI442 International Relations of Ethnic Conflict

McGill University, Fall 2023 Semester (3 credits)

Professor:

Daniel Douek, PhD

email: daniel.douek@mcgill.ca

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays 2:30-3:30pm in Ferrier 460

Course Meetings:

Lectures: Tuesdays and Thursdays 4:05-5:25pm, MAASS 217

*Lectures will end at 4:55pm starting on the week of September 18

TA Conferences: TBA- each student must register on Minerva for one weekly TA conference; conferences will begin on week of September 18

Course Description

Since 1945, the number of civil wars (wars within states) around the world has far exceeded the number of interstate wars (wars between states). This trend has only increased since the Cold War's end, making the study of civil wars essential to contemporary political science. This class addresses that need. We will explore why people fight: are they motivated by ideology, identity, or material interests? We will engage the question of whether civil wars have changed over time, and explore the crucial variable of ethnicity, which has often been depicted as a particularly volatile source of conflict. This course will also examine the internal dynamics of rebel groups, including how they organize; how they use resources; and why they succeed or fail. Other topics will include: the cross-border spread of civil war, the impacts of international intervention, and the conditions that make successful resolution more or less likely. A focus on the gender dimensions of civil war is also built into this course. A focus on the theoretical literature on civil wars will be interwoven with a variety of case studies both historical and contemporary.

Course Delivery:

Lectures: This course will be delivered as a **series of lectures, delivered live in-classroom**. The lectures will also be recorded. **All lecture recordings will be made available through MyCourses.**

Readings: This course uses a combination of journal articles and book chapters. All readings are available as PDF files via MyCourses. **Please note:** recommended readings are not mandatory – they are included for optional further reading and as a resource.

Slides: Lectures will be accompanied by PowerPoint presentations; the **slides will be made available** to students via MyCourses.

Communication: I can be reached via email and during office hours. I will endeavour to respond to emails within 48 hours during weekdays (I'm often offline on weekends). If you have a lengthy question, please ask during my office hours instead of emailing. **Also, please be sure to consult this [handy guide to emailing your professor](#).**

Assignments and Grading:

1- TA Conference Participation (10%): This includes attendance and participation in one weekly conference session per week, led by your teaching assistant. You'll be graded on both quality and quantity of participation. The following rubric explains the basic criteria for participation grades. Each factor will be considered in assigning grades. Please note that the quality of the contribution is as important as the frequency.

Grade	Discussion	Reading
9-10	Excellent –Student leads debates; offers original analysis and comments; uses assigned reading to back up arguments. Valuable comments in every conference.	Student clearly has done and understands virtually all the reading; intelligently uses this understanding in discussions.
7.5-8.5	Very Good –Student offers thoughtful comments for the most part; and is a willing, able and frequent contributor.	Student has done most readings; provides competent analysis of reading when prompted.
6.5-7	Good –student has basic grasp of key concepts; arguments are sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported.	Student displays familiarity with most reading, but tends not to analyze it or explore connections between different sources.
5.5-6	Fair –student's remarks in class are marred by misunderstandings of key concepts; only occasionally offers comments or opinions.	Student's actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks.
0-5	Poor –student rarely speaks, and recycles others' comments when put on the spot to offer an opinion.	Student has little to no apparent familiarity with assigned material.

2- Midterm Take-Home Exam (20%): (posted 13 Oct., due 16 Oct.)

- Will consist of several essay questions, with a word limit
- Will test your knowledge and understanding of BOTH lectures and readings

3- Research Essay (35%): (posted 29 Sept., due 12 Nov.)

- Suggested topics and writing guidelines will be posted on MyCourses
- You can also choose your own topic - in that case, you must get it approved by your TA
- 15-18 double-spaced pages, plus bibliography and citations (12-point font)

4- Final Exam (35%): To be scheduled by the University during the final exam period. Format TBA.

Course and University Policies:

Academic Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures” (see [McGill's guide to academic honesty](#) for more information).

Special Needs: As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the [Student Accessibility and Achievement Office](#), 514-398-6009.

Language of Submission: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. This does not apply to courses in which acquiring proficiency in a language is one of the objectives.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

Course Evaluations: End-of-course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Copyright of Lectures: All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. ***You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials;*** doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action.

Keep up with the news: One of the most useful things about political science is that it helps us to understand current events. You'll get much more out of this class if you read the news regularly. Good news sources include CBC, Globe and Mail, New York Times, BBC World, the Nation, the Financial Times, Al-Jazeera, the Washington Post, the Economist, Foreign Policy, among others.

African Studies Program Credit: If you choose an Africa-related topic for your research essay, the class will count towards an African Studies Program course credit.

*****Content warning:** This is a class on wars and violence, so by definition, much of the content within **may be disturbing** for some students. Some of the readings discuss violence in the abstract, while others contain graphic descriptions of violence. **This content has been included in the course because it directly relates to the learning outcomes.** Please contact the instructor if you have specific concerns about this.

Equity, Diversity, and Inclusion Statement:

Fostering an environment in which people feel welcome, safe, and included is an intrinsic value that is also essential for deep and positive learning. We should all commit to treating and addressing each other with respect and dignity. Disagreements and debates are a valuable part of learning, and are welcome, so long as they are in good faith and expressed with grace and care. I will endeavor to create a classroom environment that supports these goals.

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

Schedule of Lectures and Readings

Week 0 (31 August): Introduction to the Class

Welcome!

WEEK 1 (September 5 & 7): What is A Civil War?

Stathis Kalyvas (2007) “Civil Wars,” in Carles Boix & Susan Stokes, eds., *Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, (NY: Oxford University Press), 416-34.

Nicholas Sambanis (2004) “What Is a Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48:6 (Dec), 814-58.

Adam Baczko, Gilles Dorronsoro, Arthur Quesnay (2017) “Prolegomena: For a Sociological Approach to Civil Wars?” in their *Civil War in Syria: Mobilization and Competing Social Orders*, (NY: Cambridge University Press), 1-24.

Recommended:

WIMMER, A., and MIN, B. 2006. From empire to nation state: explaining wars in the modern world, 1816–2001. *American Sociological Review*

WEEK 2 (September 12 & 14): Have Civil Wars Evolved Over Time?

Gurr, Ted R. 1969. *Why Men Rebel*, “Relative Deprivation and the Impetus to Violence”, Chapter 2. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Kaldor, Mary (2013), ‘In Defence of New Wars’, *Stability* 2(1): 1-16.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. 2001. “‘New’ and ‘Old’ Civil Wars, a Valid Distinction?” *World Politics*, 54, (October)

Recommended:

Kaldor, Mary. 2007. *New and Old Wars* (Stanford: University of California Press)

Henderson, Errol, and J. David Singer. 2002. “New Wars and Rumours of ‘New Wars’” *International Interactions* Vol.28 No.2, pp.165-90

TA Conferences Begin

WEEK 3 (September 19 & 21): Participation: Who Fights and Why?

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. “The Emotional Benefits of Insurgency in El Salvador” in Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polleta (eds.) *Passionate Politics*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp.267-280

Humphreys, Macartan and Jeremy M. Weinstein. 2008. “Who Fights? The Determinants of Participation in Civil War.” *American Journal of Political Science* 52(2): 436-455.

Reed M. Wood and Jakana L. Thomas, “Women on the Frontline: Rebel Group Ideology and Women’s Participation in Violent Rebellion,” *Journal of Peace Research* 54, no. 1 (2017): 31–46

Recommended:

Scott, James C. 1977. “Hegemony and the Peasantry” *Politics and Society* 7 (3) pp.267-296

Scott Gates. "Recruitment and Allegiance: The Microfoundations of Rebellion." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46 (2002): 111–130.

Jack Snyder & Robert Jervis (1999) "Civil War and the Security Dilemma," Barbara Walter & Jack Snyder, eds., *Civil Wars, Insurgency, and Intervention*, Columbia University Press, 15-37.

WEEK 4 (September 26 & 28): Ethnicity as a Variable in Conflict

Bowen, John. 1996. "The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict" *Journal of Democracy* 7 (4) pp.3-14

Fearon, James D., and David D. Laitin. 2003. "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War." *The American Political Science Review* 97 (1) (February 1): 75–90

Posen, Barry. 1993. "The Security Dilemma and Ethnic Conflict," *Survival*.

Recommended:

Brubaker, Rogers, and David D. Laitin. 1998. "Ethnic and Nationalist Violence." *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24: 423-452.

Fearon, James D. and David D. Laitin. 1996. Explaining Interethnic Cooperation. *American Political Science Review*, 90, 4, 715-735.

Fearon, James. 1998. Commitment Problems and the Spread of Ethnic Conflict. In David Lake and Donald Rothchild, Eds. 1998. *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict: Fear, Diffusion, and Escalation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Horowitz, Donald L. 2000. *Ethnic Groups in Conflict*. (Updated Edition with a New Preface). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Cederman, Lars-Erik; Andreas Wimmer; Brian Min. 2010. "Why Do Ethnic Groups Rebel? New Data and Analysis," *World Politics* 62 (1): 87-119.

VARSHNEY, A. 2003. Nationalism, ethnic conflict, and rationality. *Perspectives on Politics*, 1: 85–99.

Lyall, Jason. 2010. "Are Co-Ethnics More Effective Counter-Insurgents? Evidence from the Second Chechen War." *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 1-20.

*****29 September: Research Essay Assignment Posted*****

WEEK 5 (October 3 & 5): Greed and Grievance

Collier, Paul. 1999. "Doing Well Out of War" (World Bank: Conference on Economic Agendas in Civil Wars, London)

Benedikt Korf (2005), 'Rethinking the Greed-Grievance Nexus: Property Rights and the Political Economy of War in Sri Lanka', *Journal of Peace Research* 42:2, pp.201-17.

Ahmad, Aisha. 2015. "The Security Bazaar: Business Interests and Islamist Power in Civil War Somalia," *International Security* 39 (3): 89-117.

Recommended:

"Why Women Rebel: Greed, Grievance, and Women in Armed Rebel Groups," *Journal of Global Security Studies* 1, no. 3 (2016): 204–19

Christopher Cramer (2002) "Homo Economicus Goes to War: Methodological Individualism, Rational Choice and the Political Economy of War," *World Development*, 30:11, 1845-64.

Syed Murshed and Mohammad Tadjoeeddin (2009), 'Revisiting the Greed and Grievance Explanations for Violent Internal Conflict', *Journal of International Development* 21, pp.87-111.

*****October 6-11: Fall Reading Break*****

WEEK 6 (October 12): Networks and Resources

Will Reno (2007) "Patronage Politics and the Behavior of Armed Groups," *Civil Wars*, 9: 4 (Dec), 324-42.

Paul Staniland (2012) "Organizing Insurgency: Networks, Resources and Rebellion in South Asia," *International Security*, 37: 1 (Summer), 142-77

Recommended:

LUJALA, P., GLEDITSCH, N. P., and GILLMORE, E. 2005. A diamond curse? Civil war and a lootable resource. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49: 538–52.

ROSS, M. 2006. A closer look at oil, diamonds, and civil war. *Annual Reviews of Political Science*, 9: 265–300.

HUMPHREYS, M. 2005. Natural resources, conflict, and conflict resolution: uncovering the mechanisms. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 49: 508–37.

Debos, M. (2011) "Living by the gun in Chad: armed violence as a practical occupation," *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, Cambridge University Press, 49(3), pp. 409–428.

*****Friday 13 October: Take-Home Midterm Exam posted online; exam is due online by Monday 16 October at 11:59pm*****

WEEK 7 (October 17 & 19): Gendering Civil War

Caprioli, Mary. 2005. "Primed for Violence: The Role of Gender Inequality in Predicting Internal Conflict," *International Studies Quarterly* 49(2): 161–178.

Elisabeth Jean Wood, "Armed Groups and Sexual Violence: When Is Wartime Rape Rare?" *Politics & Society*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (March 2009), pp. 131-161.

Cohen, Dara Kay. 2013. "Causes of Rape during Civil War: Cross-national Evidence," *American Science Review* 107(3): 461-477.

Recommended:

Darden, Jessica Trisko, Alexis Henshaw, and Ora Szekely. 2019. *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars* (Georgetown University Press)

Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2006. "Variation in Sexual Violence during War" *Politics and Society* Vol.34 No.3

Carpenter, R. Charli. 2006. Recognizing Gender-Based Violence Against Civilian Men and Boys in Conflict Situations. *Security Dialogue*, 37, 1, 83-103.

Skjelsbaek, Inger. 2001. Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship. *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (2): 218-237.

WEEK 8 (October 24 & 26): The Logic of Targeting Civilians

Balcells, Laia. 2010. "Rivalry and Revenge: Violence against Civilians in Conventional Civil Wars," *International Studies Quarterly* 54 (2): 291-313.

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2002. "The Terrible Toll of Post-Colonial 'Rebel Movements' in Africa: Towards an Explanation of the Violence Against the Peasantry." *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 40 No.3, pp.181-215

Ellis, Stephen. 2003. "Violence and History: A Response to Thandika Mkandawire," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41 No. 3, pp.457-475

Mkandawire, Thandika. 2003. "Rejoinder to Stephen Ellis," *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 41 No. 3, pp.477-483

Recommended:

Macartan Humphreys and Jeremy M. Weinstein, "Handling and Manhandling Civilians in Civil War," *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 100, No. 3 (August 2006), pp. 429-447

Valentino, B., Huth, P., & Balch-Lindsay, D. (2004). "Draining the Sea": Mass Killing and Guerrilla Warfare. *International Organization*, 58(2), 375-407.

S. D. Selvadurai & M. L. R. Smith (2013) Black Tigers, Bronze Lotus: The Evolution and Dynamics of Sri Lanka's Strategies of Dirty War, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 36:7, 547-572

Lyall, Jason. 2009. Does Indiscriminate Violence Incite Insurgent Attacks? Evidence from Chechnya. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 53, 3, June 2009, 331-362.

M. L. R. Smith & Sophie Roberts (2008) War in the Gray: Exploring the Concept of Dirty War, *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 31:5, 377-398

WEEK 9 (October 31 & November 2) Case Study: Civil War and Genocide in Rwanda

Wallis, Andrew. 2018. "Reconsidering the Role and Crimes of Akazu, 1973-1993" *Journal of International Peacekeeping* (22) pp.40-59.

Kamola, Isaac. 2007. "The Global Coffee Economy and the Production of Genocide in Rwanda" *Third World Quarterly* Vol.28 No.3, pp.571-92

Straus, Scott. 2004. How Many Perpetrators Were There in the Rwandan Genocide? An Estimate. *Journal of Genocide Research* 6 (1).

Recommended:

Prunier, Gerard. 1995. *The Rwanda Crisis: History of a Genocide* (London: Hurst)

Uvin, Peter. 2011. *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Part III: "The Condition of Structural Violence"

Uvin, Peter. 1999. Ethnicity and Power in Burundi and Rwanda: Different Paths to Mass Violence. *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31 No.3, pp.253-271.

Yanagizawa-Drott, David. 2014. "Propaganda and Conflict: Evidence from the Rwandan Genocide." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 129 (4): 1947-94.

WEEK 10 (November 7 & 9): International Dimensions of Civil Wars

David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild, “Spreading Fear: The Genesis of Transnational Ethnic Conflict” in David A. Lake and Donald Rothchild (eds.) *The International Spread of Ethnic Conflict* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), pp. 3-32

Idean Salehyan, “Delegation of War to Rebel Organizations” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* (Vol. 54, No. 3, 2010), pp. 493-515

Henning Tamm (2016) “The Origins of Transnational Allegiances: Rulers, Rebels and Political Survival in the Congo Wars,” *International Security*, 41: 1 (Summer), 147-81.

****12 November: Research Essays Due****

WEEK 11 (November 14 & 16): International Intervention

Kuperman, Alan. 2008. “The Moral Hazard of Humanitarian Intervention: Lessons from the Balkans,” *International Studies Quarterly* 52(1): 49-80.

Regan, Patrick M. 2010. “Interventions in Civil Wars: A Retrospective Survey with Prospective Ideas.” *Civil Wars* 12(4): 456-76.

Daalder, Ivo H., and James G. Stavridis. “NATO’s Victory in Libya: The Right Way to Run an Intervention.” *Foreign Affairs* 91 (2012): 2.

Recommended:

Autesserre, S. (2009). Hobbes and the Congo: Frames, Local Violence, and International Intervention. *International Organization*, 63(2), 249-280.

WEEK 12 (November 21 & 23): How Do Civil Wars End?

Walter, Barbara (2009) Bargaining Failures and Civil War, *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 243-61.

James Fearon (2004) “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?” *Journal of Peace Research*, 41:2 (May), 275-301.

Darden, Jessica Trisko, Alexis Henshaw, and Ora Szekely. 2019. “Colombia: Women Waging War and Peace” in *Insurgent Women: Female Combatants in Civil Wars* (Georgetown University Press)

Recommended:

Licklider, Roy. 1995. The Consequences of Negotiated Settlements in Civil Wars, 1945-1993. *American Political Science Review*, 89/3: 681-690

Kaufmann, Chaim. 1996. Possible and Impossible Solutions to Ethnic Civil Wars. *International Security*, 20, 4, 136-175.

Walter, Barbara. 1997. The Critical Barrier to Civil War Settlement. *International Organization*, 51: 335–64.

Laurie Nathan versus Monica Duffy Toft, “Correspondence: Civil War Settlements and the Prospects for Peace” in *International Security* (Vol. 36, No. 1, Summer 2011), pp. 202-210

Katherine Glassmyer and Nicholas Sambanis. 2008. Rebel-Military Integration and Civil War Termination. *Journal of Peace Research*, 45/3: 365-384.

Stedman, Stephen John. 1997. “Spoiler Problems in Peace Processes.” *International Security* 22(2):5-53.

Fortna, Virginia Page. 2003. Scraps of Paper? Agreements and the Durability of Peace. *International Organization*, 57/2: 337-372.

Monica Duffy Toft (2010) "Ending Civil Wars: A Case for Rebel Victory?" *International Security* 34: 4 (Spring), 7-36.

Brancati, Dawn and Jack Snyder (2012), 'Time to Kill: The Impact of Election Timing on Postconflict Stability', *Journal of Conflict Resolution*.

Blattman, Chris and Jeannie Annan. 2009. From Violence to Voting: War and Political Participation in Uganda. *The American Political Science Review*, 103, 2, 231-247.

Chris Day (2011) "The Fates of Rebels: Insurgencies in Uganda," *Comparative Politics*, 43: 4 (July), 439-58.

*****Note: No lecture on 30 November, which follows a Monday schedule pattern****

WEEK 13/14 (November 28 & December 5): Civil Wars Into the Future

William Reno (2017) "Fictionalized States and Atomized Public Spheres: A Non-Western Approach to Fragility," *Daedalus*, 146:4 (Fall), 139-151.

Kalyvas, Stathis (2015) 'How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime – and How They Do Not', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.8: 1517-1540.

David Kilcullen. 2013. "Future Cities, Future Threats," in his *Out of the Mountains: The Coming Age of the Urban Guerrilla*. NY: Oxford University Press, 52-115.

Recommended:

Kaldor, M., & Sassen, S. (Eds.). (2020). *Cities at War*. New York: Columbia University Press.

*****Final Exam to be Scheduled by the University during the Final Exam Period*****

Resources for Students:

Your Wellness Matters a Lot

Equity Advisors in the Department of Political Science

In the context of ongoing efforts to promote **strong and sustainable departmental responses** to the issues of harassment and sexual misconduct, the Department of Political Science has appointed two professors to the position of **equity advisor**. The aim of this position is to work in cooperation with the chair and other members of the department to promote strengthened norms and practices in the department regarding **preventing and addressing harassment and sexual misconduct**. The equity advisors are available, individually or in tandem, to meet with colleagues and students to discuss questions relating to harassment, sexual misconduct, and related **equity concerns**, and will refer students and colleagues to the **relevant specialized services** and offices at McGill. They will promote awareness and application of policies and guidelines related to these issues in the department, including the Department of Political Science Guidelines on Relationships between Instructors and Students.

Our current equity officers are **Professor Kelly Gordon** (kelly.gordon2@mcgill.ca) and Professor **Will Roberts** (william.roberts3@mcgill.ca). Please feel free to reach out to either Professor Gordon or Professor Roberts with any concerns in relation to this issue.

Political Science Students' Association (PSSA):

The PSSA represents the students enrolled in major, minor, honours, and joint-honours undergraduate degrees in the department of political science at McGill University. They advocate for students' needs and concerns with the aim of **helping to promote students' experience and overall wellbeing**. The team offers many **involvement opportunities**, coordinates **academic and social events and services**, provides advising and student support, and **enhances the relationship** between students, staff, and administration as student liaisons.

Office: Leacock 420 Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/McGill.PSSA/>

Website: <https://www.mcgillpssa.ca>

[Assessment and Re-Read Policy Department of Political Science](#)

Liaison Librarian for Political Science

Need help doing research for a paper? Our very own library liaison, Sandy Hervieux, is dedicated to helping you find the sources you need as well as providing you access to software and resources to help organize and simplify the process. sandy.hervieux@mcgill.ca 514-398-1087

McLennan Library Building Additional Support: AUS Essay Centre 2

Further Student Support Resources

-The **Student Wellness Hub** offers activities and sessions remotely, available [here](#).

-Resources for **mental health support** during the campus closure can be found [here](#) (many are by phone or online and can be accessed from wherever you are).

-McGill **Student Services** are available to support you now. You can reach them [here](#).

Sexual Assault Centre of the McGill Students' Society (SACOMSS)

Office for Sexual Violence Response, Support, and Education (OSVRSE)

Peer Support Centre SSMU Walksafe / Drivesafe

McGill Students' Nightline On-Campus Resources / Off-Campus Resources - emotional support and psychological services - medical services - safety and security services (shelters)

******McGill University is situated on the traditional territory of the [Kanien'kehà:ka](#), a place which has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst nations. We recognize and respect the Kanien'kehà:ka as the traditional custodians of the lands and waters on which we meet today.**