

# APOLOGY

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BLACK SNOW PRESS



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**Article 110a of the Constitution**

*It is incumbent upon the state's authorities to facilitate that the Sami people can preserve and develop their language, culture, and society.*



## INTRODUCTION

### Monica Holmen

To categorise is by definition to “place in a particular class or group”, often as a way of trying to understand that which one does not know or understand. If something is unfamiliar, it is usually easier to comprehend if labelled and thus differentiated from that which one already knows.

In and of itself this is not such a harmful act. The problem is the consequences of such actions, and on which grounds such differentiations are made.

Throughout history man’s tendency to categorisation has had some rather dire consequences. Of course, there have been educational and scientific purposes with positive gain, cases where progress depended on a kind of categorisation. Yet, everything has its advantages – and disadvantages.

Proverbs speak of learning from one’s mistakes, religions speak of loving thy neighbour as a virtue. It is common decency to be respectful of thy fellow humans, and to advocate democratic values is also to uphold human rights.

One would think that with time, as the notion of ethics and moral develops, that a common rule of life and a shared knowledge upheld by all would be that the act of sorting people by limiting parameters such as heritage, looks or abilities, are discriminatory, unethical and immoral. Sadly however, empiricism tells a whole other story – more often than not with monetary issues and capitalist ideology involved.

For one of the not-so-positive effects of categorisation seems to be a notion of perceived superiority among human beings and nationalities. Now, as history tells of, defining oneself as different from, and thus superior to, fellow humans, whether as a group or as individuals, seems to be a habit of human nature. And as the history books bear proofs of, it seems to be a habit not easily shook.

By the looks of it, the colonial days are over. We speak of “the colonial age” as if it is over and done with. Yet, as situations several places in the world tell of, colonisation is still happening. Perhaps covert, implicit and hidden behind arguments of development, capitalist endeavours etc., but it is there.

Among the many people across the globe suffering from discrimination are indigenous people, and the story is more or less the same all over: The majority, usually the intruders – be it state leaders in the same country or business men – occupy land that according to them belongs to no-one – *terra nullius* – when in fact this is land inhabited by the indigenous. It is the land they farm, the land they live off – it may even be sacred to them.

Still, the indigenous find themselves subject to discrimination, discrimination often so deeply engrained in society’s structure that it takes place even despite laws being passed with intention to protect them and their interests. These laws are violated again and again, and even more so if commercial enterprises and capitalist gain are involved in the matter.

In a capitalist context the notion of superiority – or rather, the disillusion of superiority – has led to exploitation of nature and discrimination of indigenous groups of people around the world, among other things. More often than not, these two are connected. When nature suffers, people who inhabit the land also suffer.

It is interesting then, to see how the majority of people, for instance in the Western and Northern hemisphere, consider themselves to be democratic, pro equal rights and freedom for all across ethnicity, religious beliefs, gender, whatever parameter you can think of. Still some of them are the ones who discriminate.

Among these groups of indigenous people are the Sámi people. The Sápmi, the geographical area where the Sámi people have lived for centuries, span across four nation states: Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. In Norway and Sweden laws have been passed with the intention of protecting the Sámi against mistreatment and discrimination, and where their right to use of their own land

is stated. Yet, discrimination is still taking place. And it seems to be mostly due to capitalist ideology and commercial gain.

In Norway for instance, the Sámi people have been forced to undergo what can be described as a process of “Norwegianisation”. At the turn of the century they were denied speaking their mother tongue, Sámi kids were shipped off to boarding schools in order to indoctrinate them to the allegedly correct Norwegian way of life – all with the best of intentions, yet with all the more severe implications. The racism towards the Sami people were structural and engrained in everything.

1997 finally saw the official apology from the Norwegian king, when the Sami parliament opened. Yet discrimination against the Sámi is still taking place, albeit more covered up by capitalist and commercial processes. Mining are destroying the rivers up North and preventing especially the Sami who live off the sea to lead their lives the way they always have done.

It is towards this backdrop that the projects of Norwegian artist Siri Hermansen prove to be ever so relevant, located as they are at the intersection between journalism, documentary and contemporary art – and in the way they make such discrimination subject to scrutiny.

Siri Hermansen puts the Sámi situation under scrutiny in her projects *Terra Nullius* (2013) and *Apology* (2014). The common ground between the projects is how they speak of the societal implications of industrial expansion with absolutely no consideration for neither nature nor indigenous people – even though the law says otherwise. And as recent news shows, the subject matters these projects deal with are still relevant. Only a few months back, a Norwegian politician stated that the Sámi people should not receive any more rights, as they then would have too many rights.

Dealing with law and injustice are harsh topics, and fronts tend to be rather polarised and hardened. It is here that contemporary art might prove helpful, shedding a light on all of the nuances in-between. With contemporary art as her prism Hermansen sheds a light on important issues in our society today, issues that should have been addressed properly by journalism but is not.

In this book two of Hermansen’s recent projects are given a thorough presentation by means of photography, video stills and contextualising texts. As an overarching text professor Steinar Pedersen outlines the historical context

in which all of this is taking place. Susanne Christensen speaks of the injustice against the Sámi in her text about *Terra Nullius*, and Mathias Danbolt gives insight to what is taking place in *Apology* and also puts the notion of apology under scrutiny.

It is our hope and aim that this book will not only give insight to two contemporary art projects, but also shed a light into some current and critical situations happening in our time today.

*There is a place of sacrifice  
An ancient place of sacrifice with hidden treasures  
With ancient gods  
There is a cold spring that has no beginning  
And a lake with two bottoms  
There flows a stream that has taken the life of a girl  
One can hear her scream  
And a place where Stállo left footprints as he stepped over the lake  
There is a village where the gnomes and goblins scare people  
And a baby without a name that screams on the far side of the river  
There is a reindeer bull who appears three times to people  
And there is a people,  
A people who believe in all this*

**Stina Inga**



## THE TRUTH COMMISSION, THE SAMI, AND THE NORWEGIAN- GERMANIC MASTER RACE

Steinar Pedersen

### **The Norwegian state is founded on the territory of two peoples: Norwegians and Sami**

In spring 2017, the Storting decided to set up a Truth Commission to conduct a thorough review of the state's Norwegianisation policy towards the Sami and Kvens. This commission will examine the measures that were taken in pursuit of Norwegianisation and the motivating factors that lay behind the policy, describe and analyse the harmful effects on those concerned, and outline a strategy to achieve greater equality with the majority culture. A majority in the Storting believes that such a commission is needed to establish a shared understanding of history.

The Storting also states that the commission should ask whether Norwegianisation policies were justified in the same way in relation to both Sami and Kvens/Finns, even if the measures applied were the same for both groups. Further, the initiators stress the importance of establishing what kind of attitudes Norwegianisation led to both in the majority community, and among those who were targeted.

In setting up the commission, the Storting is signalling a desire to build a thorough basis of knowledge about the earlier relationship between the state and the above groups. But what kind of knowledge is needed to achieve genu-

ine equality between cultures? One essential element of such knowledge would be the perspective that King Harald mentioned in his speech at the opening of the Sami Parliament in 1997:

“The Norwegian state is founded on the territory of two peoples – Norwegians and Sami.”

For most people, however, this perspective could not be described as an element of general knowledge. Even less well known, by a long way, is the importance of the Sami's territorial contribution to the state of Norway. The Truth Commission must therefore take the long-view in examining the cohabitation of the Norwegian and Sami peoples. This applies in particular to the question of how ethnic Norwegians went about creating the social structures that determined relationships between the two ethnic groups during the period of nation building, following Norway's achievement of relative independence in 1814, and the subsequent neglect of the Sami, which has led to the need for such a commission today.

To avoid any misunderstanding here, I should stress that we have since embarked on a highly positive process that shows social responsibility for safeguarding and developing Sami culture. The Norwegian constitution now contains a paragraph that explicitly addresses this theme. The Sami now have their own parliament, there is a law protecting the Sami language, and there are Sami institutions in a number of areas, and so on. The question is, however, whether the general public in Norway, the administrative and political authorities, and the people who work in various social sectors, have a genuine understanding of what the King was referring to in his 1997 speech. Are people aware of the policies to which the Sami have been subjected and what long-term impacts those policies have had?

### **Serious lack of knowledge about the Sami's territorial contribution to Norway**

Since 1814, many of the world's Sami have been Norwegian subjects, just as they were Danish subjects for the four centuries prior to that. In the 13th and 14th centuries, even before the ancient Sami territory was divided up among the Nordic states and Russia, the Sami had been targets of taxation for a variety of

regimes. Most Norwegians know little about this. Large sections of Norwegian society still believe the story that it was Harald Hårfagre who united Norway into a single kingdom in the late 9th century. What few people know is that, according to Snorre Sturluson, the author of the Sagas, that same king had close links to Sami shamans during his upbringing at Hadeland. Neither do people learn in school that Harald Hårfagre married a Sami woman, and that the man who became king of Norway in 1046, Harald Hardråde, was one of their great-grandchildren. Thanks to this great-grandchild status, that king would have been entitled to vote in the Sami Parliament, had the institution existed back then. Which means in turn that the entire line of Norwegian kings that descended from him would also have had Sami voting rights.

Hitherto, however, the myth about Harald Hårfagre's unification of Norway has effectively been an obstacle to understanding the position of the Sami in Norwegian history and the fact that Norway gradually expanded its borders out into ancient Sami territories. Which is to say that the Sami were there before their lands were absorbed into the state of Norway, and it is this that provides the formal basis for their status as an indigenous population today.

Of the original Sami territories, those that were added to Norway most recently lie in the northernmost part of the country. Most of the coastal and fjord regions of what is now Finnmark were unilaterally appropriated by Norway – or, more correctly, by Denmark – as late as in 1613. On the same occasion, the kings of Sweden and Denmark agreed that the Sami of inner Finnmark should be subject to Swedish jurisdiction, although Copenhagen should also have a share of their taxes. These decisions remained in force until 1751, when negotiations resulted in the exclusively Sami areas being ceded to Norway.

But even with that, Norway's mainland borders still hadn't found their final form. That didn't happen until 1826, when the King of Sweden-Norway and the Tsar of Russia agreed that the eastern Sami area, that of the Skolt Sami, known today as Sør-Varanger, should lie within Norway's borders. This means that it was the inclusion of this Sami region that marked the ultimate unification of Norway into a single kingdom – more than nine centuries after the beginning of Harald Hårfagre's reign in 872.

### 1751: recognition of a separate Sami nation

In the 18th century, during the period when Norway was ruled from Copenhagen, the Sami were recognised as a "nation" in their own right, or as a separate people. This happened in 1751, when the decisive border between Sweden and Norway was drawn from Østfold all the way up almost to the Varangerfjord in Finnmark. That recognition was granted in the "First Codicil and Appendix Concerning Laplanders in the Borderlands between the Kingdoms of Norway and Sweden", more widely known as the Lapland Codicil, which safeguarded the rights of the Sami. According to the preamble, the aim of this wide-ranging document was to secure the future of the "Lappish Nation", and it was meant to be as legally binding as the borders themselves. The main provisions of this legislation were a guarantee for the rights of the Sami to use renewable natural resources on both sides of the border in accordance with ancient practice, the right to choose which country they associate with as citizens, an extensive administrative system for the Sami regions, Sami neutrality in the event of war between the two states, and a separate Sami law court – the so-called Lapp Court – with quite considerable powers in some areas. The codicil was aimed primarily at the needs of the reindeer herders, insofar as it was this Sami industry that was most acutely affected by the new border. Yet there can be no doubt that the codicil's provisions were also applied by analogy to other Sami industries in the border regions.

It would be going too far, however, to say that the Lapland Codicil amounted to a kind of Sami constitution. It was a bilateral treaty with legal validity in both Norway and Sweden. As such, it represented the first formal recognition on the intergovernmental level in Scandinavia that the Sami constituted a distinct ethnic group who, as such, needed a formal legal framework that would guarantee their culture and way of life.

The guarantees of fundamental rights for the Sami community contained in the Lapland Codicil are also the clearest indication that within the Danish state, which encompassed a large number of languages and cultures, the Sami were regarded as an ethnic group deserving of equal status and legal protection for the material foundations of their lifestyle and culture. Viewed from the distance of Copenhagen, there was little qualitative difference between Norwegians and Sami. They were just two among many other ethnic groups in the multicultural

Danish realm. And since the Danish state respected the Sami as one of many ethnic groups within its territory, it also respected Sami customs and rights.

#### **1814: the Sami become Norwegian subjects**

In accordance with Article 4 of the 1814 Treaty of Kiel, the King of Denmark was forced to cede Norway to the King of Sweden. In all matters of domestic politics, the nation's capital was no longer Copenhagen but Christiania (present-day Oslo), and the Sami within Norway's borders went from being Danish to Norwegian subjects.

In 1814, Norway adopted the most democratic constitution in Europe, and it had nothing against the Sami. Even so, one question that ought to be of major interest for the Truth Commission is this: How well were the cultural and material rights of the Sami looked after by the Norwegian administration in Christiania, compared to the protection they had enjoyed under Danish rule from Copenhagen? Did the Norwegian Constitution have the same positive implications for the Sami as for the Norwegian people?

Roughly speaking, one can say that for the first few decades after 1814, the basic principle from the Danish era was preserved: to regard and treat the Sami as a more or less equal ethnic group. Within the church and school sector one finds both respect and support for the Sami language. Moreover, in 1821 the first constitutional amendment was adopted. This was justified in part in terms of Sami interests; in effect, the rights of many taxpaying Sami in Finnmark had been ignored in 1814 because they did not own land, but it was pointed out that they did possess considerable wealth in the form of their reindeer herds, and this wealth entitled them to vote.

The notable clergyman Nils Vibe Stockfleth stood resolutely by his demand that the Sami should learn and be taught in the Sami language in school and that they should have the best possible access to literature in their own language. And this was the primary emphasis of language policy towards the Sami for at least the first two or three decades after 1814. In 1833, the Storting's Church Committee was in full agreement with Stockfleth's principles of language policy, acknowledging that he had "fully and truly cultivated the need for a Sami literature as the only means of spreading and promoting Christian knowledge and enlightenment, together with culture and civilisation among the Sami people."

Neither was it a disadvantage that the Swedish-Norwegian king Carl Johan himself contributed to efforts to promote the Sami language and culture. When Stockfleth met King Carl Johan in 1840, the king extended his "grace and security to the Lappish people", and emphasised that the Sami people should continue to be schooled in their mother tongue. The crown prince, who was also present at this audience, added his own expression of goodwill and solicitude for these "indigenous inhabitants" of Norway and Sweden, and the king agreed that there was always the danger of injustice to these "native peoples". But – just policies would countenance no injustice.

#### **A negative change in attitudes towards the Sami around the mid-19th century**

Unfortunately, the positive attitude towards Sami culture did not last long. Towards the end of the 1840s, the Storting passed the first resolutions that foreshadow the Norwegianisation policy. This was adopted in earnest a couple of decades later and would endure for a century. At the same time, in 1848 it was resolved – without any historical foundation – that Finnmark, a region one-and-a-half times the size of Belgium, had been the property of the Norwegian crown since ancient times. Here we see the views of Keyser (and Munch) beginning to take shape: nomadism does not provide grounds for ownership.

In the Norwegian context, one can hardly get closer than this to the legal principle of Terra Nullius – unclaimed territory – that was used to justify so much colonialism. Consider here the following statement by the attorney general from 1864:

As known, the ancient taxation land of Finnmark, which lacks resident agricultural settlers, has been taken into unrestricted possession and colonised by the Crown. In its full administrative capacity, the state claims this unappropriated territory, frequented only by nomads, as its property, to be used with the full capacity of an owner of private property, unencumbered by any rightful claim from other parties. The entire Finnmark, consisting essentially of forest land, is declared a Crown Domain.

In accordance with this principle, in 1902 the Storting approved legislation for

the sale of land in Finnmark, which stipulated, among other things, that one precondition for the right to purchase land in the region was command of the Norwegian language.

#### **The rise of the Norwegian-Germanic master race**

The above examples – just a few of many such statements – illustrate the kind of pressure to which Sami cultural and material rights were subjected from around the mid-19th century. In other words, despite the fact that up until 1826 the Sami had themselves contributed repeatedly to the developing form of Norway as a state, Norwegian governments after 1814 were adopting official policies that relegated Sami culture and the Sami language to the lowest level of consideration, effectively denying them any right to exist. And one means to this end was the repudiation of any ancient rights the Sami had previously enjoyed.

For the Sami, legislation and regulations that built on the Norwegian Constitution achieved the opposite of cultural growth and development. The central principle on which the construction of Norway as a new nation was based was one people (Norwegians), one state, one language, and one jurisprudence.

One important ideological foundation for the change in how the Sami were viewed was developed in the 1830s and onwards by two of the giants of early Norwegian nation building, Rudolf Keyser and P.A. Munch. Central to their work was their “migration theory”, which described the movements of the Norse and Germanic peoples over the preceding millennia. In its full form, this was presented in Keyser’s monograph *Om Nordmændenes Herkomst og Folke-Slægtskab* (On the Origins of the Nordic Races and Their Kinship), published in 1839.

In the course of his essay, Keyser tells us that when the Germanic tribes arrived in the area, they encountered the nomadic Sami, who were inferior to the Norwegians both intellectually and physically and in terms of their weapons technology. Consequently, for the newcomers it was an easy and natural process to push the Sami nomads to the outer margins, and sometimes even to annihilate them in the quest for new territory. The Sami were probably also the Norwegians’ first bondsmen. Wherever the Germanic tribes settled, it was they alone who owned the land and established the state.

Keyser’s close friend and student – and one of Norway’s spiritual fathers around the mid-19th century – P.A. Munch, followed suit with his monumental

*Det norske Folks Historie* (The History of the Norwegian People), which he began writing in 1852. In the first two pages of this work, he simply writes the Sami out of history:

The history of the Norwegian people begins with the history of the country. [...] Norway has no historical presence without the Norwegians, and the Norwegians have none without Norway. [...] The most significant parts of the country – the valleys and lower lying areas – had no settlements prior to the arrival of “our ancestors”. The fact that a few Finns and Lapps wandered across the mountain plateaus with their herds of reindeer does not allow us to speak of settlement.

Thus, in a sense, Norway was inhabited, but before the arrival of our forefathers there were no settlements. And it is with the construction of settlements that the real history of a country begins.

In his survey of Norwegian historical research of the 19th and 20th centuries, Ottar Dahl writes that this migration theory, “[...] with its powerful appeal to Norwegians’ sense of nationhood and backed up with the authority of Keyser and Munch, soon acquired the status of unshakeable truth in Norway.” When we study the official Norwegian view of the Sami in the latter part of the 19th and the early decades of the 20th centuries, it is quite clear at the very least that the description of the Sami as an inferior ethnic group relative to the Norwegians had established itself as just such a truth.

I would therefore risk the assertion that via their teachings the two great fathers of the Norwegian nation, Rudolf Keyser and P.A. Munch, helped to lay the groundwork for a dubious but highly virulent category that could be given the name of the Norwegian-Germanic master race. Adherents of this category continued to define the Sami as an inferior race for generations to come, and the Norwegianisation policies directed at the Sami can hardly be explained without reference to the binary concepts of superior and inferior human beings – concepts that became established in Norway through the theory of Norse-Germanic migration.

It did little to ameliorate the negative view of the Sami that this early version of migration theory was abandoned around the mid-19th century and replaced

with the doctrine that the Sami themselves had migrated from the east into the northern parts of Norway, from where they expanded southwards. This was not a revision that dispelled the notion of a qualitative difference between Norwegians and Sami. The racial hierarchy that had established itself by the mid-19th century was further reinforced by Social Darwinism, which gained ground towards the end of the century.

The revised theory of Sami migration in Norway eventually proved fateful for the legal status of the southern Sami. In 1889, Professor Yngvar Nielsen presented a research report in which he claimed that the Sami presence in the southern parts of Trøndelag did not predate the 18th century – the so-called “forward surge” theory.

#### **A race hierarchy**

Norway’s intellectual elite was ahead of the crowd when it came to communicating a view of the Sami as an inferior ethnic group. One example here is the historian Ernst Sars, who would not even recognise the Sami as citizens with equal rights. In his view, members of different races could never mix to form a single nation no matter how long they lived in the same state or country. He cited the United States and Norway as examples, saying that white Americans would never accept their black fellow citizens as countrymen, and that it was only with strong reservations that people here in Norway could describe the Sami (“Lapps”) of Finnmark and Nordland as countrymen. They could simply be overlooked – “these Chudic people in such tiny numbers, living on the margins, can be dismissed from consideration.”

Not least Amund Helland gives a good account of the racial hierarchy in northern Norway in the early 1900s. For him, the Sami were more or less degenerate. The Kvens, on the other hand, were a powerful race who possessed both physical and spiritual resilience. Hence they should be able to “endure in the struggle for existence”. The Norwegians, however, were superior to both of these other two races in terms of physical and spiritual development, “possessing the best qualities of the Germanic race”. Although the Kvens were sometimes slender and well-built, they lacked the powerful, masculine characteristics of the Norwegians, which immediately mark them out as “the master race”.

In 1921, a prominent race hygienist, Jon Alfred Mjøen, aired his thoughts on

interbreeding between “Norwegians and Lapps”. The offspring from such unions were generally either mentally deficient, susceptible to illness, or socially maladapted. He himself had done experiments with rabbits to confirm his theory.

This kind of attitude towards the Sami changed little before World War II, and one prominent spokesman for the Sami, Hans J. Henriksen, characterised the inter-war period as a Fimbulwinter for Sami culture.

#### **The Truth Commission must focus on the master-race mentality**

During the war, the Nazi administration published a new edition of P.A. Munch’s history of the Norwegian people from the 1850s. What motivated them to do so was hardly a concern for historical insight. Instead they had recognised that Munch’s views on history were highly consistent with their own ideal of a Germanic master race. The Nazi rhetoric was that in the time of the Sagas it was important to be of good family, of Norwegian stock. “The blood of serfs and Lapps was broadly disdained.” Such people lacked the strength and erectness, the courage and the pride that the Viking era demanded of men.

With a Truth Commission now convened to investigate the forces that drove Norwegianisation and why those policies endured for so long, close attention should be paid to extreme Norwegian nationalism and the spectre of the Norwegian-Germanic master race that stalked Norwegian society for a hundred years from the 1830s onwards.

The work of the Truth Commission must help to prevent a return of that spectre – no matter what disguise it might assume.



## TERRA NULLIUS

### Video stills & excerpts from dialogue

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## TERRA NULLIUS

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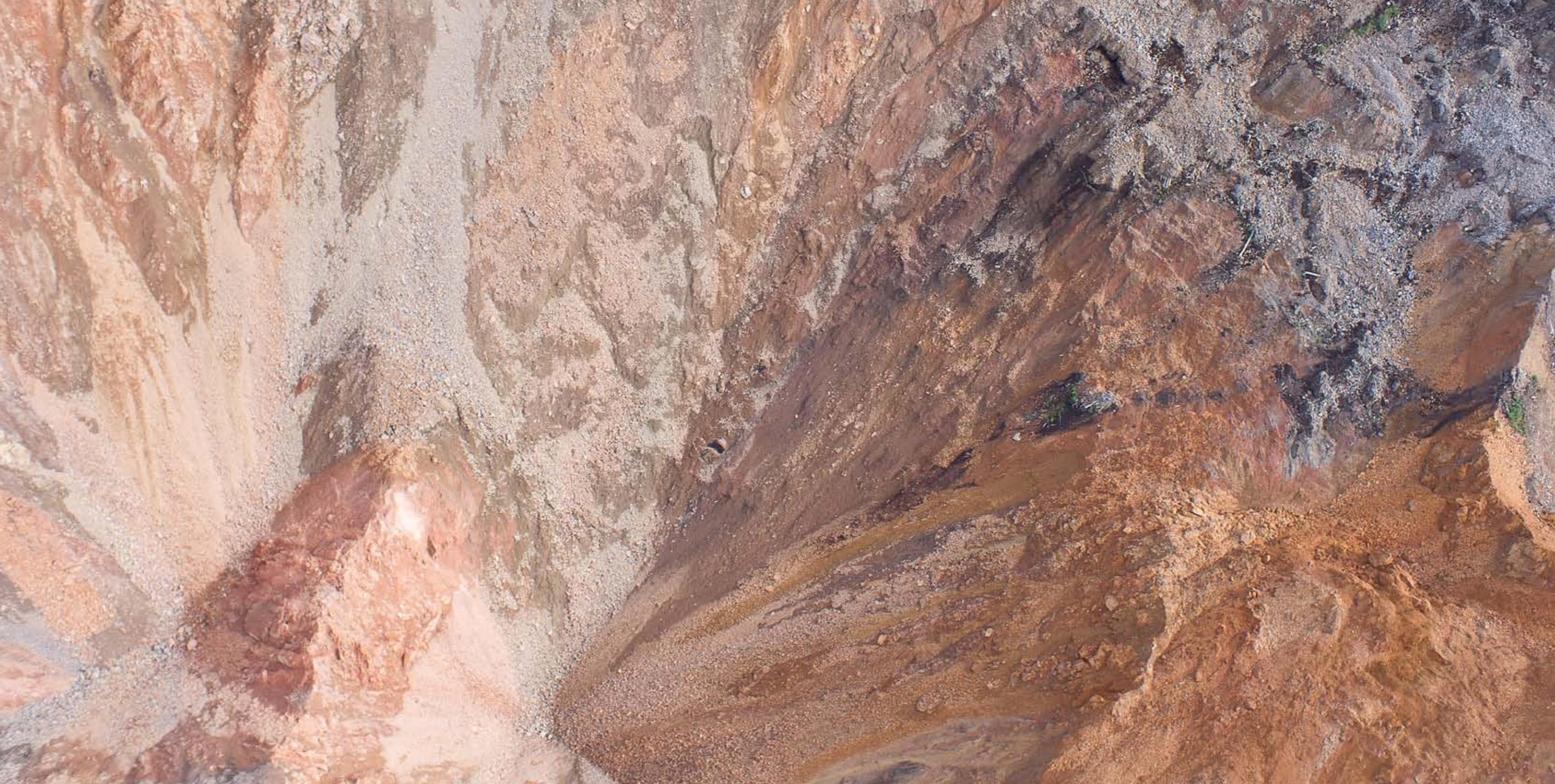
EXCERPTS

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## “IT’S THE GOLD RUSH, OR IRON RUSH, SO COME AND JOIN US”

ON SIRI HERMANSEN’S *TERRA NULLIUS*

Susanne Christensen

If I say to a Scandinavian “apricot trees exist”, they will probably know what I’m referring to. For these are the first words of a famous system poem, *Alphabet*, by the celebrated Danish poet Inger Christensen. Composed in 1981, this poem begins by listing words that start with the letter A before continuing on through the alphabet. Many of the words in the poem are associated with nature, or with serene and dreamlike states, but as the words accumulate, ever more of them have to do with human intervention, with nuclear war and global destruction. In a sense, it is here that Siri Hermansen’s video work *Terra Nullius* begins.

Hermansen has visited places such as the exclusion zone around the ruined Chernobyl power plant in Russia and the American city of Detroit, which resembles a post-industrial wasteland. Both areas are notable for the immense changes and upheavals they have experienced. But the next zone she has chosen to look at is closer to her home in Oslo, and to controversies affecting her own culture. The northern Swedish town of Kiruna is a popular destination for tourists who want to experience the Arctic midnight sun during the summer months, but it is also a tough community where most people work for the mining industry. The local mine has devastated the local environment and ecosystems, with serious consequences not least for the Sami people who live from reindeer herding. Hermansen highlights various areas of conflict that reach deep into our cul-

ture, exposing different attitudes to life and, in particular, differences in how as humans we connect with nature and use its resources – either with or without restraint.

What gradually emerges is an intricate pattern of legal systems, ancient and modern, that grind against each other. These were created in different historical periods in response to the very different demands that people place on the earth that we inhabit. The oldest laws testify to the close integration of people and nature as equal partners in a single ecosystem, but over time legislation has shifted towards a more anthropocentric attitude. And so on to the present, where we have sunk to a level almost of anarchy, with international mining companies under little obligation to show any kind of respect for pre-existing legislation. But perhaps it simply isn’t the case that the new relentlessly replaces the old in some never-ending process. Perhaps instead we should try to picture old and new systems as engaged in an on-going, cyclical dialogue.

Hermansen’s work begins in the dark, with a fragile woman’s voice reading a poem. This is the Sami poet Stina Inga who seems to draw her energy from the same engine that drives Inger Christensen’s poem. The poem that Inga reads presents a list of elements from Sami culture, its perceptions of life and its mythology. It begins with a line about a place the Sami regard as sacred, “There is a place of sacrifice,” and it ends with a line that affirms “There is a people, one people who believe all this.” Although, over the centuries, the laws and jurisdictions of the countries across which the Sami territory extends (Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia) have recognised the existence of the Sami people, it isn’t always nation-states that set the agenda, especially in an area as rich in natural resources as that around Kiruna. But perhaps the claims that Inga makes in her poem could also be doubted. The background remains dark until a new voice takes over.

This time the voice we hear is that of a man, deep and melodic, a type we recognise from commercials; a professional voice whose deep melodic tones are employed to convince and seduce. Here we are spectators to a performance organised by LKAB, a mining company founded in 1890 – the industrial golden age – and which now dominates Kiruna. Here again, as we watch the mining company’s cinematic presentation, we are inclined to wonder whether the story they are telling us is true. Mythological narrative is a powerful tool, and it is no

longer the exclusive preserve of our ancestors; it can also be put to effective use by large multinational companies in pursuit of an image and to communicate the brand that identifies them. Just one minute into Hermansen's work, and already we have encountered the first sharp contrast between two forms of identity, two forms of magic and seduction. In LKAB's presentation we are told that nature, the Sami and the mining industry have coexisted through good times and bad. With its capitalist magic, the mining company promises a journey towards a boundless horizon where the only values that count are endless growth and non-stop dynamic progress. The Swedish company has also opened a path for foreign companies, such as Australian Hannans Reward, to set up shop in the area. In fact, it's a veritable free-for-all, given that Sweden levies as little as 0.2% of the profits from mining. "It's the gold rush, or iron rush, so come and join us."

Hermansen cross-cuts again, creating the next abrupt shift of perspective. In contrast to her earlier work, this technique is closer to the style of campaigning documentary, which seeks to persuade the viewer to take a stance. As the artist points out in her reflections on her work, out in Russia or America it was relatively easy to keep an open mind and to let oneself be led by strangers, whereas it is hard to remain neutral when shining a light on issues for which she feels a more direct responsibility. The status of the Sami people has a long and often painful history that has played out in Hermansen's own country of Norway.

With a sweeping movement of the camera, the ground recedes beneath us and we take to the air in a helicopter to survey this astonishing landscape. It has been shaped not just by mining, which has carved its characteristic terraces into the mountainsides, but also by nature's reaction to that industry: deep broad fissures that yawn red and orange, with a sprinkling of green where a little vegetation remains.

But the most dramatic images are still to come. Initially the camera's wild flight is accompanied by the voice of a representative from Hannans Reward. But here for the first time we are shown the face of the person who is talking, as the forward rush of the camera is replaced by the calm image of a Sami academic speaking to us from his office. It is almost as if we had flown off on the wings of a dream to the ringing of cash tills, and were suddenly brought to our senses by the clear voice of someone whose face we can actually see. Our dream flight is halted by the words "It's colonisation in its purest possible form." He explains

that, during the colonial era, the term *terra nullius* – nobody's land – did not necessarily mean that there was no one living on a certain piece of land, but only that there was no one there in the *legal sense*. Those who were there were indigenous people – *aliens* – who were not regarded as having equal rights or claims to land with borders that could be respected. Quite simply, they were not representatives of civilisation. It is the kind of issue we are likely to think of as belonging to the past, but often all that has happened is that power has shifted so as to become more resilient. The economic structures that surround us no longer reveal themselves with the same clarity. They exist as abstract series of numbers floating past, while the architecture of power is now made of glass, to give the impression of transparency. Few people these days can actually look their oppressor in the eye. The white man with the whip is nowhere to be seen. One could add here that under the Danish King Christian IV, who from 1588 to 1648 ruled a territory that combined both Denmark and Norway, the status of the Sami was so vague and undefined that they were regularly hunted down and executed as practitioners of witchcraft. Consequently, it is difficult for the Danish as well to sit at home and claim indifference towards or ignorance about the fate of the Sami people.

From the clear voice of the academic in his brightly lit office, we move back into the dark. It is as if Hermansen has put the camera down somewhere, or as if she can no longer stand upright. She seems to be hiding in a corner, filming a few shy creatures whom she doesn't want to disturb by revealing her presence. For the first time we have entered an intimate space. We are in the home of someone who doesn't seem to be acting like a professional seeking to make an impression for the camera. As far as we can tell, nothing is rehearsed. This is the home of the reindeer herder Per Erik Marsja, and suddenly we also hear little sounds from the interviewer, indicating that she is listening to the speaker. There is a human resonance in this twilight room. The man speaks in a tone of resignation, with an irregular rhythm. In order to document the area where his reindeer move, he has fitted some of the animals with GPS transmitters that allow their movements to be mapped electronically. The aim is to document where they migrate and to prove that they are being driven away by the mining activity. The extent of the Sami territory is defined by the extent of the reindeers' migrations across the vast landscape. But how can this be grasped by those of us who are

used to boundaries guarded by towers, walls and bars?

In 2016, Kiruna's unique situation was used as the backdrop for a big-budget, high-action crime series called *Midnight Sun*. Directed by Måns Mårild and Björn Stein, the series was co-produced by Swedish and French TV channels. The drama opens in almost the same location to which Hermansen has brought us – in a helicopter flying over this stunning but strange landscape. We hear the conversation between the helicopter pilot Thor, the Swedish chief inspector Burlin, and a French policewoman called Zadi, who has been sent to the area because the first murder victim to be found was a French citizen.

Zadi: Is that the mine?

Thor: It's over 100 years old. The locals call it Mother. You start young, rake in the danger money, and retire. You're from Paris, right? Every day they bring out enough iron ore to build six Eiffel Towers.

Burlin: A few years ago, they discovered cracks under the town. Instead of closing the mine, they decided to move the town. That's what they're doing now. The mining company is footing the entire bill.

Zadi: That's madness. What do the people think?

Thor: The mine is their livelihood. They'd be lost without it.

Although the series is a commercial entertainment product with a thoroughly implausible plot, at least it faithfully reflects the situation of the Sami. In Hermansen's work we get to hear the same incredible story from an LKAB employee, who tells us with a serious face that the only thing they can do to protect the residents while keeping the mine working is to move the town three kilometres to the east. The employee describes the mine as a body – as an entity that should not be violated – at which point the film cuts directly to the kitchen of Marsja, the reindeer herder, who uses almost identical words in speaking about nature. This too he describes as a living body that should not be violated. As viewers we seem to be balancing on a knife edge, caught between opposing views that stand in deadlock. The work ends with a return to darkness, through which Stina Inga's fragile voice is heard again, reading another poem in an elegiac tone. We sense that something here is threatened by death.

Hermansen creates her work in the framework of the art institution, and although in this case she uses the methods of journalism and political activism without attempting to conceal her own views, it becomes clear from the still images that form part of the *Terra Nullius* installation that the work functions on a variety of levels. The language of the stills is far more abstract and gives us the scope to observe the strange landscape of the Kiruna mine with parts of our mind that respond to qualities such as form and colour rather than the details of narrative. Here we can contemplate the terraced mountainsides shaped by human activity and the immense cracks that reach deep into the body of the earth. On one of the pictures we see the tracks of cars on the margins of a landscape like a water surface where ripples create their own dreamlike patterns. It is as if there were two authors here, both working to shape the same landscape. It is as if both were scratching their pencils on the same piece of paper. Perhaps it is the paper that is in danger of being torn apart.

## TERRA NULLIUS

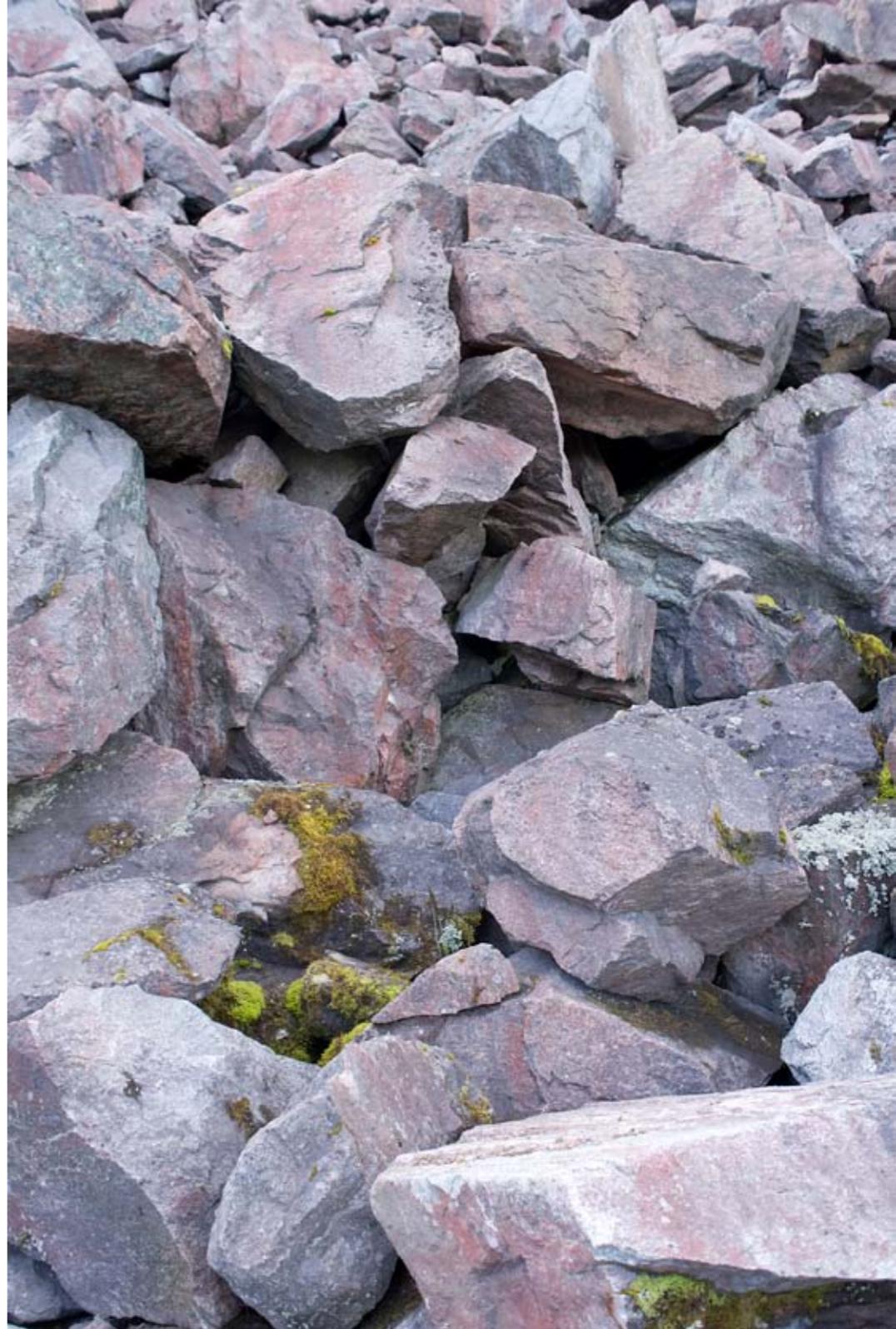












*Prepare a bed  
Among the heaped-up stones  
I'm thinking of going to bed  
there,  
between the stones  
Cover me  
with earth  
There I intend to lie  
And not get up  
Until you  
Call for me*

**Stina Inga**

## TRUE NORTH

Exhibition at Sami Centre for  
Contemporary Art, 2016







## APOLOGY

### Video stills & excerpts from dialogue

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## APOLOGY

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EXCERPTS

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tellus. Phasellus viverra nulla ut metus varius laoreet. Quisque rutrum.

Aenean imperdiet. Etiam ultricies nisi vel augue. Curabitur ullamcorper ultricies  
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Nam eget dui. Etiam rhoncus. Maecenas tempus, tellus eget condimentum  
rhoncus, sem quam semper libero, sit amet adipiscing sem neque sed ipsum.

Nam quam nunc, blandit vel, luctus pulvinar, hendrerit id, lorem.



## BEYOND RECOGNITION

### SIRI HERMANSEN'S *ADDET ÀNDAGASSII* / APOLOGY AND THE UNFINISHED HISTORY OF NORWEGIAN COLONIALISM

Mathias Danbolt

On February 6 2017, the Sámi National Day, the Norwegian Prime Minister Erna Solberg delivered a public address in Trondheim during the opening ceremony of Tråante 2017, the centenary of the first Pan-Sámi political convention in Norway. The Prime Minister started out by honoring the initiator of the 1917 assembly, the political leader and activist Elsa Laula Renberg (1877–1931), whom, she said, “as a young South Sami woman probably had felt the embodied consequences of the Norwegianization policy”. The Prime Minister continued by explaining the effects of this coerced assimilation policy on the Sámi population:

The Norwegianization policy forced many Sámi to put away their culture and their language. Several generations of Sámi were taught to believe that talking Sámi – or to be Sámi – was something shameful that had to be silenced and hidden. Fortunately, this is no longer current policy. Over the past decades, an important aim of Sámi policies has been to rectify the negative effects of the assimilation policies.

The Prime Minister's acknowledgement of the harms of the past can in itself be seen as an example of the political turn-around described in her speech where the history of aggressive assimilation is said to have been replaced by a

supportive approach. Now, according to the Prime Minister, the Norwegian State works with the Sámi Parliament to “find solutions that ensure a good future for the Sámi culture and Sámi throughout the country.”

Solberg's address reads in many ways as an echo of HM King Harald V's ground-breaking speech twenty years earlier in the Sámi Parliament in 1997. Here the King delivered a much longed-for apology for the century-long suppression of Sámi culture under the politics of Norwegianization:

The Norwegian State is founded on the territory of two populations – the Norwegians and the Sámi. Sámi history is closely intertwined with Norwegian history. Today we need to apologize [beklage] for the injustice that the Norwegian state has previously inflicted on the Sámi people through a hard Norwegianization policy. The Norwegian state therefore has a special responsibility to pave the way so the Sámi people can build a strong and viable society. This is a time-honored right based on the presence of Sámi in their own areas that go far back in time.

Following the acknowledgement of the harms of the past, King Harald emphasized the political shift that had taken place: from previous policies of forced assimilation to the current development of a culture of co-existence, exemplified by the way the Norwegian state now works to “protect and develop Sami culture”. While admitting that “a harmonious development of interaction between cultures is not always an easy task”, the King expressed faith in the state apparatus' willingness to work together with the Sámi Parliament and Sámi institutions towards a common future. Listening to the Prime Minister's celebratory speech at the opening of Tråante in 2017, one might be tempted to believe that the King's optimism in 1997 for that harmonious future was well-founded.

The rhetorical force of official acknowledgements of the Norwegian suppression of the Sámi population is the starting point for Siri Hermansen's 24-minute long film *Addet Àndagassii / Apology* (2014). Taking its cue from King Harald's famous speech from 1997, Hermansen's film installation examines the performative and political effects of public acts of recognition. What kind of purpose does an official apology serve? What kind of political work does acts of recognition perform?

In this article I suggest to see *Apology* as an interventionist critique of the framework of “politics of recognition”, that has dominated public debates on Sámi culture in Norway since the early 1980s. Drawing on Indigenous theorist Glen Sean Coulthard’s work, I use “politics of recognition” to describe the turn toward recognition-based models of inclusion and cooperation that mediates conflicts between Indigenous assertions of land and settler-states sovereign modes of control through legal and political agreements. In *Apology*, Hermansen juxtaposes the official language of the recognition of Sámi culture in Norway with information and testimonies on the Norwegian state’s current political practice. This involves topics including the expropriation of land used in reindeer husbandry for mining industry and the planned dumping of mining waste in fishing fjords important to sea Sámi fishermen. The filmic tapestry where interviews with figures engaged with Sámi politics, law, and culture are intertwined with archival footage, museums tableaux, and places in Sápmi currently under pressure of being exploited, opens up questions such as: What is the relationship between the Norwegian state’s postcolonial rhetoric and neocolonial practice? Is the language of acknowledgement a break with or a renewed form of colonial practice? In the following, I think with and alongside Hermansen’s *Apology* in order to discuss how certain politics of recognition might risk to work against a future of cultural coexistence.

#### **A Short History of the Colonization of Sápmi**

*Apology* starts with a clip from Hermansen’s interview with the first President of the Sámi Parliament in Norway, professor Ole-Henrik Magga, where he describes the important – if ambivalent – position of the monarchy in Sámi culture:

My mother once said: If everything else fails, approach the king. And in fact, history has shown that people traveled to Copenhagen, and on the Swedish side [of Sápmi] to Stockholm to put their case before the king. It was at a time when the King governed, on the one side, a multicultural state, an empire – Denmark-Norway – and the same in Sweden-Finland. The Kings were accustomed to dealing with different cultures from early on. They were not so tied up by the monocultural thinking.

The openness to cultural multiplicity that Magga refers to derives in part from the imperialist desires of the Scandinavian monarchies from the 17th century and onwards. By the end of the 1600s, the kingdom of Denmark-Norway had established colonies in today’s India, Ghana, and the Caribbean, and by early 1700s, the monarchy had reestablished its presence in Greenland. Sápmi had already been subjected to numerous attempts at colonial control by means of missionary activities, research expeditions and trading regulations. The colonial governing of Sápmi took further hold with the drawing up of the border between Sweden and Denmark-Norway in 1751, an act that split the Sámi territories and turned Stockholm and Copenhagen into the respective centers of control of the area. Yet, at the time of the border establishment, the monarchies in Denmark-Norway and Sweden recognized the Sámi as a separate people with fundamental rights through an addendum to the border treaty later known as the “Lapp Codicil”. The Codicil sought to ensure that the Sámi people were allowed to use the natural resources on both sides of the new national border that crossed directly through what the addendum termed the “Lapp Nation”.

This early colonial acknowledgement of Sámi rights was not to last. After Denmark lost Norway to Sweden in 1814, and with the intensified nation building process that followed, the relative openness to cultural pluralism was replaced by a monocultural ideology that left no room for a Sámi Nation within the borders of the soon-to-be-independent Norwegian nation state. The effect of the new nationalist sentiment was particularly evident in the denigration of Sámi history and culture by historians such as P.A. Munch and Rudolf Keyser, who were the central proponents of the so-called Norwegian School of History that gained traction in the 1830s and 1840s. These nationalist historians not only excluded the Sámi from the narrative of the Norwegian nation – the expulsion was also gradually informed by early theories of the racial inferiority of the Sámi people. The closing of the border between Norway and Sweden in 1852 marked the end of the previous acknowledgement of Sámi rights to land and resources. Programs of forced assimilation and subjugation of Sámi language, religion, culture, and land rights – the so-called Norwegianization policies – followed in the latter part of the 19th century and onwards, culminating in the decades after World War II. The revival of Sámi political resistance and activism in the late 1970s was fundamental to the shift towards cultural recognition and ack-

nowledgement. Specifically, the demonstrations against the hydroelectric power plant dam-project on the Alta-Kautokeino waterway in 1979, which included the hunger strike by Sámi activists in Oslo, were central to a new political awakening within and outside Sápmi, and a dramatic change in the public and political treatment of Sámi culture in Norway. While the activist lost the fight against the power plant dam, the political upheaval was central to the government-initiated Sámi Rights Commission in 1980, chaired by lawyer Carsten Smith. The commission delivered their first report on the juridical conditions of Sámi people in 1984. This report initiated a set of institutional changes, including the 1987 Sami Act that stipulated the establishment of the Sámi Parliament that opened in 1989.

This condensed historical sketch constitutes part of the backdrop to the questions Hermansen raises with *Apology* pertaining the effects of official acknowledgements. In *Apology*, the opening interview with Magga is followed by archival footage of King Harald's 1997 apology speech quoted above, as well as by a black frame where the seminal 1988 amendment to the Norwegian Constitution, the so-called Sámi Paragraph, reads in white: "§110a: It is the responsibility of the authorities of the State to create conditions enabling the Sámi people to preserve and develop its language, culture and way of life". The importance of this rapid turn-around from forced assimilation to state responsibility for cultural resuscitation cannot be underestimated. Yet, the shift also gave birth to new questions: What kind of "conditions" are necessary in order to enable the protection and development of Sámi culture and way of life? And who decides?

#### The discrepancy of law and life

In *Apology*, Hermansen interviews professor in Sámi law, Kirsti Strøm Bull, who references King Harald's description of the foundational cultural pluralism of the Norwegian state as a textbook example of the unfortunate discrepancy between law and life:

As I try to tell my students: Life is not like the juridical text books. You have to remember the following sentence: The Norwegian State is founded on the territory of two populations – the Norwegians and the Sámi. [...] If you know this sentence you understand what this is all about.

Alongside lawyer and former Supreme Court Judge, Carsten Smith, Bull is among the most distinguished experts on the juridical relationship between Sámi and Norwegian rights, and her description of the current state of affairs holds a prominent position in *Apology*. Smith, whom Hermansen also interviews, not only chaired the Sámi Rights Commission in the early 1980s, but have later been in charge of numerous commissions reviewing the conditions of Sámi subsistence. This includes the Coastal Fishing Committee [Kystfiskeutvalget] (2006-08), which sought to delineate the right to fish in the sea alongside the coast in Northern Norway, with special attention to the entitlement of the sea Sámi population. In *Apology*, Smith notes how almost none of the recommendations that the committee put forth, which highlighted the already established rights to protect and develop Sámi subsistence, were taken onboard by the government:

It is quite easy and obvious that culture involves [...] newspapers, schools, paintings, music, museums – everything needed to display and maintain an ongoing culture. But maintaining a particular culture also requires a material substructure. A sufficient economic and physical cultural foundation that can carry this culture. [...] In reality, this is almost the core issue in all cases concerning Sámi right to use natural resources and protect natural resources. This is what Sámi culture entails, which the state has a commitment to contribute to, and which is inscribed in our constitution now!

There are numerous factors that play into the government's alleged unwillingness to prioritize the material conditions for Sámi subsistence. Hermansen focuses on a few of these in *Apology*, including the fact that there has been found mineral resources worth approximately 2500 billion kroner in Norway, many of which are to be found in areas used for Sámi reindeer husbandry. The Sámi Parliament has not accepted the Norwegian State's Mineral Law from 2009, which stipulates the framework of extraction of these mineral resources. Still, the Norwegian government continues to work actively to find ways to expand and renew the mining industry in the Northern territories.

*Apology* zooms in on one of the ongoing fights in relation to the conflicting interpretation of the value of natural resources, namely the investment company

Nussir ASA's concession to reopen and expand a large copper mine in Kvalsund in Finnmark. The mine is not only located in an important area used for Sámi reindeer husbandry; the extraction company has also been allowed to dump toxic mining waste in a large sea tailing disposal in the nearby Repparfjord, a protected area due to its unique wild salmon population. In *Apology*, Hermansen follows the fisherman Trond Arild at work out on the fjord – an occupation which soon risks to be dramatically altered as the sea bed is prospected to rise from 80 to 20 meters when the sea tailing disposal will be put to use. In the fall of 2017 Nussir received the final approval for mining in Kvalsund. This happened despite continual protests from the Sámi Parliament, and despite the decision-making process' alleged breaches with the International Labor Organization (ILO)'s Convention no. 69 on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Norway was the first country to ratify this convention in 1990, which is supposed to secure, among other things, land rights of indigenous population. While Nussir is getting ready to start copper extraction, the Sámi Parliament is preparing to take the concession to court.

The conflict in Kvalsund is but one of several examples that raise the question: What purpose does the constitutional acknowledgement and the ratification of international conventions serve when the government does not follow their own laws and regulations?

### Beyond Recognition

Apology ends with the former president of the Sámi Parliament, professor Ole-Henrik Magga's deliberations on how processes of forgiveness is less about feeling better but doing better:

Forgiveness is a special process that does not always follow the path of logic because it has to do with feelings and is not bound by set boundaries. And the other thing is that we cannot undo the past. A process of forgiveness and reconciliation is first and foremost an expression of volition to try to do better than one managed to do in the past.

Magga's words highlights the importance of not presuming that the utterance of an apology in itself has reconciliating effects, unless the words lead to changes

in action. After all, official acts of recognition can just as well be used to bypass or divert attention from continual forms of malpractice, as the feminist postcolonial scholar Sara Ahmed explains in her writings on declarations of apology in relation to Indigenous Australians. Official declarations of being sorry often imply "that we have overcome the very thing that we are sorry about", Ahmed notes. But when the problematic dynamics is far from over, "saying is not sufficient for an action, and can even be a substitute for action". This does not mean that apologies have no effects, but that their main result might be to "restore the nation or reconcile the nation to itself by 'coming to terms with' its own past". And is this not really what was at stake in Prime Minister Erna Solberg's speech at the opening of Tråante 2017? The way her acknowledgement of the Norwegianization politics that she noted "fortunately" belonged to a distant past was followed by a description of the government's unflinching support of Sámi culture and politics today, glosses over, if not dismisses, the continuing colonial dynamics at play in Norway's disregard of the ratified conventions meant to secure Sámi rights to land, natural resources, and cultural protection.

### Stories of survival

Magga's final comments in *Apology* make clear that a politics of recognition is not enough. Official acknowledgement of past wrongs does not necessarily function as a source of freedom and dignity, but can instead be "the field of power through which colonial relations are produced and maintained", as Indigenous theorist Glen Sean Coulthard writes in *Red Skin, White Masks*. Hermansen's *Apology* demonstrate this point with great clarity. The film's juxtaposition of juridical texts, personal testimonies, archival footage, and political statements gives texture to the field of power of colonial struggles that still take place in Norway today. By refusing to let apologies lead to historical closures, *Apology* calls us to see colonialism as a radically unfinished history that remain in force today.

But the film does not leave us here. *Apology* also speaks to the value of self-assertion, self-recognition, and the importance of supporting processes that revalue and reconstruct indigenous cultural practice. In one of the film's more personal exchanges, Hermansen interviews the Sámi author and activist Marion Palmer in her kitchen in Kvalsund. Palmer speaks about her late realization of her Sámi heritage: "I always considered myself Norwegian, all my life, until the

question of the Sámi census came up, and my father said, 'You can be inscribed, you know, just write that your grandma spoke Sámi!'. Palmer's statement speaks not only to the ingrained effects of the Norwegianization policy, which made generations of Sámi people suppress, hide, or conceal their cultural background to the degree that generational transmission of knowledge got radically severed. Her comment also shows how the development of Sámi institutions, such as the Sámi Parliament, which required a census for the process of political enrollment, created a context for both personal, cultural and historical reawakening.

Yet, rewriting history – personal and national alike – is far from easy. Palmer explains that the information of having Sámi roots made little sense at first, as her family did not seem to fit into the reductive colonial stereotypes of Sámi people, shown in one of the tableaux from Tromsø Museum's Sámi exhibition included in another scene in *Apology*. Only later did Palmer come to realize that she had been surrounded by traces of Sámi heritage all her life, yet it had remained un-visible to her. Palmer's writings have thus often centered on making suppressed histories visible and audible. An act she also performs through sharing her story with Hermansen in *Apology*.

Palmer's testimony speaks to the power of indigenous "survivance", a term used to describe forms of survival, resistance, and endurance that moves beyond narratives of tragedy and victimhood. In a related way, Hermansen's *Apology* also demonstrate an investment in the power of storytelling, and in the importance of giving attention to modes of survival and resistance in the face of neo-colonial forms of political governance. As such, the film shows that an apology is never an end point, but at best a starting point for coming to terms with all the work that remains to be done.

*If I disappear among unfamiliar mountains  
Remind me when the world is blue in the moonlight  
Just as blue as my summer world was,  
Remind me when the reindeer calf grunts  
With the same voice I called to you  
Remind me when the northern lights dance  
In the same way I danced for life  
Remind me  
When I no longer exist*

Stina Inga





## ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> The Storting's Standing Committee on Scrutiny and Constitutional Affairs, 13.06.2017.

<sup>2</sup> The seminal work on Norwegianisation policies in Norway between 1860 and 1940 emphasises in particular the aspect of security in relation to immigration from Finland, with the authors saying that Norwegian attitudes towards the Sami would be given only secondary consideration (Eriksen, K.E. / E. Niemi 1981:16). As will be apparent from the following, the current author is of the opinion that the Norwegianisation of the Sami had other roots, and that it emerged from the rise of Norwegian nationalism.

<sup>3</sup> Hætta 1998:20.

<sup>4</sup> The final mandate for and composition of the commission was still under discussion at the end of May 2018. Those involved in the negotiations include the Storting's presidency, the Sami Parliament, and the organisations representing the Kvens/Norwegian-Finns.

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CAPTIONS

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**Susanne Christensen**

(f. 1969) er en dansk-norsk litteraturkritiker og essayist som har bidratt til en rekke magasiner, tidsskrifter og dagspresse. Hun har skrevet for Klassekampen 2003–2004 og 2006 til i dag, og Morgenbladet mellom 2004 og 2006. Siden 2010 har Christensen vært fast spaltist i Vagant. Christensen har også publisert i flere antologier. I 2011 ble hun kåret til Årets kritiker, og samme år ga hun ut tekstsamlingen *Den ulne avantgarde* på Flamme forlag. Christensen var i 2015 nominert til Kritikerprisen 2015 for beste sakprosa.

**Mathias Danbolt**

(f.1983) er PhD i kunsthistorie fra Universitetet i Bergen med avhandlingen *Touching History: Art, Performance and Politics in Queer Times* (2013). Danbolt er også grunnlegger av *Trikster: Nordic Queer Journal*, og *co-redaktør for boken Lost and Found: Queering the Archive* (2009). For tiden jobber Danbolt med et forskningsprosjekt som utforsker effektene av dansk kolonialisme innen kunsten, som er en fortsettelse av postdoc-prosjektet *Colorblind? Theorizing Race in Danish Contemporary Art and Performance*, Danbolt er associate professor i kunsthistorie ved Universitetet i København.

**Siri Hermansen**

is a Norwegian filmmaker, photographer and installation artist. Through her artistic practice she investigates unforeseen affects in societies that are undergoing deep economic, environmental or cultural changes. Her work offers unusual micro-perspectives on contemporary methods of survival and processes of adaption from societies that can be considered as uncertain zones. Her artistic research method resembles a form of shared anthropology where the outcome of the material is dependent on the interrelations created on location, and the artist's personal experience of the place. Siri Hermansen completed her doctorate at the National Academy of the Arts in Oslo in 2016. She holds a MFA from École des Beaux-Arts in Paris and a BFA from Parsons School of Design.

**Monica Holmen**

(f. 1982) er prosjektkoordinator og kurator ved Akershus Kunstsenter. Holmen er også assisterende redaktør i KUNSTforum, frilansskribent og -redaktør, og har bidratt til flere magasiner og kataloger. Holmen har master i kunsthistorie fra Universitetet i Oslo.

**Steinar Pedersen**

(f. 1947, Tana) er norsk politiker og historiker av samisk opprinnelse. Pedersen er utdannet lærer fra Tromsø lærerskole, og var statssekretær i Stoltenbergs første regjering. Pedersen var medlem av Sametinget fra oppstarten i 1989 og fram til 2005. Han har vært leder av Sámi Ealáhus- ja Guorahallanguovddáš (Samisk nærings- og utredningscenter) i Deatnu/Tana. I 2006 ble Pedersen dr. philos. i historie med en avhandling om Grensetraktaten av 1751 mellom Danmark-Norge og Sverige. Fra 2007 er han tilsatt ved Samisk høgskole i Kautokeino, der han i perioden 2007–2011 var rektor.

**APOLOGY**

Siri Hermansen

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Design: Reimar Limmer, [www.embargo-grafik.de](http://www.embargo-grafik.de)

Copy editing: Alain Ayers

Retouch images: Brynhild Seim

Published by Black Snow Press.

**BLACK SNOW PRESS**

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In Norway, mineral deposits have been found worth NOK 2,500 billion (€300 billion). The largest deposits have been found in Sami areas.

The Sameting has not accepted the Minerals Act of 2009.

Norway's largest copper deposits are to be found in the municipality of Kvalsund. Many of the 1,000 inhabitants in Kvalsund are of Sami origin.

The investment company Nussir ASA has received a concession for extraction.

The mining activities will take place in areas used by certain Sami people for breeding and calving grounds for reindeer.

The Ministry of Trade, Industry, and Fisheries recommends that the toxic mining waste should be dumped in the Repparfjord, which has been designated as a national salmon fjord.

The purpose of the national salmon fjords is to protect some of the prime salmon stocks in Norway from harmful operations and activities.

The dumping will cause the seabed to rise from about 80 meters to about 20 meters below sea level.

The size of the area to be regulated for the marine landfill is 5 km<sup>2</sup>. A marine landfill here will cover 2/3 of the seabed.

Norway is now one of four countries in the world that allows dumping in so shallow waters.