

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PROGRESS REPORT No. 6, June 7, 1961

**PORTLAND, OREGON, MAY 29, 1961** "LET'S LOCK ARMS AND WALK TOGETHER AS A RACE" and do that, creating a closer Brotherhood. The Indian People have always been apart only on special occasions, and this has contributed greatly to our downfall. Remember the adage: One arrow is easily broken, but a handfull cannot be broken. Sure, we are now taking our place among society more and more, but it will be a great long time before the color of our skin will not be noticed. We see it everywhere, and we might as well hold together as a Race. There can be no harm in it, because the Chinese, Japanese, Finnish, and most all other races make themselves stronger by a united effort. To me this seems like another step forward in our effort to become able to step in our rightful place among world people.

**BELLFLOWER, CALIFORNIA, MAY 27, 1961** We believe that the United States government should work on one basic premise in so far as its dealings with American Indians. We believe that it should be this: The American Indian has never wanted anything from his government except to be left alone. While Negro minority groups are working for integration with the white people the Indian minority has only been interested in freedom from the white man.

We hereby submit what we call (in broad generalities) a point four program:

1. Even though American Indians are proud of their citizenship in the United States, the Indian Tribes were originally treated as individual "Nations" and the original treaties of "peace and friendship" were made by the government with the Indian Nations. Where the treaties are concerned the government should, we believe, deal with the treaties and the treaty provisions as though they were dealing with foreign nations. We can't help but wish that the United States would treat us as well as they have some of the foreign states in the past decade.

Termination is to us a "dirty" word and the Bureau of Indian Affairs should do ALL in its power to assist the Tribal Councils to hold on to the land.

2. The government should make preparations to act as a trustee or overseer but otherwise should begin to train Indians to take over governmental functions on Indian reservations or in Indian "cultural centers." We believe that special scholarship loan funds should be made available to Indian people so that Indians could gradually begin to take over governmental functions such as the USPHS-physicians, dentists, veterinarians, and in the other fields, professions, trades with the eventual takeover by Indians of what are now governmental responsibilities.
  - a) The size of reservation areas should be increased by purchase of adjacent land when and where possible and the encouragement of business and light

industry should be encouraged on Indian reservations and in Indian cultural centers so that relocation can be made an entirely voluntary thing rather than an economic necessity.

- b) The "textbook picture" of the ideal reservation would be an area apart from the surrounding land set aside for American Indians and their families that were agro-industrial in nature and provided all of the necessary modalities that are found in other non-Indian American societies. It should be managed by and staffed by American Indians. It should be an economically solvent community.
3. Assimilation as a solution to the Indian "problem" should not be permitted. Assimilation should be entirely voluntary and individual. We believe that the government should do all in its power to aid and abet the Indian cultural patterns. It is a well known principle that one cannot extirpate the culture of a people unless they can substitute a superior culture to take the place of the one which has been excised. We do not believe that a superior culture has been offered to us. We believe that we can be more contributive members of the All-American society if we retain our cultural heritage.
4. Because so many of our people have been uprooted by relocation, have migrated to city and town from Indian areas, we believe that the government (state or federal) should make available to incorporated groups of American Indians no longer residing on reservations, long term loans for the establishment of land and facilities in urban areas and metropolitan areas for the maintenance of cultural activities.

Explanation of the "trusteeship" by the Bureau of Indian Affairs: The government would act as a friendly advisor to Indian tribal councils, or governing bodies. It would advise of treaty violations, would act in an advisory capacity, and finally, it would work diligently to see that ALL governmental posts are filled by Indian people and train Indian people for all of the jobs now held by its own representatives so that in the foreseeable future the government would be clear out of Indian life. Every effort must be taken to insure that premature withdrawal does not hamper Indian government.

#### OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, APRIL 13-14, 1961

##### RECOMMENDATIONS BY BAY AREA AMERICAN INDIAN COUNCIL TO DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR TASK FORCE

There are over 10,000 American Indians in the Bay Area of California. Many of these were relocated by the Federal Government during the past six years. Three years ago the Bay Area American Indian Council was formed to run the annual Bay Area Indian Day Celebrations and to discuss problems common to all Indians in the area. Recently it appointed a five-member committee to make an intensive survey of the problems of Indians in this area and to pull together recommendations to the Department of the Interior to help solve those problems. The Committee submitted its recommendations to the Council on April 7, 1961. At that time the Bay Area Council appointed three of its members, Tom Brown, Sioux, co-chairman of the Council; Mrs. Juanita Jackson, Navajo; and Richard McKenzie, Sioux, to be its spokesmen to the Task Force to present its findings in Reno on April 13, 14.

The Bay Area Council reached two major conclusions. First, that the Federal Relocation Program has been helpful to a large number of Indians, but that it has caused great distress to many more. The Bay Area Council makes the following recommendations to minimize the hardships and misunderstandings that have marked the program:

1. There should be a decrease in number of relocatees handled by the present Relocation Office staff. The number should be determined not only by the job market, but by the ability of the office to provide continuing services. Relocation personnel should be trained to give each client their utmost attention, and should not be under the pressure of large numbers.
2. There should be stricter screening. The standards of ability, education, character, social life, size of family that are set, should be strictly enforced.
3. Interpretation to Indians being relocated of what they will need, what services are available, how long they may have to wait for a job, that there may be periods of unemployment, etc., should be more honest. A written statement should be given to each relocatee of his rights and privileges.
4. The temporary housing for new families should be much better. It is at this time of arrival that there is the greatest sense of loneliness and strangeness. Therefore, the temporary housing should be as cheerful and as good as possible.
5. Welfare provisions for relocatees should be greatly increased. They are still inadequate to the needs of many families due to periodic unemployment. It is a waste of money to pay the way out for an Indian family only to have them return because of inadequate finances. In California relief funds are granted only to people who are in residence for three years. Adequate provisions should be made for this period. Also unemployment compensation is not available in some instances for a long time, depending on the quarter during which the person begins his employment.
6. After the 6 months period during which the Blue Cross-Blue Shield payments are made for the relocatee, he should be given the option to continue as part of the Group Plan, not as an individual subscriber. The benefits as an individual subscriber are more limited. Some funds should also be available for dental work, glasses, etc. not covered by the present medical plan.

A second conclusion reached by the Council is that self-relocated Indians also should be provided with assistance by the federal government. Therefore it recommends further:

7. Self-relocated Indians should be provided assistance by the Relocation Office in finding jobs in the area.

The Council makes the following recommendations which should apply to both federally-relocated and self-relocated American Indians:

8. Indian rights and status for all Indians should be carefully protected. Their enrollment in their tribes should be unquestioned.
9. There should be a great increase in the number of Indians under the Vocational Training Program. It should not be necessary for an Indian to return to the reservation in order to get under this program. Indians already in cities should be permitted to enroll for training if it would help upgrade them.
10. Vocational Training should not be limited to trades and business. There should be scholarship funds for persons who have finished High School and have acceptable college standing.
11. Federal assistance in purchasing homes should be given to Indian families who have been here for four years or more and have shown clear intention of staying and can accept the responsibility for payments.

12. A periodic study of problems of Indians in the area should be made by a group which is independent of the Bureau. Indians elected from the area should be represented on this body. General publication should be made of financial transactions of relocation services.

Finally, the Bay Area Council recommends strongly that the so-called termination policy of the 83rd Congress should be abandoned.

Respectfully,

Tom Brown, Co-chairman  
Bay Area American Indian Council

Mrs. Juanita Jackson  
Richard McKenzie

**DALLAS, TEXAS, MAY 28, 1961** Representatives of the 700 Dallas Relocated Indians.

There should be reservation development to allow Indians to remain on their reservations and make a satisfactory living there for themselves and their families. Relocation to cities should be genuinely "voluntary" program for those persons who desire to move to the city because they prefer urban life--not just because they are not able to make a decent living on their reservation and so are driven to the cities seeking work.

Since the Relocation program started in Dallas in September of 1957, we have seen hundreds of families arrive in the Dallas area only to find it the "End of the Trail," not the "Promised Land," as pictured by their respective relocation field officers. This deception has only brought sorrow and disappointment in the wake. In Dallas 75% of the families relocated have either moved back to the reservations or drifted to parts unknown. This 75% turnover has proven to be indefensible in theory and practice.

It has been clearly demonstrated to us that no discretion has been used in bringing these people here nor have their educational background, work experience, or adaptability to different surroundings been considered. Some are actually in worse circumstances now than before relocation. It appears that the Federal Government by sending Indians to Dallas and other localities is not only throwing them on an already overloaded labor market, but eventually to the various social agencies. In other words the government is passing on its responsibility to the local communities.

We hope that the Relocation Program will not be another dishonorable chapter in the history of the Department of the Interior to be recalled by every right-thinking American with poignant irony. To transfer to posterity a question which deals with human dignity will render hopeless any justice. We believe that every individual, regardless of race, color or creed should be respected as an absolute end in himself and it is a crime against the dignity that belongs to him as a human being to be subordinated and sacrificed to any community which may dispose of him as an experimental rabbit or a sacrificial lamb.

Since 1824 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs was organized within the War Department every federal physician has advised a different medicine for our economic ills without consulting the Indian medicine man. We want Indians appointed to the Bureau that know the Indian problems. We definitely want an Indian for the Commissioner of Indian Affairs who thinks like an Indian, acts like an Indian, and understands Indian problems.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE IMPROVING OF RELOCATION POLICY

Failings of the employment program are the most urgent and deeply felt common problems of the Dallas relocated Indians. The Dallas job market cannot furnish full time work for all the Indians coming to that city. There should be a sizable reduction in the number of families brought in. There should be preliminary investigation of the job openings to which the Bureau sends Indian relocatees. This absence of preliminary investigation has often resulted in jobs which are not only temporary and low paying, but which may have very difficult working conditions and discriminatory treatment of Indian workers. Persons having certain skills should be placed in positions where these skills can be of advantage for job advancement.

Relocation officers who talk to prospective relocatees on their reservations should take pains to portray a clear and realistic picture of the disadvantages as well as the advantages of city life. Often far too rosy a picture of city life is given to them.

There should be stricter screening of relocation applicants, taking into consideration education, abilities, skills, and family situation. Expert advice should be given in choosing the best relocation area for the abilities and total situation of each particular family or individual applicant.

There should be an orientation program for newcomers to the city and city life. There should be more general counseling by the Bureau. Home visits should be an integral part of the orientation to help the whole family in their early period of adjustment.

There should be ready funds for welfare of families when the husband is out of work or there is not money coming in. At present such families either get no funds or barely enough to subsist while they await further job opportunities.

The number of Indians under the Vocational Training Program should be increased. This has turned out to be the most successful part of the Relocation Program in Dallas. Flexible provisions should be worked out for persons who come for immediate employment and then wish to change to the vocational training program. At present such persons must return to their reservations to make this change. Funds should be available to pay for tuition for those who want to take additional vocational training while holding full time jobs. There should be scholarship funds for college training.

There should be a medical aid program which either pays medical insurance fees for more than the present six-month period, or is less expensive than the Blue Cross-Blue Shield program which is now in use. Many Indian families cannot afford to pay for Blue Cross-Blue Shield care after the six-month period is over. There should be a general clarification of procedures to be followed for emergency medical care for relocated Indians.

Relocatees should receive help toward paying their transportation home when adjustment to urban life proves impossible for them. At present there is great difficulty in securing money for the return trip and this money often must be raised by selling their few remaining possessions.

Communication and relationships between Bureau personnel and relocatees should be improved on every level. Relocatees feel Bureau personnel generally do not take an interest in their problems or welfare, and often give them less than a minimum of help.

If there is to be a Commissioner of Indian Affairs he should be an Indian who is familiar with and takes an interest in Indian problems. This Commissioner should be responsible to a council with authority. Indian staff members in the Bureau should be in administrative positions and not just servants.

**NEW TOWN, NORTH DAKOTA, MAY 31, 1961** As I haven't seen any comments or reports made by my people here on the Ft. Berthold Indian Reservation of North Dakota, I am assuming that this narrative will be considered pertinent in respect to the thoughts and general feelings of my people.

As a full blooded Indian, I am well aware of our problems and conditions that exist on this reservation, and on others as well. What has been related by your various meetings throughout the country up to this time, we believe are factual and we are in complete agreement with all the proposals to alleviate and remedy the conditions that hinder progress.

We here, operate under the I.R.A. and have so-called "self government" to some extent. Because of politics within the tribe, there is dissension and people are unhappy. It's obvious that B.I.A. officials have favored and given preference to people of lesser degree of Indian blood, whereby they participate in all programs and aid that should be and was supposedly to be accorded all Indians. Until now it does not resemble a democratic way of government. Perhaps this may be an inter-tribal affair, but I suspect it is also prevalent on other reservations too. If assimilation was the primary and ultimate aim of the Bureau, we believe that the B.I.A. has accomplished this, in so far as people who have less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  degree of Indian blood or descent are concerned. We consider these people competent, well educated, self-supporting and have no desire to associate themselves with our customs, traditions, and our way of life.

The Assistant Secretary of Interior, Roger Ernst, once said in April 1959, that it would be better for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to concentrate on those Indians in genuine need of assistance rather than spend time providing protection and help to already successful Indians.

May I suggest in view of this that a definite ruling on the law be imposed as to who and what is a bonafide Indian. Since the inception of the B.I.A., and that has been many summers, the Indian has been lost in the transition, still wandering around trying desperately to find his way and place. He is in no better circumstance now in relation to the modern world.

Then, there should be a loan fund especially set up for the Indian Veteran, as there are no credit facilities available for them through any source and we believe that it is within this age group where our hopes lie in attaining all that we are striving for.

I've received the Preliminary Statements with heartened interest and a feeling of optimism.

Truly sorry, we will be unable to attend this conference, but wish very much for its success and that some day may it be said that "they came in darkness and left in light."

**ALBERT LEA, MINNESOTA, JUNE 5, 1961** I am interested in what the A.I.C.C. stands for and what they are trying to accomplish. This has been my dream for as long as I can remember and I myself believe that the A.I.C.C. was sent to the American Indian by the Great Spirit.

This gives my people, the American Indian, a chance to do something for himself. And when the Indian realizes he can accomplish something with the cooperation of all his people he will go on and accomplish bigger and better things for the Indian's future. And with this in time he will be able to compete with the people who have put him in his present state.

But the main purpose of this letter is to let you know that I cannot attend the A.I.C.C. As much as I would like to I have just started back to work and my financial situation is pretty bad.

But I would like to be kept informed of the outcome of the American Indian Chicago Conference, as I can use this material to work with, to help me with my people here in Albert Lea, Minnesota.

We are a very small group made up of Winnebago Indians off the reservation in Nebraska. We are about 25 families, including up to 180 Indian adults and children that are located here in Albert Lea. We have the same problems that all non-reservation Indians have.

I am not a chief or a self-appointed leader or any of that sort. We have an organization known as the American Indian Club of Albert Lea in which I was elected president at the formation of this organization back in November, 1959. The object of this organization is for the Indian members to better themselves and to try to cope with the problems they meet here in Albert Lea in every day of their lives. And of course to keep alive our Indian heritage.

My main interest in the A.I.C.C. was education. I believe when the Indian once realizes what he knows is inside of him and he can bring it out and can express himself and know what he is talking about then and only then will he fight for what is right and what is his.

**ONEIDA, WISCONSIN, JUNE 3, 1961** I am enclosing within some suggestions for the welfare of Oneidas of Wisconsin. The Oneida Indian Helpers Inc. was organized under state law of Wisconsin of which some of us Oneidas are members.

The following suggestions have been discussed at our last meeting:

1. The Oneida tribe needs a business manager to work with the Executive Committee, this manager to be paid by the Indian Bureau, as we Oneidas have no money.
2. All Oneidas who are on the Oneida tribal roll and live on the former Oneida Reservation, living on trust or tribal land, taxable land or renting be eligible for medical aid, which is not paid for by the Federal Government for those who live on tribal land.

Some get the idea that those who are now living on Oneida tribal land are the only families who need help; it is not so. There are still a great number of landless and homeless Oneida families. Those who are renting taxable homes on the former Oneida Reservation are very much in need of aid, just as much as those who are living on tribal land who do not pay taxes or rent.

3. An industry is very much an important question for the welfare of Oneidas. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Government purchased some 2,500 acres of land for us 99% landless Indians since 1928. This land was bought so the Oneidas could have a home again and farm. It did not work out that way. The majority of Oneidas are working elsewhere to make a living, and are using their assignment of tribal farm land as a home site. From this we can see that an industry of some kind would be a great help to Oneidas, more so for those families who go on direct Indian or Town relief every winter.
4. Education. All Oneidas who are on the Oneida tribal roll who are living on taxable land or renting taxable property be eligible for all the educational benefits now offered by or through the Indian Bureau. The Oneidas living on former Oneida Reservation are just barely making a living due to low wages, and large families.

**L'ANSE, MICHIGAN, JUNE 2, 1961** At a special meeting of the Keweenaw Bay Indian Community Tribal Council, held May 27th at 8 p.m. in the council room in the L'Anse Town Hall, a proposed program was discussed and the following suggestions were made to be presented to the AICC in the form of a letter.

We are situated on a small reservation with an enrollment of approximately 800 people. Our members have to seek a living away from here or take the least choice of jobs if they are fortunate here. We all love our fatherland and it is a beautiful country, ideal for resort business, commercial fishing, woods work or the raising of beef cattle. We have no funds for sponsoring any of these activities and we would also need plenty of technical aid. Our homes are small and inadequate, they also lack water and sanitation. Therefore, our standards of living are below par for even our part of the country. Our children leave school as soon as they reach the age of 16 years, because of these conditions and the lack of funds to help supplement their day to day existence. We have been informed by school authorities that they do not assert themselves, possibly due to a discrimination of our low standards...We need much financial aid and assistance in this area.

We are not in favor of termination because we are barely able to eke out an existence at the present time. We should like all the aid the Federal Government can give us to help us to promote and operate a program whichever we will be able to help our people now and in the future, we need all possible assistance in educating our youth.

**BRIMLEY, MICHIGAN, MAY 12, 1961** It has always been my conviction that the Indian's obstacle to social and economic progress has been or is his failure to act in unison. I have long nurtured the idea that a national convention or conference of the American Indian was or is a pre-requisite to a united effort toward self-improvement and the strengthening of the social and economic fibers of our Indian citizenry. Accordingly, I look forward to the completion of the tasks that you and your associates have assumed in behalf of the American Indians and to the Congressional implementation of the recommendations that will be the outgrowth of this commendable movement.

While I appreciate that the objectives of the Conference are dedicated to the American Indians as a whole, yet it remains a fact that each tribe presents issues peculiar to themselves. Therefore, it becomes most natural that an attempt may be made to appraise the social and economic standards of the Michigan Indians as those conditions may be related to the policies and programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Bluntly speaking the contributions the Bureau makes at this time to living conditions or standards of the Michigan Indians is reduced to an absolute minimum. Contact is maintained by the Bureau through its Ashland, Wisconsin, office with the

various tribes and/or tribal councils only in an advisory capacity in the activities that may be promoted by and through the respective tribal councils with or without financial assistance from the Government. I do not intend to imply that Michigan Indians are the objects of discriminatory action by the Bureau, however, it is a factual statement to say that we are not beneficiaries of the Bureau programs which are carried out in the Western Reservations. In the same breath, so to speak, it may be acknowledged there is a complimentary aspect to the situation in which we find ourselves. It may be that the advanced status of assimilation of the Michigan Indians may provide the justification for the prevailing policy of eliminating Michigan Indians from the programs found to a great degree to be routine on Reservations not located in Michigan. However, it must be said with equal emphasis that Michigan Indians are regarded as Indians and have not reached a point of complete or thorough assimilation and as such should be accorded equal consideration as far as our National or Governmental policy is concerned.

Since it can be readily agreed that in a final analysis improvements in our standards of living comprises the motivating force in the movements being made in our behalf, it would be consistent to offer the following suggestions as a program offering a sound approach and solution to the social and economic problems peculiar to our Community:

1. Financial assistance to develop business enterprises catering to tourists, tribal or cooperatives such as motels, cabins, restaurants, gasoline stations, souvenir and gift shops, guide services, riding stables, boating services, archeries, etc.
2. Industrial development offering inducement to industry to locate within the confines of the Reservation on a tax-free basis.
3. Restoration of some of lands reserved to the six (6) Bands of the Sault Ste. Marie Band of Chippewa Indians of Michigan under the Treaty of July 31, 1855, and which was subsequently lost to the allottees because of the issuance of patents contrary to the logical policies which should have been enforced for that day and age. It can be safely assumed that the allottees were without the knowledge necessary to safeguard their land possession nor to understand the purpose and value of the patents that were issued. This then in effect presents conclusive evidence that the allotment of land under the terms of said Treaty constitutes a definite responsibility for the current status of land ownership for the Community and its inhabitants. The restoration of this land, for which detailed descriptions can be provided, would be of great economic value to our Community. Currently the land is idle and is under the control of the United States Forest Service. It can be noted, therefore, that it would only require transfer of title and would not entail expenditure of funds to restore title to the original owners.

To summarize this letter, it can be noted that the contention we entertain relative to our status as Indians is that in the field of economics lies the opportunity of extending aid. Improvement in that area would lend its influence in every phase of our social structure. A need for a supplemental educational program is recognized in home economics and in vocational instruction. The value of education as a part of long-range planning for the Indian's future is appreciated and placed in its proper perspective in our deliberations about our niche in society, present and future.

Chicago Indian's Fact-Finding Committee

Recommendations to the United States Department of the Interior Task Force

and

American Indian Chicago Conference

This committee was established by American Indians in the metropolitan area of Chicago to define the problems confronted in their efforts to adjust to urban life.

The recommendations of this committee are based on investigations, interviews and consultations with many professional and social service organizations.

There are between 8,000 and 10,000 American Indians residing in the greater Chicago area. The majority of them have been self-relocated although many have been relocated by the Federal Government. This in itself represents an effort by Indians to secure and enjoy more of the social and educational advantages offered by a metropolitan area such as Chicago. However many Indians have found only social disintegration and financial disappointment.

The committee feels that conditions on Indian Reservations and Settlements directly affect us. In many places where conditions of poverty exist, the only recourse for an Indian is to relocate either through the relocation program or by his own efforts. We are certain that many would not leave their homelands had there been opportunities for a decent livelihood there.

It has been the aim of this committee to submit recommendations that will hopefully aid and promote an orderly and positive transition into urban life. There is a definite need for more and better education, improved economic assistance, a better health program with emphasis on mental and physical hygiene, that will encompass all age groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. The basis of any Indian policy should be a sound program for the development of human and natural resources on Indian reservations and settlements.

2. Programs designed to assist Indians should be based on their needs; they should be involved in, and understand the programs.

3. Relocation Program:

The present operation of the Relocation program is oriented primarily toward giving employment services to relocatees. In this viewpoint many problems which arise are either ignored or looked on as a hinderance to employment and the relocatee is blamed. We feel that, even with the best of planning, problems will arise with people in this situation and provision should be made for them through sufficient allocations and proper staff. Services for the program should be those given in a Family Service Agency. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Relocation Office should be a family service agency and not only an employment agency.

a. The number of relocatees should be determined more realistically by individual needs and aptitudes, job market, school vacancies and living accommodations, and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel should be available to provide continuity in service.

b. Persons employed as counsellors should have education and experience comparable to the qualifications of other civil service employees involved in government programs dealing with complex human problems.

c. Rent allowances in grants to relocatees are now allocated on a fixed scale. On a fixed budget the relocatee seeks the cheapest housing to subsist on the allowances. This allowance for rent should be flexible and cover the full cost for adequate family housing so the family need not skimp on some needs to pay for this need.

d. There should be honest and realistic orientation of program and facilities available to relocatees at the reservation and field office levels and the B.I.A. should set forth its own obligations and responsibilities toward the individual.

e. Provisions should be made available for the return of people who cannot succeed in relocation. They should not simply be abandoned in the city.

f. The Program should provide for adequate financial assistance to relocatees until such time as they are eligible for assistance from local agencies. There is undue hardship in emergencies where relocatees have exhausted their allowances and are not qualified for local welfare assistance.

g. To accommodate and serve more Indians, at all age levels, the Relocation Services of the B.I.A. should amend current policies that are restricting, with direct reference to residency restrictions now in effect.

h. The relocation services should be open to those Indians who are self-relocated and reside in areas where there are field offices available.

i. There is a definite need for better communication between reservation and field office levels for the establishment of objectives and obligations.

4. Trainee Program -- Relocation:

a. This program should be made available to non-reservation Indians.

b. It should provide for adequate services and for supervision of minors. Written consent is presently obtained, but appears to be wholly passive, representing a submission to the inevitable; or it may be obtained without their full understanding or before they are either able or willing to shoulder unfamiliar responsibilities.

c. More consideration be given to utilization of technical, professional and vocational schools near reservation or homeland when it can meet the needs of the students.

5. Education:

We feel that education is one of the important means in the establishment of the Indian as a productive, self-sustaining individual. Therefore, for the benefit of the Indian and the United States, as a whole, we propose that:

a. A bill be established similar to the two previous G.I. Bill of Rights, that would enable Indians of all ages to pursue a course of training they desire and can carry out.

b. Present high school students be given every encouragement, financially, as well as morally, to further their education. Too often in the past the graduating student has received the moral encouragement, only to be forever frustrated by the financial incapacities of self and family to meet the staggering financial demands made by higher education.

- c. Indian families living off the reservation, or in non-reservation settlements, and urban relocatees should be given the opportunity to utilize government boarding schools.

#### 6. Health:

- a. A program of health education should be made available to Indians of all age groups, with emphasis on the preventative aspects of mental, as well as physical health (to include dental service).
- b. Alcoholism is deemed as one of the prime targets of mental hygiene due to frequency of occurrence and the importance it plays in regard to family and social deterioration, therefore this problem should be given more attention under the Health Education Program.
- c. Extension of USPHS facilities (hospitals, clinics, etc.) to Indian settlements which are not designated as reservations, and to urban Indians, where they are without adequate financial means and where state requirements present an obstacle to eligibility for service.
- d. The group plan for Blue Cross-Blue Shield should be extended beyond the period now advocated by the B.I.A. for relocatees if so desired by the participants. Further this privilege should be extended to non-relocatees of Indian origin to provide adequate medical and hospital care at lower cost.

#### 7. Industrial Development on Reservations:

- a. Promotion of industrial development on reservations would promote the employment and development of natural and human resources and also lessen the need for a relocation program, which transports people into foreign and unnecessarily difficult situations.
- b. Technical assistance is needed for the development of tribal and individual enterprises that would employ and develop Indian capabilities and leadership.

#### 8. Local Agencies:

It is the contention of this committee that many social and religious organizations have better met the needs of the individual and his problems on many occasions, that the B.I.A., because of their abilities to sympathize and to empathize, and their ultimate purpose to help the individual rather than to provide their staff with another statistic; therefore, agencies operating for the benefit of Indians in their attempt at urban transition, that are meeting the social and financial problems and that constructively and educationally aid Indians in social and financial urban adjustment should be financially assisted by the Federal Government and some of the functions of assisting Indians now carried by the Relocation Program should be turned over to these agencies where they are qualified and meet specified criteria. Criteria or Standards could be established by joint action of agency and community concerned and the Federal Government.

**PORTSMOUTH, OHIO, MAY 23, 1961** I am of Cherokee descent, an attorney, and belong to two Indian organizations. It has long been my hue and cry that the Indian must retain his true and basic religion, keep his customs and learn his arts and crafts. He may leave his tribal reservation and wander far, but if he retains his beautiful religion and philosophy, he can enjoy these things within himself wherever he may roam over the face of the globe.

The Indian, however, should always have his reservation to which he may return from time to time to commune with his soul and replenish his store of Indian knowledge. These reservations should be Sanitary and comfortable with plenty of space which he needs. He should retain his water rights and other mineral rights and should have ample space where white men do not tread so that the Indian may retain his privacy and not be an exhibit in a human zoo.

Ample education through college should be provided without brainwashing him and turning him against the desire to follow true and traditional leaders. Traditionalism should be preserved in every way.

Puppet tribal councils should be eliminated when set up by the Federal government for the purpose of effecting the so-called "termination" or when encouraged by whites who want to get some special favors which will injure Indian lands and rights.

Termination in every form should be strenuously curtailed. Too many of these are instigated by whites who want to obtain lands and mineral rights which Indians should retain. Such terminations are abominations and are in violation of treaties which partially constitute the Supreme Law of the Land.

I am an Episcopalian and an active Lay Reader in my church, but at the same time, I cling to ancient beliefs and customs which enhance Christianity and make my appreciation of Christ deeper and greater. Too many times, narrow-minded theologians cannot reconcile Indian religion and beliefs with Christianity. This is because they are dull, obtuse and narrowly informed. I believe in the native priest or medicine man, as he is sometimes called, and can see no clash between him and an Episcopalian Priest. Both have their fields and the Christian priest should not molest the native priest or transgress upon his field.

It is my strong belief that fitting and proper centers should be provided for Indian workers who migrate to cities, where the ancient traditions may be encouraged.

Indians, somehow, should be encouraged to voluntarily shun alcohol. This is a difficult problem and may be difficult to solve. Indians are too highly developed in their senses and instincts to drink alcohol. This fine mechanism is seriously damaged whereas the white man is not so finely made and alcohol does not hurt his system as much as that of an Indian.

Indian servicemen and women should be given a distinctive and small insignia or emblem to wear on their uniforms, even though of diluted blood, to show pride in their lineage, and special service enterprises should be provided by the Department of Defense for Indian group activities in the armed services.

In passing, and as a bit of humor, it might be well to add that the Indian race must be the greatest of all races. Every race has asked to become an honorary Indian. Did you, however, on any occasion hear of a man who wanted to be an honorary Chinese, or Negro or even an honorary white man? No.

**TAMAQUA, PENNSYLVANIA, JUNE 1, 1961**

#### R E S O L U T I O N

Be It Resolved and Ordained by the American Indian Nations signatory hereto:-

That there be and hereby is created an AMERICAN INDIAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION.

Section 1. The membership of the Commission shall consist of one (1) Delegate from each Signatory Nation, selected by the Councils of the respective Nations. Members

shall serve for a three-year term, the first terms commencing upon the date the Commission organizes and elects its officers. Vacancies in the Commission membership shall be filled in the same manner as original appointments. Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation.

Section 2. The Commission shall meet within ninety (90) days following the adoption of this Resolution to organize, and to elect a Chairman, Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer, who shall be members of the Commission.

Section 3. The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Commission and shall see to it that the purposes, policies, and objectives of the Commission are carried out according to the best interests of the Signatory Nations. He shall be ex officio a member of all committees of the Commission, except the Nominating Committee.

The Vice Chairman shall fulfill the duties of the Chairman in the absence or inability of that Officer, and shall be Chairman of the Program of Work Committee.

The Secretary shall keep a record of all meetings of the Commission and its Committees, and shall attend to correspondence and mailing of notices and reports, and shall have such duties usually attendant the office of Secretary.

The Treasurer shall be custodian of the funds, moneys, deeds, documents and securities of the Commission, and shall deposit all funds and receipts of the Commission in a depository designated by resolution of the Commission. He shall countersign all checks for the payments of salaries, wages and bills authorized by the Commission. He shall be bonded in an amount fixed by the Commission.

The Commission may authorize another Officer or Officers to countersign checks in the absence or inability of the Treasurer.

Section 4. The Commission shall retain an "Executive Director" who shall be ex officio a member of the Commission and its chief administrative and executive officer. He need not be a representative of the Signatory Nations. He shall have the general management of the affairs of the Commission, subject to the policies, regulations and control of the Commission. He shall receive such compensation as may be fixed by the Commission. He shall sign all checks of the Commission. No contract or obligation committing the Commission shall be made without the approval in writing of the Executive Director. He shall be bonded. He shall hire and fix the salaries, wages, compensation, expense allowances and reimbursement of all officers, employees, agents and representatives of the Commission, subject to the approval of the Commission. He may be empowered to execute the duties of the Secretary.

Section 5. The Commission may appoint an assistant officer or assistant officers to assist the Officers with their respective duties.

Section 6. The Commission shall have the authority to make and alter rules and regulations for its organization and subsequent procedure.

Section 7. The Commission shall annually, within ninety (90) days following the close of the calendar year, furnish to the Signatory Nations in writing a report of the Commission's transactions during the preceding year.

Section 8. The Commission, its Officers, agents, representatives, and employees, shall have such powers as have been conferred and prescribed by this Resolution. In addition the Commission shall have the following powers, duties and authority:-

- (a) To make surveys and studies of economic, social, political, educational and cultural conditions upon reservations of the Signatory Nations.

- (b) To study treaties, pacts, compacts, contracts and agreements between the Signatory Nations and others, and make recommendations.
- (c) To study Federal and state statutes, and local laws and ordinances affecting the welfare of the Signatory Nations, and make recommendations.
- (d) To continue until December 31, 1967, unless extended by the Signatory Nations.
- (e) To prepare a budget and raise funds necessary for the conduct of its business.
- (f) To conduct its business, carry on its operations, and to exercise in any state, territory, district, or possession of the United States, the powers granted by the Signatory Nations.
- (g) To make, alter, amend, and repeal by-laws not inconsistent with this Resolution, for the administration and regulation of the affairs of the Commission.
- (h) To elect or appoint and remove officers and agents, and to define their duties and fix their compensation.
- (i) To enter into any obligation necessary for the transaction of its affairs.
- (j) To have and exercise all of the powers and means necessary or essential to effect the purposes for which the Commission is established.
- (k) To receive and consider and submit proposals and recommendations upon propositions submitted by Signatory Nations.
- (l) To use the mails as much as possible in the conduct of its business in the interest of economy.
- (m) To prepare a plan and program for the development of the natural and human resources, and the health, educational, economic, cultural and general welfare of the People on the Reservations of the Signatory Nations. Said plan and program to be submitted to a convention of the Signatory Nations to be held not later than thirty (30) months after the organization of the Commission. All Signatory Nations to receive notice of said Convention not less than ninety (90) days prior thereto. Preliminary reports of sections of the plan may be submitted to the Signatory Nations from time to time for action and activation on the respective Reservations.
- (n) To study Federal, state and local loan and grant programs available to Indians on Reservations, and to inform Signatory Nations of such programs together with suggestions as to procedures to qualify for benefits under such programs.
- (o) To perform such action as may be deemed necessary to advance and develop the general Welfare, establish Justice, and insure the Tranquility of our Indian People on the Reservations of the Signatory Ratifying Nations.
- (p) The Commission may authorize and establish such committees, in addition to those established by this Resolution, as may be required to accomplish the purposes and objectives for which the Commission has been established. Committees created hereunder shall have only such duties, authority and powers as prescribed in the resolution of the Commission establishing such committee. The Chairman of the Commission shall appoint all committees, subject to approval by the Commission.

The powers herein enumerated shall not be construed as limiting or enlarging the grant of authority hereinbefore granted, or as a limitation on the purposes for which this Commission is established. Except as otherwise provided in this Resolution or in the by-laws, the powers herein enumerated shall be exercised by the Commission.

Section 9. Except as otherwise provided, at least thirty (30) days notice shall be given of all meetings of the Commission. Action taken by the Commission shall be

applicable and binding upon those Nations concurring therein. Action concurred in by a three-fourths (3/4) majority of the Nations represented on the Commission shall be binding upon all Nations.

Section 10. A Finance Committee of \_\_\_\_\_ members shall be appointed by the Chairman. They need not be members of the Commission nor of the representative Nations; they may be Indian or non-Indian. The Treasurer of the Commission shall be ex officio Chairman of this Committee. It shall be the duty and responsibility of this Committee to raise the moneys to finance the budget approved by the Commission.

Section 11. An Executive Committee, consisting of the Commission Chairman as Chairman, the Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, and three (3) members of the Commission, appointed by the Commission Chairman, is hereby established. It shall be the duty of this Committee to assist the Executive Director in the interpretation of this Resolution and the policies of the Commission and the execution of business during the interim between meetings of the Commission.

Section 12. The Program of Work Committee, hereby established, shall have \_\_\_\_\_ members, who need not be members of the Commission, but must be members of the Ratifying Nations. The Vice Chairman, as prescribed in Section 3, shall be the Chairman of this Committee. It shall be the duty of this Committee to prepare a Program or Master Plan to determine the objective of the Ratifying Nations; to organize their resources; to accomplish the objectives for which this Commission has been created; to inform the Ratifying Nations and the public of the results. The Program or Master Plan developed by the Committee shall be submitted to the Commission and Ratifying Nations for approval before activation, as provided in Section 8, Paragraph (m).

Section 13. The Commission shall not begin business until at least ten (10) per cent of the first year's budget has been paid into the Treasury.

Section 14. The Commission is empowered to retain consultants, and to authorize advisory committees of Indians or non-Indians, as may be required to accomplish the purposes and objectives for which the Commission has been established.

Section 15. The Commission shall establish a Central Office or Headquarters from which its business shall be conducted.

Section 16. The Ratification by the legally established Councils of Seven (7) American Indian Nations, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of the Commission created by this Resolution.

Section 17. Immediately upon the Adoption of this Resolution, the subscribers shall meet and elect a "Temporary Chairman," who shall exercise the functions of the Chairman until the organization of the Commission and the election of a Chairman as provided in Section 2. He shall call the organization meeting of the Commission.

Section 18. The Indian Nations Ratifying this Resolution, shall elect their Delegates as provided in Section 1 hereof not later than July 25, 1961. The names of such duly elected Delegates shall be immediately certified to the "Temporary Chairman," who shall exercise the functions of the Chairman until the organization of the Commission and the election of Officers as provided in Section 2. He shall call the organization meeting of the Commission. The election and certification of Delegates to the Commission shall be deemed Ratification of this Resolution.

The foregoing Resolution providing for the Establishment of an AMERICAN INDIAN PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT COMMISSION is hereby Adopted, the \_\_\_\_\_ day of June, 1961, in the City of Chicago, State of Illinois, by the American Indian Nations Signatory Hereto.

**ATMORE, ALABAMA, MAY 26, 1961** After so long a time, I will make my report in behalf of my people of the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi. We are part of the Creek Nation as it existed in 1814 at the time of the Fort Jackson Treaty of August 9th, 1814.

Since that time, we have been a forgotten people you might say, by our government. Our land was taken without pay for it. Later years, some of the Creek Tribe was forced to go West of the Mississippi, which now, they are in Oklahoma.

Since then, in my time, I have seen my people suffer many heartaches because of these treaties which were made by our government and were fixed where the Indian did not have a chance to do for himself. Later years, some got able to buy some of their own land back. Some have never been able to do so. But when a war breaks out against this country, we are compelled to do our part, which we are always willing to do. So, why should our government wait so long in making these wrongs right, which were done to all of the Indian people? They send hundreds of millions of dollars to other foreign nations. Some of them they can't even trust, they just believe they can. Some they lend money to, never pay it back. So, why doesn't our government pay those treaties off because they know they owe the Indians for their lands, and pay a price which would be fair to the Indian? It would make sense inasmuch as they are still rangling in Court of the Indian Claims Commission and other courts of our government.

I am so glad of our President, John F. Kennedy, in his stand for the Indian people, as to put such men as Mr. Stewart Udall as Secretary of the Interior and Mr. John A. Carver, Jr. as his assistant Secretary. Then, Mr. Udall did something good for Indians, I think, when he appointed Mr. W. W. Keeler, who has part Cherokee Blood. We need some of our Indians in any branch of the government which pertains to Indian Affairs, then, we are not barred out to start with.

As lots of our people have low incomes and some have no income at all, I think if some good Federal loan by our U.S. Government for the Indians of all low brackets could be started, it would certainly help.

When and if a program like this should ever be, cautions should be taken to see that the Indian is treated fairly and not the biggest part of it taken by some white collar, and every time the moon changes, there would be somebody knocking at the Indian's door saying, "Your payment is past due, what are you going to do?"

I don't think the Indians will forget the government as long as the government forgot the Indians.

When you talk about Indians, I like to hear that because I am one of them. I love everybody, but blood is thicker than water. I am talking for my people, the Creek Nation East of the Mississippi, and for all tribes, because I love them all.

Before I close my thoughts and ideas, I still believe the Indians had the love of God because they could not have made it through this far without the Spirit of God. The people in our government are in those modern homes with comfort and some of the poor Indians are without even a shelter, because all they had was taken away from them by the higher powers of our government.

If some program was worked out so that the poor Indian that does not have land nor home could have enough land to build a home, would be good, without paying rent to some landlord. I am going to give a few verses from the Bible. What the word says about land and I believe it is right.

Leviticus: Chapter 25, Verse 23: The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me.

Deuteronomy: Chapter 19, Verse 14: Thou shalt not remove thy neighbor's landmark, which they of old time have set in thine inheritance, which thou shalt inherit in the land that the Lord thy God giveth thee to possess it.

I believe the Indians have not been consulted enough if the Indian is going to take his place in Society and be an effective American. He is going to need training to be able to handle his affairs.

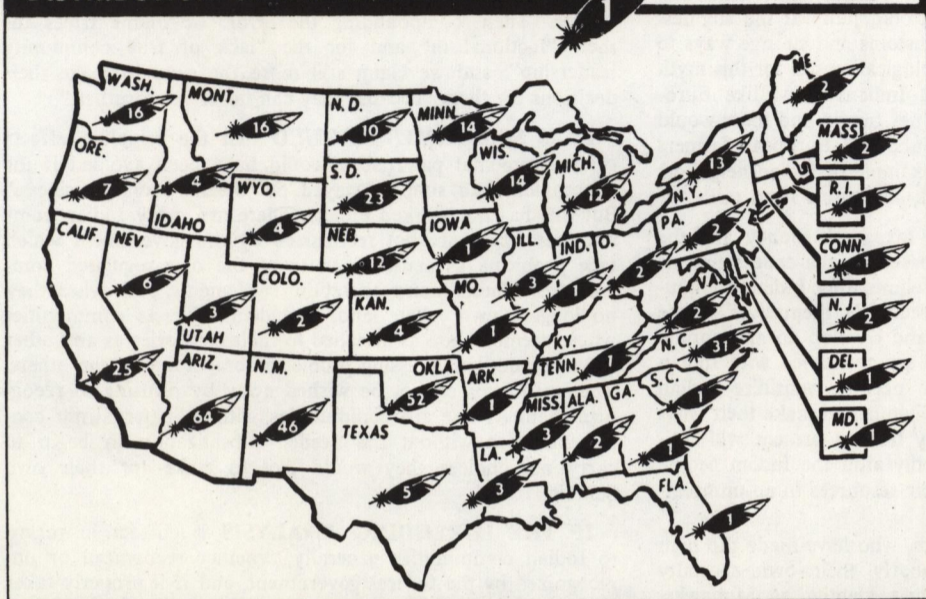
It should be by some of our Indians who have the skill and love for their people that they work with. I should think we do not need all college graduates to work with uneducated people like some of our Indians are.

You need some with high school education, with good knowledge, training of how to work with the people and to show and help them, and how to get out from under these dark ages of the past, and how to meet the Public.

# What The Indians Want

## DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN POPULATION

Symbols Indicate  
Thousands Of Indians



Indian population has risen by about 50 per cent in the last 30 years. (Sun-Times Map by Jack Jordan)

## Views To Be Aired At Parley Here

By Dr. Sol Tax

It may come as a surprise that there are about as many Indians in the United States today as there were when Columbus discovered America.

The aboriginal population of North America, including Canada and the northern border area of Mexico, is estimated to have been about 1,000,000. This population was greatly reduced by wars and epidemics, and by the end of the 19th Century it appeared that the Indians were a people doomed to extinction.

In the 20th Century, their numbers have been steadily and rapidly increasing. Between 1930 and 1960, the American Indian population—excluding Alaska—rose from 332,397 to 508,665, an increase of approximately 50 per cent, roughly the same as the increase in the nation as a whole despite the fact that Indian death rates are still proportionately higher compared to birth rates than is the case for the general population. It is striking that this increase continues even though all government programs consistently aim at decreasing the Indian population as such—in earlier years by military campaigns and for the last 75 years by promoting the disappearance of Indians into the general population.

Nor are 1961 Indians merely Indians by name or appearance. While we may pass many of Chicago's more than 4,000 Indians in the streets every day without even realizing that they are Indians, almost all of them live and guide their lives in terms of moral values more Indian than non-Indian. The "vanishing American" is here to stay.

THE SO-CALLED "INDIAN PROBLEM" has been with us since Colonial times. Although special bureaus, agencies and commissions in the federal and many state governments,

as well as private organizations, have devoted vast amounts of money and endless expert planning to Indian affairs, the "problem" remains. One may well ask why.

To seek an answer to this question, Indians from tribes all over the nation will meet for a week beginning Tuesday at the University of Chicago. The American Indian Chicago Conference will climax six months of concerted effort by Indians themselves to make their own voices heard. We anthropologists who are co-ordinating the effort have set ourselves the task of listening and learning but not speaking.

In the last six months, I (for one) have learned more about the Indian view than in my 30 years of previous research. We do not know what proposals will be made at the conference nor the language in which they will be couched, but it is already possible to restate the "Indian problem" in terms of the underlying Indian point of view, to take into account not only the objective facts as known from historical and anthropological studies, but how these facts have been experienced and interpreted by Indians themselves.

FROM THE BEGINNING, Indians have cherished their heritages, their communities, their homelands, their moral values. More than anything else, they have wanted to retain their identity. Whenever they came to realize that Europeans had come to take away their land and their identity, they resisted. From the beginning, whenever programs have threatened their land or their identity, such programs have failed. Therefore, the first necessity in dealing with Indians in the United States honestly and intelligently is to stop trying to take away their land and stop trying to take away their identity

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DR. SOL TAX

### THE AUTHOR

Dr. Sol Tax, widely regarded as one of the nation's leading authorities on the American Indian, is a professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago.

Among his publications are "Acculturation in the Americas," "Indian Tribes of Aboriginal America" and "Civilizations of Ancient America."

He is editor of Current Anthropology, a worldwide anthropological journal, and is past president of the American Anthropological Assn. He received his Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Chicago in 1935 and joined the faculty in 1940. From 1955 to 1958 he was chairman of the university's anthropology department.

Member of American Indian steering committee preparing "declaration of Indian purpose" is Benjamin Bearskin of Chicago. Bearskin is a Sioux-Winnebago who once headed Chicago American Indian Center.



# How Indians See Problems

Continued from Preceding Page

as Indians. We must assume that every Indian tribe is here to stay.

Basing policy on any other assumption is like saying that the solution to the well-known school bus problem is for all Roman Catholics to become Protestants or vice versa.

This does not mean that we have to move back to Europe and give the continent back to the Indians. It only means that we must stop threatening the last remnants of Indian land holdings and strengthen the Indians' land base wherever we can.

Nor does this mean that Indians expect to live by hunting, fishing and handouts from the federal government or anybody else. It only means that we should return to Indians, for as long as needed—and this may be forever—some equivalent to the economic opportunity that was lost to them with the loss of their lands.

Nor does the requirement that their identity be respected mean that Indians want to turn back the clock and live in the manner of their ancestors at the time of European contact.

**RESPECTING THE IDENTITY** of Indians means recognizing the continuing existence and identity of Indian communities. Nobody is "just an Indian." He is, first of all, a Tuscarora, or an Apache, or a Menomini, or a Klamath or a member of some other tribe with its particular history and traditions. Before the white man came, there were Hopis and Winnebagos and many other tribes, but no "Indians." It is only the Europeans who saw them all as "Indians." Therefore, a threat to the existence of the community is a threat to the existence of every member of the community.

Some Indian people resent having been "given" citizenship by Congress in 1924, seeing in this act the possible destruction of their tribal integrity and individual rights. The implication, such as in the word "assimilation," that a tribe and its culture will eventually disappear, is a threat of death to every individual concerned. No wonder the long-standing assumption that Indians will welcome assimilation has paralyzed attempts at constructive programs for Indians.

If a change, no matter how beneficial, is defined as a change from being Indian to being white, it stands a good chance of not being adopted. If the opportunity to learn a trade suggests the beginning of a process of departure from being an Indian, it may well be rejected. Precisely because the rifle, the horse and the automobile were never associated with assimilationist interpretations, they were incorporated into Indian cultures. Frequent failures of "government programs" may be traced to justifying them as a means of assimilation.

Before money is appropriated, we have always wanted assurance that it will help Indians to stop being Indians in the expectation that then they will no longer need help. Some Indian leaders themselves have considered it expedient, and even necessary, to play along with this expectation in attempting to get help for Indians in desperate need. As a result, they may lose the confidence of members of their groups who feel that these leaders are selling their Indian heritage for a mess of government pottage.

New and better understanding and some 300 years of historical perspective point out not only our past errors but how effective it would be to approach the Indian problem in a totally new light. It should be easy enough now to stop taking the land, since we have taken all but a tiny fraction of the entire continent from the Indians, and perhaps Indians should now let bygones be bygones. How can they let bygones be bygones when they have not yet gone by? The age-old effort continues to alienate Indians from their few remaining acres under the same old pretexts that it is for their own good. Indeed, it even bothers us to let them have some few bits of their

remaining lands free of local real estate taxes, thinking it too "generous" or "discriminatory."

Individual Indians never had the right to alienate tribal property, and there is probably no case in our history when a tribe responsibly and willingly parted with the territory it used and occupied as its own. The continent was therefore taken away by hook or by crook. We who think of land as real estate do not understand or appreciate the continuing and poignant personal loss felt by Indians who lose their lands. While my work and association with Indians made me aware of the sacred tie of the Indian to land, the last six months have revealed its unsuspected intensity and universality. A tribe without its land is as inconceivable as an Indian without his tribe.

Since the time of earliest contact, it has been our bland and naive assumption that Indians would not only part with their lands as so much real estate, but would jump at the slightest chance to shake off their curious customs and strange ways to become like Europeans. The psychological reason for this myth probably combined the hopes that Indians living like Europeans would need only a few acres per family and there would be more than enough land for all; and that European farmers would be spared the disconcerting example of Indian neighbors hunting and fishing while they work on routine farm tasks.

**IN ORDER NOT** to waste the taxpayer's money and the Indians' time in futile enterprises based on the expectation of eliminating the Indian problem by eliminating Indian communities, government agencies must reconcile themselves to the historic fact of Indian persistence and develop an appropriate administrative philosophy. All who are concerned with Indian welfare must be reconciled to the need to subsidize Indian communities and to help Indian individuals to make their ways as Indians. How much less subsidy than at present will ultimately be required we will know only after the Indian people receive opportunities to develop their resources in an unthreatening atmosphere of free choice.

The famous case of the Mohawks, who have made the high steel industry uniquely and peculiarly their own specialty while retaining and reaffirming their identity as Mohawks, illustrates that Indians can adapt effectively to the most modern conditions — given opportunity and free choice. The Mohawk case was not a government program—it developed fortuitously — but it offers a model and a philosophy in solving the Indian problem.

**RECOGNIZING THE IDENTITY** of Indian communities and their right to persist means more than only removing threats. It also means allowing the Indian communities to become again whole and fully functioning. When Indian communities were independent and sovereign, they were able to adapt readily to changing conditions and avail themselves intelligently and efficiently of new ideas, techniques and material objects. Throughout the long period of the fur trade, for example, Indians enriched their cultures without losing their sense of identity.

In our management of Indian affairs we have made two serious miscalculations. First, we, rather than the Indians, have decided what their goals should be. Second, we have tried to see to it that these goals are reached by our own rather than by the Indians' methods. Important community decisions are made by outsiders and the work of carrying out the decisions is done by outsiders. Since a normal community derives its meaning in the very act of organizing to make decisions and to carry them out, all American Indian communities have been effectively crippled. One result of this has been that normal differences of opinion cannot be worked out within the community.



Indians protest loss of lands by picketing White House.

Since decisions are made outside the community, people with inclinations and skills for leadership can only compete for power rather than resolve issues and carry out responsibilities. Then, compounding the error, we blame tribes for their "factionalism" and for the "lack of true community leadership"; and we claim still more the need to make their decisions for them "because they can never get together."

**IT IS SOMETIMES ARGUED** that the crippling effects of governmental paternalism could have been avoided if the government had simply "stayed out of the Indian business." But this has not worked either. There are many Indian communities which are not recognized by the government which face problems as acute as those of the over-regulated communities. These "non-reservation" settlements, even when they no longer "own" their land, are identifiable as communities whose members are as attached to their territories as any other Indians, and with pressing problems comparable to the others. Their problems cannot be wished away by refusing to recognize them. These are communities without paternalistic control but also without the needed subsidization to begin to carry out choices they would like to make for their own benefit.

**IF THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS** is correct in regard to Indian communities generally, whether recognized or unrecognized by the federal government, and if it properly takes into account the Indian point of view, it appears that the responsibilities of government agencies are clear:

- 1 Indian communities should be subsidized without setting any time limits.
- 2 Subsidization must not interfere with effective Indian selection and execution of their own programs.
- 3 Subsidization on the same terms must include legitimate, traditional Indian communities that perhaps never have been subsidized.

It is said that Congress, at least, will not consider proposals so different from the established concepts of Indian administration, ineffective as these concepts have proved. I assume, however, that people are educable and that Congress is responsive to informed public opinion.

The Indians meeting in conference in Chicago this week are eager to bring their problems as they understand them before the American public and to tell us how they are prepared to work them out.

Will these Indians be satisfied to find solutions limited by the established channels of administrative precedent in the belief that this is their only possible recourse? Or, will they rather strike out in a direction which is unprecedented but necessary from their own point of view in the hope that the American public will, for the first time, hear and be impressed by "the voice of the American Indian" on the Indian problem? In either case, the choice will be a decision of the Indian people themselves and thus a necessary first step toward any good solution of the age-old "Indian problem."

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