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Indian people on reservations have lived at a poverty level for many years, and the cause of their poverty has been attributed to many different factors, such as: (1) Indian people are lazy; (2) Indian people are superstitious, indolent heathens; (3) Indian people are drunks and immoral; (4) Indian people are not intelligent; (5) Indian people need to forget their traditions and become like the white man and then they would eliminate their poverty; (6) Indian people have become so dependent upon the government, as wards of the same, that they have lost their initiative.

The above are not felt to be the causes of poverty, but the symptoms that underlie the reasons for their poverty. It is felt that many of the present day conditions of poverty stem from apathy and indifference, originating in historical events that have persisted over a long period of time and which still aggravate the situation. Some of the historical events are:

1. Little confidence in the U.S. Government - Over the years, the Indian people have suffered much from the United States Government, in terms of broken treaties and broken promises. Through the government, they have lost their land, water, culture, their hope and have become rather completely dependent upon the government for their continued existance as Indian or pseudo-Indian cultural entities.

2. The Indian people have been denied self-determination in:

   (a) Their education - Indian children were forcibly removed from their parents and sent many miles from home to special Indian boarding schools where they were to be "de-Indianized", and "properly" educated, only to return to the reservation where they could not hope to practice "American Mainstream" values, nor feel completely comfortable with their traditional culture. Hence, the beginning of a "betwixt and between" culture.

   (b) Their religion - Every attempt has been made, and is still being made, by some Christian denominations, to rid Indian people of any semblance of their Indian religion. In small Indian communities, it is nd uncommon to see as many as four to six different Christian denominations vying for Indian membership, which in too many cases is dominated by non-Indian clergy. Compulsory Christianity has been practiced in the past. And in the not too distant past, Indian students at the "de-Indianizing" schools have been given distasteful tasks if they did not attend the Christian church services.

   (c) Their political system - For the most part, tribal councils and tribal chairmen are an adaptation of the "American Mainstream", and frequently do not coincide with the traditional governing approach, which was an integral part of their Indian religion. Their traditional political entities were more community, clan or extended family-oriented than tribal-oriented. The "American Mainstream" political adaptation has weakened the family,

the clan and the community, and has given disproportionate power to the councils and the chairmen, who are often dominated and influenced by non-Indian employees and government agency personnel assigned to work with Indian people. Majority rule replaced group consensus rule, or a theocratic deliberation of the elders.

(d) Their economic system- The traditional Indian economic system was much more communally oriented than the individualistic philosophy of the "American Mainstream". However the communal aspects were again generally limited to the extended family or the clan and the community, rather than the tribal basis. However, with the creation of tribal governments, there has been a strong tendency to create tribal corporations, which have tended to ignore the traditional family, clan and community entities, again indicating a strong non-Indian influence. The alloting of land to individuals by the government was one of the first gestures to make the Indian a participant of the Jeffersonian agrarian entrepreneurship value system, which is now a rather archaic reality in our Nation of large corporate non-democratic collectives. But with the Allotment Act, the government again acted compulsively, for Indian people on the Gila River Reservation were sent to jail in the 1920's for refusing to accept governmental determined land allotments. The sale of alloted land, the encouragement of land development leases to non-Indians, relocation of Indian people in the cities, industrial parks and the wooing of outside industry to the reservations, and the development of non-Indian and/or checkerboard housing sub-divisions (now bringing the cities to the reservations), appears to be a continuing pattern of non-Indian self-determination for Indian people. Patterns and mores of economic responsibility of the people to one another have either been destroyed or are fast eroding, and a dependency on government wardship and non-Indian self-determination is becoming the dominant way of life.

(e) Their social behavioral patterns - The traditional patterns of social behavior varied from one tribal culture to another and the behavioral patterns were determined in large measure by the particular tribal religion. But even more striking differences in behavioral patterns have always existed between Indian and non-Indian people, and students of Indian culture have tried over the years to distinguish uniquely Indian patterns of behavior. These distinguishing characteristics are more evident when studying the traditional Indian culture than in studying the present "betwixt and between" culture of Indian people. In comparing patterns of behavior between Indian culture and non-Indian culture, one should recognize that the differences are relative and not absolute. Some of these differences are as follows:

Indian Values	Non-Indian Values
Group or clan emphasis	Individual emphasis
Present oriented	Future oriented
Time, non-awareness	Time, awareness
Age	Youth
Cooperative, service and concern for the group	Competition, concern and acquisitions for self

Indian Values	Non Indian Values
Harmony with nature	Conquest of nature
Giving	Saving
Pragmatic	Theorectical
Patience	Impatience
Mystical	Skeptical
Shame, permissiveness	Guilt, Social coercion
Extended family and clan	Immediate family
Non-materialistic	Materialistic
Non-aggressive	Aggressive
Modest	Overstates, over-confident
Silent	Noisy
Respects others religion	Converts others to religion
Religion, a way of life	Religion, a segment of life
Land, water, forest - belong to all	Land, etc. - private domain
Beneficial & reasonable use of resources	Avarice and greedy use
Equality	Wealth
Face to face government	Representative democracy
Compact living	Space living
Low self-value	Strong self-importance

In addition to the above list, there are other elements of social behavior that should be elaborated upon. For example, Indian tribes, traditionally, placed a great deal of emphasis upon the physical fitness of their youth, which carried over to the older people. This aspect of Indian life has experienced a great deal of deterioration with the emergence of, in many ways, an inertia culture. Frequently in performing their physical feats, they were not so competitive with each other as they were with self and nature. For example, some tribes today (those who have retained more of the traditional culture) require that their youth live off the land for a specified period of time. Traditionally, some tribes required that the youth run down and kill a deer, while others required that they capture and remove the tail feathers from an eagle. Other tribes prided themselves upon their ability to run great distances and even distained the horse as a transportation innovation. All of these feats required great strength, stamina, and a great deal of self-discipline -- all of which are rather lost attributes of the present day "betwixt and between" culture.

Even the present day diets of most reservation families are indicative of present day culture, for their traditional diet was far superior to their highly starchy, fatty and sugary diets of today. Traditionally, their diet was game (lean meat), combined with non-refined and unbeached cereals, native fruits and vegetables, thereby relying only on the natural sugars of these edible plants and of wild honey. Traditionally, alcohol, if used at all, was for ceremonial purposes, and the same was true of tobacco and other mild drugs or stimulants. Today, their diet is neither the best that is currently available and scientifically tested, nor is it the best they had traditionally. Likewise, the widespread misuse of stimulants is indicative of the fact that the present day Indian people have lost, in many ways, the best of their traditional culture and have adopted many of the worst aspects of the dominant society.

With the emergence of the "betwixt and between" or even the "inertia" culture, has also come a breakdown in discipline of the children, and self-discipline of the individual. Again this has happened in part because of the disruption of the social structure where much of the discipline of children was done by uncles, other relatives, or other members of the community. In many traditional cultures, the parents were permissive with their children, but the children did not lack for discipline. In sending the children away to boarding schools, the schools were used as substitutes for family and community discipline, and when the children returned home, they were frequently pampered because of their long absence. Different standards of discipline and rewards introduced by the school, also contributed toward a breakdown in social discipline.

With the gradual deterioration of the society, and the transition into the "betwixt and between" society, discipline tended therefore to break down, and today it is difficult to avoid juvenile delinquency in many communities where there is a high degree of adult delinquency. It would appear that the social behavioral delinquency cycle of this "inertia" culture can only be broken by closely examining past Indian cultural values and comparing them with the values of the dominant society; and perhaps encouraging Indian people to re-examine many of their old values for identity and motivation. In most instances, it is apparent that those tribes who still more closely adhere to their traditional ways suffer the least from behavioral delinquency, such as: child neglect, fatherless homes, illegitimate births, excessive use of alcohol, excessive suicidal rate, excessive disorderly conduct (fighting and manslaughter), glue sniffing and general delinquency of youth, a deterioration of the male status role and responsibility, excessive imprisonment, dishonesty and stealing, passing blame to others, etc.

3. A basic conflict of values - As a result of the historical events enumerated above, there has long existed a series of value conflicts between Indian people and non-Indian people. And unfortunately, with the passage of time and the breaking down of the traditional Indian culture, value conflicts have become intensified within Indian tribes and communities, resulting in non-identity, apathy, sullen hostility, and occasionally, violent hostility when intoxicated. Therefore, value conflict is felt to be the crux of the problem and the main cause of Indian reservation poverty. Realizing this, a young, well educated Sioux leader recently stated that the basic problem is not one of economic deprivation, but one of spiritual deprivation. Therefore it is imperative that greater attention be given, in the future, to value conflicts as Indian people are assisted in their own self-determination.

The value differences between Indian and non-Indian people were first evidenced in the days of the early European settlements. For example, most Indian tribes held their land in common by the tribe, or more specifically, by clan, band or extended family for the common good; whereas the European had a strong propensity for private property for

personal gain.

During the last few years, tests regarding the value of working together and sharing have been given to Indian and non-Indian people, and it has been interesting to note that there are still significant differences between them in the propensity of working together and sharing. Most non-Indian people, on the value test, indicate that they would prefer to function individually and be their own boss. Or they would like to be the biggest stock holder of a corporation, where they could be manager, rather than to work in a cooperative enterprise where the profits would be distributed according to one's participation, or to belong to an economic enterprise where everyone would work together and share equally.

In testing Indian people (various tribes were tested, representing various age groups and educational levels), about half of those tested indicate that they would prefer to work as individuals and be their own boss. A very few indicate that they would like to be the biggest stock holder and thereby be the manager. The other half of the Indian people tested, are divided about equally in their opinions of whether they would work cooperatively, or work together and share equally. When asked how their ancestors would have operated, over ninety percent of the Indian people tested, stated that their ancestors would have preferred to work together and share. Among the non-Indians tested, not only did a very small percentage elect to work together and share, but very few indicated that their ancestors would have done it in this manner.

In working with Indian people today, and knowing the results of this value test, one wonders what has happened to the old tradition of working together and sharing the harvest with other members of the common group. The answer to this is perhaps found in the fact that many Indians of today talk about these old traditions with a certain nostalgia, while many others seem to despise the old ways. This would indicate, as previously stated, that while major value differences between Indian and non-Indian people exist, there also now exists among Indian people themselves many value differences irrespective of tribe, age or educational level, and these same value differences may not have been as significant two or three generations ago.

Thus the value test verifies and is supported by extended observation, that Indian culture today is not the traditional Indian culture of 50 or 100 years, but that the Indian culture of today is a "betwixt and between" culture, where tribes, communities and individual Indian people are philosophically often torn in their value beliefs and practices. Some have become strong adherents to a Christian denomination, while many are luke warm in their religious affiliations. Others affiliate with a Christian denomination, and will also participate in their Indian religion, but many seemingly do not identity strongly with their traditional religion or with a Christian religion. As a result, many tribes and Indian communities are in the throes of internal suspicion, jealousy, philosophical conflict, political maneuvering, back-biting, gossip, and have a lack of mutual respect and mutual trust, which has created an apathetic social environment, and as a consequence, the traditional culture has, in most cases, become an "inertia" culture.

An "inertia" culture is one which tends to perpetuate its own economic,

social and spiritual deprivation. Some may think that the "inertia" culture is the transition between the traditional culture and the complete assimulation of the Indian people into the "American Mainstream". This may be, but among some tribes the transition is taking a long time, and many Indian people are clinging tenaciously to certain aspects of their traditional culture. It is also rather surprising to find that many Indian college graduates are the catalysts for preserving and reviving Indian culture and Indian religions. Many Indian people are looking closely at the non-Indian culture, and wondering where it is heading and asking whether they want to really be a part of the "American Mainstream".

4. Impractical "Mainstream" efforts - The last statement made in the preceding paragraph is not to imply that Indian people are not interested in certain aspects of the "American Mainstream". To the contrary, they are interested in many of its aspects, and there are many Indian people who have adopted the "Mainstream" way of life. Just how most Indian people feel about this would be difficult to ascertain, for it would require an opinion survey, and such a survey would have to be done carefully in order to avoid error or bias, for those surveyed might not project their true feelings and opinions.

   But even if the "American Mainstream" proved to be what the majority of the Indian people wanted, in addition to being the objective of the United States Government for American Indian people, there have been many faulty assumptions made, and improper approaches used, such as:

   (a) Trying to make farmers out of Indian people who had hunting economies.

   (b) Trying to make farmers out of Indian people when the land allotments given to the people were often too small for economic farming units.

   (c) Sending the children to "de-Indianizing" schools, and then returning them to the reservations with little effort being made to help them establish a "mainstream" economy on the reservation. Admittedly, this would have been most difficult to do because of the cultural conflicts; and today with the "inertia" culture, which has its roots in traditional culture, it is still proving to be difficult.

   (d) Insisting on individual business entities, and more recently, upon corporations (tribally owned or non-democratic stock controlled), rather than trying to devise business entities that would be more compatible with their clan or extended family social structure. These same "mainstream" efforts are still being made with few real successes. It is difficult to understand why the great emphasis is placed on the individual entrepreneurship, when it is becoming less important, as a business entity, with the dominant society. Why not a greater emphasis on the community corporation, with the voting stock held democratically, with local participation in combined ownership and labor-management roles, and organized to comply with clan and/or extended family relationships?

(e) Much of the training and education has been, and is still, designed to prepare Indian people for "mainstream" roles, with few opportunities available and few Indian people wanting to play the "mainstream" role, or afraid to play the role for fear of cultural sanctions and of being ostracized by the cultural group. Too little training and education has been relative to their unique situation.

(f) Capital for economic development, or for the operation of economic enterprises has been very difficult to obtain, for the following reasons:

(1) Their reservation lands are trust lands and therefore cannot be mortgaged or have liens against them. Fortunately, for Indian people, this has been the case or they would have lost most of their land by now.

(2) If loans were made, they were made on uneconomic farm units.

(3) Few Indian people have had, or now have, adequate education and experience in business management, and frequently the loans have had a poor repayment history. Little of no attempt has been made to train and prepare Indian people to operate and manage businesses within their cultural and institutional context.

(4) In obtaining personal financing, many Indian people have found that they have been "taken" by the trader or the finance company and therefore have reacted negatively by not repaying the loans. With a breakdown of social responsibility, there has also been a breakdown in repayment responsibility.

(5) Many private and public lending agencies have been reluctant to make loans to Indian people. Some of the reluctance is well founded and some of it is not. There are many responsible Indian people, although there is a tendency to classify all Indian people with the same label.

(6) Congress has not seen fit to provide unique credit legislation for Indian people, as it has done for other segments of the national economy, such as, for example, the farm sector. The Economic Opportunity Act has liberalized its loans to Indian people through Farmers Home Administration. But in order for Farmers Home Administration to meet the more specific needs of Indian people, Senator Paul Fannin, of Arizona, initiated legislative amendments permitting loans to be made to Indian farming and/or manufacturing cooperatives. Loans to these kinds of business entities were not permitted prior to the amendments, which tended to discriminate against Indian people who have a propensity for cooperative economic endeavors.

(g) Inadequacy of "mainstream" advisors and consultants - More and more non-Indian people are establishing careers in various areas of Indian services. Some of them are well qualified, both technologically and sociologically, but most fall short of what is desired. There are few indeed who are generalists enough to grasp the significance of both the technological and the sociological. Too many serving Indian people lack imagination and the insights sufficient to assist

Indian people in outlining alternatives and options from which they may pick and choose. Too frequently, the approach is the "Coon Corner Iowa" approach, for "if it works in rural Iowa, it should work on a rural Indian reservation". Too often the career specialists lack faith in the Indian people, and their ability to make any progress, whether it be in the "mainstream" channel or in the "traditional" channel. They often openly express themselves in this vein, or if not, their attitudes and actions betray them. When Indian people have shown initiative for community, social and economic improvement, too many career people have seemingly gone out of their way to insert red tape impediments. Yet frequently, these same career people can't do enough to assist non-Indian people with land leases or to bring non-Indian industry to the reservations.

(h) Inadequacy of legislation and programs - Most of the present day programs are poorly designed for Indian utilization, which is not meant to be a criticism of the Congress or the agency arms of the Presidential (Executive) Office, but rather to point out how these bodies and offices are but a mirror of the citizenry, and therefore what an educational challenge the Indian people face in conveying their story and message to the public at large. For example, most of the legislative programs that are available to Indian people have not been specifically designed with Indian people in mind; but have been designed to take care of the poor and disadvantaged, of which Indian people are considered a part. Rarely, if ever, has the legislation and resulting programs considered the Indian culture, either the "traditional" or the "betwixt and between".

Rarely do the legislation and associated programs take into account the fact that many Indian tribes have a land resource base. Admittedly this base is in a trust status, but it is land that is not fully developed, or if developed, is being leased for the most part to non-Indian people on a long term basis. Most Indian lands have agricultural potential that has not been fully realized by Indian people. Many of the Indian lands also have commercial recreational potential that has been barely scratched. Land is space, which is increasingly in short supply for all sorts of utilization, including space for commercial businesses and industries--which could be their own Indian community corporations. As a group of Navajos recently stated: "Why should we let outside industry make all the profits, while we work for menial wages?" Why should dollars pour into the reservation for Indian people and then drain right off to the non-Indian businesses on the reservation or in the surrounding non-Indian communities?

Only within the past year or so has the Office of Economic Opportunity really been looking seriously at the generating of economic opportunities on Indian reservations by Indian people, for Indian people. Most of the initial OEO component programs on Indian reservations have been indirect economic development programs, such as: Headstart, community action components, adult education programs, alcohol components, and other programs that do not specifically address themselves to resource development and related human development by preparing people to operate and manage their own resources.

Although there have been some OEO programs that have concerned themselves with the land, and training the people to develop, operate and manage it, there have been even fewer programs that have been concerned with other community businesses or industries. Fortunately, but perhaps belatedly, O.E.O. has realized that community action programs become rather sterile if community action does not move into economic development. For quite some time, the OEO programs, as applied to Indian people, should have been more vigorous in helping Indian people to build their own economic nests through the community action process. They could do this by creating community corporations where various kinds of economic enterprises could be established to provide incomes or minimum wage equivalents, based on estimated profits, with the profit residue or surplus to be distributed as dividends or worker patronage refunds. From ICAP first hand experience, Indian people, at the community level, are interested in these kinds of approaches, but unfortunately too few OEO advisors initially suggested these kinds of activities as possible OEO alternatives. Also,too much of the OEO effort at the tribal level has concerned itself with community action program management (house keeping chores) which have buried tribal administrators in an avalanche of CAP forms, reports and other paper work, which may be necessary, but which, it would seem, could be simplified. As it is now, it indeed appears to be needless minutia and trivia, when there are so many specific and obvious problems that need immediate and continuing attention.

What has been said of OEO can be said, with some variation, for many other agencies that are now involved with Indian programs. For example, the Department of Commerce have programs under their Small Business Administration and Economic Development Administration that are worthy programs in which Indian people may participate, but they have not been designed to meet the specific needs of Indian people. They are "American Mainstream" programs, legislated for the public at large with apparent little consideration of the uniqueness of Indian people, and with a great deal of emphasis seemingly placed on the integration of Indian people into the "mainstream". This is alright, if Indian people want it, but many Indian people have been fighting it for over a hundred years. Should the government continue to use the same 'accept our image' approach?

Legislation has also been passed and programs designed under the Department of Labor that address themselves to preparing people for jobs, both in the public and private sector. These programs, however, are not entirely compatible with the notion of creating Indian community corporations, and training the democratic stock holder members to become technically and managerially trained so they can operate and manage their own Indian community enterprises. For example, there are certain restrictions in the use of the Neighborhood Youth Corps or Operation Mainstream enrollees in profit corporations, and presumably community corporations should be profit making business entities. On the other hand, the Small Business Administration apparently has a strong mandate to help establish small private entrepreneurship enterprises, which are not entirely compatible with traditional values or even with the 'betwixt and

between" values. SBA, also has certain restrictions against making loans to non-profit corporations or to cooperatives, which they have in the past interpreted to be non-profit corporations. Why can't these programs be combined in such a manner as to help Indian people build their own nests, in their own way. Perhaps their own way will be to do it individually or to invite outside industry to join with them in some manner. But why must their legislative guidelines and policies mitigate against other alternatives that may be more appealing to their own cultural tastes and value systems?

Similar problems exist with the policies of the Housing and Urban Development Administration, with the State Welfare Departments and with some dozen or so agencies now involved with Indian programs, and especially as they relate to the numerous educational and training programs now in operation. When it comes to training, most agency training programs are designed to offer rather short periods of training that will enable the Indian people to enter into the "American Mainstream". Frequently they have been designed with economy in mind, but end up costing more in the long run, for they do not get the job done. Consequently there evolve cycles of training and re-training many of the same people over and over again.

Most education and training programs for Indian people do not consider the cultural aspects or the social behavioral patterns of the students. In short, they fail to relate the training to the real life situations, the traditional Indian way of life, and/or the "betwixt and between" Indian way of life. Too frequently in designing training programs, it has been assumed that Indian people can be motivated and are, in fact, motivated in the same way that the dominant culture is motivated. Without question there are some similarities, but there are also many points of diversity when it comes to stimulating initiative and motivation among Indian people. In this area, no one seems to have a sure fire answer. But it seems rather futile to continue to use the same approaches that have been found wanting, however well they might work for the dominant society. Even the proposed Community Self Determination Act appears to have been designed without serious regard for the Indian situation. For example, it appears that the proposed legislation creating community corporations are calling for too many members for this kind of corporate entity to be effective as regards to individual involvement and self-actualization.

In summary, what are the major causes or conditions of poverty on the reservations served by ICAP? They can be summarized as:

1. Lack of education, training and experience that relate and prepare the Indian people for the real world--both the world of the dominant culture and the world of their own, now fading, yet perhaps reviving traditional culture, which is a "betwixt and between" culture, and therefore is often an "inertia" culture. (Perhaps some would prefer to call it a "transitional" culture, which implies a transition away from the traditional to the "American Mainstream". But can we be sure such a transition is really taking place? Could it not be a transition away from the "American Mainstream" and back to certain aspects of

traditonalism? More than likely, it is some of all these things and more.) Such education and training programs are sorely needed. However if they are to be successful, they will have to be innovative and a departure from many of the standard instructional procedures. A learning by doing approach should be used, both in the technical training and in the social behavioral training. Such programs will cost money, but need not be any more costly than the per capita cost for students at higher cost state universities (under $5,000 per year per student, and more like $2,000 to $3,000 per year as compared with in excess of $100,000 to train a military pilot).

2. Lack of motivation is perhaps one of the most serious and most prevalent causes of poverty in most Indian communities. Unless education and training can generate motivation, it will have been, and indeed has been, money needlessly spent. All of the programs that have been designed will be for naught if motivation is not achieved. As has already been stated, in the area of Indian motivation, no one seems to have a sure fire answer, but it seems rather futile to continue to use the same approaches that have been found wanting, however well they might work for the dominant society. Thus, ICAP theorizes that motivation might be found in giving Indian people a pride of identity. Too often there is not much in the social behavioral patterns of the strongly "betwixt and between" or "inertia" cultures on which to anchor one's pride. But if many aspects of the traditional culture could be revived, in both thought and action, there would indeed be great cause for pride. Herein lies, it is believed, the clue to eradicating economic, social and spiritual deprivation from Indian communities. After many years and even generations of being in an "inertia" rut, sustained motivation will likely take more than a few months to generate, therefore the central theme of any training programs should be motivation consideration. Most of what has been written in this section has been written to support this thesis.

3. Lack of capital in the form of loans for certain aspects of training, economic development and for business operating capital, is another cause of poverty in Indian communities. But without motivation, education, training, and applied experience, this kind of assistance would be wasted. In fact, if motivation, education, training and experience are apparent, the obtaining of capital would not likely be an over-riding problem. However, initially, capital is likely to be a major problem, especially as loans may be desired to initiate pragmatic training programs where various kinds of economic enterprises are used as a part of the training and learning experience.

These three factors of the summary must all be considered in combination, and must be properly coordinated for balance and to prevent an over-emphasis of any one of the factors. In using these three factors, there are no doubt many different alternative approaches that could be used. One that seems worthy of serious consideration is the small, local, democratic, worker participation community development corporation approach, made available for the target population at the community level, in order to generate maximum involvement of the people of the community. Hopefully, the government or foundations will see the merit of this approach, and provide the financial assistance for such an experiment, which has pragmatic, social and technological training as its corner stone.

R. Little

1. Chronology of Indian History: 1492-1955, American Aborigine. National Indian Youth Council, Vol. IV, No. 1. 1965.

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1492 Discovery of the American Continent which was mistaken as the Asiatic Coast.

1539 Lectures of Francisco de Vitoria at the University of Salamanca, Spain, advocating that Indians were free men and were exempt from slavery. They were to be dealt with through treaties and fair trade.

1542 "Laws of the Indies" was published by Vitoria.

1609 Sovereign rights were reaffirmed by the English courts in the judgement of "Calvin's Case."

1619 Virginia Company started the first Mission schools which were abandoned in 1622.

1621 The Dutch West India Company was formed on the principles of opening trade routes by means of treaties.

1643 First known Indian treaty signed between the Mohawks and Dutch, in the State of New York.

1663 The French occupied the "Northwest Territory."

1694 The English court held that sovereign nations cannot change the customs and laws beyond their treaty agreements.

1753 The French and Indian War started as the result of sovereign interferences between the English, French and Iroquois Confederacy.

1763 The French and Indian War ended making it illegal to issue patents on Indian land, and establishing the principle that Indian land title cannot be altered without a treaty. This was the first appearance of the provision "The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indian, their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent, and in their property, rights and liberty shall never be invaded or disturbed."

1777 The Articles of Confederation assumed the job of "regulating commerce between . . .the several . . .Indian tribes."

1783 Congress issued a proclamation warning against purchasing of or squatting on Indian land.

1787 The "Northwest Territory Ordinance" of July 13, 1787 adopted the provisions of the English Royal Proclamation of 1763 as the policy of the United States of America.

1788 Indian Affairs was administered under the Secretary of War.

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1789 The U.S. Constitution adopted the provision "THE CONGRESS... Shall regulate Commerce between . . .the several . . .Indian Tribes."

1793 Congress appropriated $20,000 to treaty with Indians.

1794 The Pickering Treaty between the U.S. and the Senecas was signed.

1796 U.S. started "factory" stores which sold American supplies to Indians on credit.

1800 Congress enacted a statute to provide a fine and a period of imprisonment for anyone who tried to attempt to alienate the loyalty of the Indian from the government of the United States.

1803 $3,000 was appropriated to civilize and educate the heathens.

1804 Cherokee removal clause was attached to the Louisiana Purchase provisions. Some Cherokees moved to Arkansas by 1811 without ceding their land.

1812 Andrew Jackson was "saved" from being captured by a Creek Regiment during the Creek War.

1814 In the Treaty of Fort Jackson, Andrew Jackson stripped the Creeks of their land and left them to be removed to "Indian Country." He then recruited Creek and Choctaw warriors to fight the Seminoles.

1816 Congress enacted a statute to restrict Indian trade licenses to American citizens as opposed to Canadian traders.

1819 Another appropriation was made to civilize and educate the Indians. A $10,000 annual appropriation was known as the "civilization fund."

1822 The government "factory" stores were discontinued. These stores appeared to be used to buy American factory products to sway the trade away from English traders.

1824 A Bureau of Indian Affairs was established within the War Dept. carrying an Indian-mixed blood.

1828 The case of Worcester vs. The State of Georgia entered in the Courts of the United States for a decision that Indians were sovereign nations and are not subject to state laws.

1830 The Removal Bill was enacted into statute by which tribes were later moved into the Oklahoma "Indian Territory." $500,000 was appropriated.

1832 Abraham Lincoln joined the army to fight Indians in the Black Hawk War.

1834 (?) The Indian Trade and Intercourse Act was passed which gave the Army the opportunity to quarantine Indians so that they could assimilate white civilization to take their place "in the mainstream of American [illegible]" It appeared to take 30 years to accomplish. This was

835 1835 Cherokee faction signed the Treaty of Echota providing for Cherokee removal to Oklahoma. The Seminole War started, which cost the U.S. 1,500 men and $50,000,000.

1836 The Creeks were removed to Indian Territory and on the way 311 Creeks were drowned when a steamboat sank out of negligence. About half of the Creek Nation arrived at Fort Gibson (1,000).

838 1838 The Cherokee Removal or the "Trail of Tears" took place. Four thousand Cherokees lost their lives in this trek.

840 1840 The Winnebagos were removed to "Indian Country" because the lead miners wanted them out--it cost about 50% of the tribal members, and most of these returned to the Wisconsin River by 1845.

843 1843 The Bureau of Indian Affairs issued a solution to Indian Affairs by promoting "less pay for less population"--(reduce the population and the land will be cheaper to buy).

846 1846 The Winnebagos were again removed to Blue Earth River, Minnesota, but they migrated back to Wisconsin and Iowa. In 1862 they were removed again, to Crow Creek in South Dakota. During these removals they were fed a meal of "entrails and heads" stewed in a vat every other day. From Crow Creek most of them left for Nebraska and Wisconsin. The Southwest was occupied by the U.S.

848 1848 The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed between the U.S. and Mexico ceding the Southwest areas to the U.S.

849 1849 Gold was discovered in California and all Indians had to live with wagon trains and prospectors. California Indians were relieved of almost all possessions. All this brought the spread of infectious diseases and wiped out large portions of Indian groups. The Mandans came out with a hundred members. The Mission Indians in California survived with 1/10th of their former members. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of the Interior.

1854 Congress provided for Indian lands to be taken in trust for Indians after the tribes ceded other lands to the government.

1860 Most Indians became neutral in the Civil War. "Indian Country" became the "no-man's land" between two battle lines. The election campaign of 1860 proposed to remove the Five Civilized Tribes again.

1864 The Navajos and Apaches took "The Long Walk" to the Pecos Country to be "quarantined for civilization." The Cheyennes and Arapahoes were burned out at Sand Creek, Arkansas.

1867 A "Peace Commission" was established and it made a survey of Indian Affairs. They recommended that the "treaty process" be abandoned. A Board of Indian Commissioners were appointed; a period of "graft" ensued.

1871 Congress passed a statute to stop all treaty making with Indian tribes. [illegible] statute to stop killing of buffaloes. Indian burial [illegible]

1876 George Armstrong Custer surprised a wintering camp on the Little Big Horn River, but was "wiped out." He was killed on the first assault in the middle of the Little Big Horn River. It was published that each Indian killed a cost the government $1,000,000. The Indian population was down to 44,000 souls. Geronimo and his 36 men kept 5,000 troops busy.

1877 The Nez Perce were removed to Oklahoma but returned to Idaho that year.

1878 Congress makes an appropriation to provide for Indian Police which brought about the establishment of the Courts of Indian Offences in 1883.

1887 The Dawes Severalty Act, or the "Allotment Act," was passed in Congress to divide up Indian lands to Individuals.

1910 A Division of Medical Assistance was established after communicable diseases had reduced the population under 250,000 people.

1924 Congress enacts a statute to provide for Citizenship to all Indians.

1934 The Wheeler-Howard Act was passed (Indian Reorganization Act II) to allow tribes to incorporate with the government.

19
19 Congress provides for naturalization procedures for Indians to become citizens.

1946 Congress establishes the Indian Claims Commission to compensate Indian tribes for the loss of land.

1949 Hoover Commission recommends that certain tribes to be terminated from federal trusteeship.

1953 Congress agrees, concurrently, to adopt a policy for termination of Indian tribes. Revision in liquor laws stops Indian prohibition. Jurisdiction over Indian lands allowed to be taken over by the States.

1955 Medical Assistance transferred to the Department of Health Education and Welfare.

1492 – Columbus landed in San Salvador –
50 years later
9.28.1542 – Cabrillo landed in San Diego
for the next 127 years
the waters of San Diego Bay were not again troubled by white man

Spain claimed the whole western coast by right of discovery

1768 began making preparations to occupy
Two expeditions by land – Two by sea.
from Lower Calif – to establish a military post
4.11.69 at San Diego + at Monterey Bay.
For the purpose of winning the natives + inducing them to accept christianity + civilization.
Spain selected Franciscans – directed to found mission centers among the Indians – under the protection of the military posts.
Later same year Portola arrived by land with Serra.
Portola accompanied by Fr. Crespi + Gomez – land expedition in search of Monterey Bay.
First Indian Mission established in presidio of San Diego. For eleven months they endeavored in vain to win the savage to christianity
Failed to secure a single convert.
– Indians proved the most stubborn unconverted [illegible] in the US – Hostile –

Month later attacked the fort flimsy fort-
Indians learned about 7 irsoman – no match
for poisoned arrows
Indians loss – dead & wounded so great that
the savages never attacked again the presidio gar-
1770 Portola returns did not find Monterey Bay.
Same year found Monterey bay.

1772 Serra had ~~difficulties~~ difficulties with the military
Commander Fages.
Serra went to Mexico & returned with
declaration that they controlled & not the
military. Father on end to interference from
military and ~~no~~ civil official.

1775 Indian revolt –
Indian seeking immunity in church – ~~and~~ Military
forcibly dragged him out.

~~1793~~ 1825 Declaration of Mexican Independence,
First Mexican governor – Jose M. Echeandia
came in Old Town – Permanent residence –
Proved unsuitable
1846 US Warship arrived Lt Maddox & marines
landed proceeded to the plaza Old Town &
raised the Stars & stripes – ~~and~~ took possession
Close by a military camp & fort was established

1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed between the U.S. and Mexico ceding the SW area to U.S.

1824 Originally within War Department.

1849 Gold discovered in Calif. Intrusion of prospectors. Indians inhibited of possessions. Spread of disease, Wiped out large portions of Indian groups. Mission Indians somewhat survived to [illegible] former pop.

B.I.A. transferred to Dept of Interior.

1853 - Termination Act (108) Rep Wheeler-Harrison.

1934 Wheeler Howard Act - Reorganization Act

CUPENO. WARNERS RANCH

1840- Pico to Indians

1845- Gov. Alvarado - Land to Warner
Applied to mean - Personnel who left Mission S.D + L.L.R.
- Not apply to Indians
- Court says Indian abandoned.

1851- Garra uprising - tried to called Cupa

1851- Act of Congress required to clear title - 2 yrs

1901- Failed to present Claims

1902- Evicted from Warners

1902- Pala purchased for 3353 ac - 44,628
Prefab homes - shipped around Horn

SLC 14.616

STATE

1834.—BIA organized within the War Dept.
1849- BIA transferred from War Dept to newly formed Dept of Interior

1866 US Congress passes Civil Rights Bill that gives equal rights to all persons ~~appl.~~ born in the USA excepting Indians.

A FEDERAL AGENCY UNDER ATTACK . . .

Facts About the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

Origin: Established in 1824 under the War Department, transferred to the Interior Department upon its creation in 1849. Congress in 1921 gave BIA official responsibility for the general support of the Indians.

Staff: 17,629 employes—approximately 1 for every 30 Indians living on reservations.

Spending: 533 million dollars from general-revenue funds in the year ending June 30, 1973—double the amount spent in 1969.

Task: To serve Indians on more than 300 reservations and other land units, providing education through federal or local schools, social services, other economic aid, and to maintain 55.4 million acres of land—about the size of Utah—held in trust by the Government for Indians. The agency is charged with protecting Indians' rights to water on their lands and providing temporary relocation assistance for Indians moving from reservations to cities.

. . . AND ITS "CLIENTS"

Facts About American Indians:

Number: 792,730 in 1970—and increasing at a faster rate than the U. S. population.

Tribes: About a third are either Navajo, Cherokee, Sioux or Chippewa. The Navajo tribe, making up 13 per cent of all Indians, is the biggest.

Location: About half live in the West, a fourth in the South. Oklahoma, Arizona, California, New Mexico and North Carolina have the largest Indian populations.

Dwelling: More than half—55 per cent—live in rural areas, largely on reservations. One in 5 lives in central cities, 1 in 4 in suburbs or smaller cities.

Income: $1,115 per person on reservations, about a third of the U. S. average. Counting all Indians, median family income is about half the U. S. average of $11,200, about four fifths as large as the average of Negro families.

Life expectancy: 64 years at birth, compared with 70.5 years for all Americans.

Infant mortality: About 24 per cent higher than the U. S. average.

Unemployment: 40 per cent of all Indians on reservations above age 16.

Source: Census Bureau, Dept. of Interior, Office of Management and Budget

the agency and promised closer contacts between the tribes and the Administration. The militants say such measures are insufficient.

To learn firsthand what is behind the troubles, "U. S. News & World Report" sent members of its staff to key locations across the country. There they talked to a wide range of Indians—including tribal chairmen and medicine men—as well as Government officials and white residents of the areas. Their reports follow:

THE SIOUX: HOT DEBATE OVER VIOLENT TACTICS

ROSEBUD, S. D.

To most of the 7,100 tribesmen on the Rosebud Sioux Indian Reservation, the village of Wounded Knee seems a lot closer than 75 miles away. The name of that community—on the neighboring Pine Ridge Indian Reservation—is on the lips of virtually everybody here at the "capital" of the Rosebud Sioux. Old and young, affluent and poor, talk about Wounded Knee. Several young "warriors" from this tribe were there with militants from many other parts of the country, and some of the issues raised have a familiar ring in Rosebud.

Issues argued. The seizure of Wounded Knee by members of the militant American Indian Movement, however, has stirred extensive debate over the violence involved.

One of AIM's objectives was the ouster of Pine Ridge tribal chairman Richard Wilson and most other elected officials as a preliminary to setting up a new system of tribal government.

Says Webster Two Hawk, president of the Rosebud Tribal Council:

"We have our own silent majority, and they're laughing at the games AIM was playing out there. Most of us feel that the surest way of settling our grievances is through legal means—and we're working very hard in that direction."

Mr. Two Hawk, who also is head of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association, which advises the U. S. Government on Indian policy, says that the activists represent only a small percentage of the local population.

In Rosebud, business goes on as usual in the offices of the tribal council and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, where much activity is concentrated on land management. A large part of the population works in those offices or at the U. S. Government-run hospital and in ranching, but about 20 per cent are jobless.

James Kaulay, 28, of Rosebud, finds the militants enlist considerable sympathy, especially among the young.

"What AIM is doing is good for us," he maintains. "The feelings of Indian people were hidden before. Now it's all in the open."

Mr. Kaulay says another effect of activism has been to arouse a stronger sense of "Indian-ness" among young people. Until recently, he explains, the emphasis was on teaching youngsters to speak English and work within the white-oriented system. Now, however, the Sioux are relearning their past, guided by the efforts of the Indian studies department of Sinte Gleska College, established on the reservation in 1970.

Victor Douville, assistant director of the department, points out that the Rosebud Reservation, as defined in the treaty drawn up in 1868, after years of fierce fighting between Rosebud Sioux and the U. S. cavalry, covers 3.3 million acres. But because of sales over the years,

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RESTLESS INDIANS

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only about a third of that property is Indian-owned.

Frustrated and poor, part of the tribe joined other Indians in a religious movement in 1890. Their activities aroused Government fears of an uprising, and hundreds of the band were killed by the cavalry at Wounded Knee.

Even today, Sioux living standards are well below those of the nation as a whole. In 1969, the average Rosebud household had an income of $3,620, compared with the U. S. average in that year of $9,590.

Many Indians and whites in Todd County, in which the town of Rosebud is located, say they get along well. For example, two Indians serve on the five-man county school board, which local citizens say functions smoothly. Children of both races attend the county high school and participate in all activities.

Trouble brewing? But suspicions and bad feelings also are voiced on both sides of the community. A white businessman in Mission, the county seat, complains that many Indians are lazy and unreliable. He also asserts that restiveness among young Indians—aroused by the example of Wounded Knee—has resulted in threats of violence against some whites.

"We're ready for trouble," he adds. "We have guns—and some have machine guns."

Indians, on the other hand, complain that many white businessmen refuse to hire tribesmen, even though the Sioux are among their best customers.

Mr. Kaulay believes that many changes are taking place, particularly among young people, as the result of better education and a new emphasis on "Indian-ness."

"The days of accepting everything in the white man's books are over," he declares. "Imagine how an Indian feels when he reads that George Washington was 'the father of his country.' To a Sioux, that's just plain ridiculous."

IN OKLAHOMA: "SITTING ON A POTENTIAL DYNAMITE KEG"

OKLAHOMA CITY

A cultural and political renaissance is sweeping through the Indian tribes of Oklahoma.

Indians who have attempted to merge into the dominant white society suddenly are taking new pride in the color of their skin and their heritage.

Their children are learning tribal languages and attending ceremonial "pow-wows" to dance and sing as their ancestors did. There is a revival of interest in Indian arts and handicraft.

Politically, Indians are demanding an end to discrimination, better education for their children, more jobs and the right to preserve their cultural identity.

There is a growing militancy among young Indians, many of whom support AIM. While decrying the group's violence, even older Indians often comment that AIM has served a useful purpose by focusing national attention on the plight of the tribes.

A number of Indian leaders fear that Oklahoma's large Indian population—totaling about 100,000—may be ripe for disruptions. Cecil Gardipe, a Pawnee who is chairman of the Oklahoma Indian Commission, says: "We are sitting on a potential dynamite keg, and the fuse is very short."

Despite their reputation as the richest and most successful Indians in America, tribesmen of this State are generally poor—lagging behind both blacks and Mexican Americans.

The high-school-dropout rate for Indians in Oklahoma averages 39 per cent and soars to 46 per cent in some rural tribes. Unemployment in several areas is as high as 84 per cent.

Some Indians have attempted to escape from poverty by moving to the cities—but many have found conditions little better there. In Oklahoma City, for example, the per capita income for Indians is $1,125 a year. Seventy-seven per cent of the city's 15,000 Indians live below the federal poverty level. Health conditions are worse than among rural Indians who receive free care at Government clinics. In addition, other social services are not reaching urban dwellers.

"Indians don't like to apply for welfare," says Mrs. Fay McKnight, director of the Native American Center here. "They have a lot of pride and they don't like to ask for help when they get in trouble. They are so used to the paternalism of the BIA [Bureau of Indian Affairs] that they don't know that there are other agencies to help them when they come to the city."

Problem areas. A major source of current trouble is friction with the white community, especially in schools. Indians complain that white codes for dress should not pertain to them—particularly in length of hair, which Indian males and females often like to braid. Whites reply that Indians are pampered and should not have special privileges.

"The right to wear their hair in a traditional manner means more to many Indians than does an education," says Floyd Black Bear, a Cheyenne from Watonga who is a Methodist minister.

Mr. Black Bear says he dropped out of school two weeks before graduation because students were required to wear tuxedos to the ceremony, and his family could not afford one. He later finished high school in Los Angeles after military service.

Despite their problems, Indians are proud of their past and increasingly confident about their future.

Growing numbers, such as William Vann Flores, a Cherokee who works as a medical illustrator in Oklahoma City,

—USN&WR Photo

Tribesmen moving to cities sometimes adapt well. Others are plagued by language problem, family breakups. Many go back to their reservations.

have found good jobs and are buying homes.

"Like a lot of Indians," he says, "I'm happy and satisfied."

THE NAVAJOS: "WHAT IS RIGHTFULLY OURS . . ."

WINDOW ROCK, Ariz.

The large and powerful Navajo Tribe is now moving briskly toward social, political and economic advances that once might have seemed impossible.

Their goal: control of all important activities on this huge reservation—larger than the State of West Virginia—which is managed to a considerable degree by the U. S. Government.

"What is rightfully ours, we must protect," declares Peter MacDonald, chairman of the governing Navajo Tribal Council. "What is rightfully due us, we must claim."

What Navajos need. Large-scale improvements in the depressed living conditions that prevail here will require major efforts and stepped-up federal spending. The Navajos, the biggest tribe in the U. S., are rated as better equipped than many to do the job.

Their base is a mostly barren reservation that sprawls for more than 26,000 square miles, mainly in Arizona but also including portions of Utah and New Mexico.

There are many signs of a Navajo resurgency. Within a few miles of Window Rock, the tribal headquarters, Indians are making both turquoise jewelry and Redeye-missile guidance assemblies. Plans also are under way to build a 100-mile-long railroad through the reservation at a cost of 3.5 million dollars. Small but modern shopping centers are springing up, and a drive is to be launched to attract more tourists.

At present, most of the reservation's population of more than 134,000 live on the edge of poverty. Thirty-eight per cent receive either State or federal welfare payments. About 61 per cent of the homes have no electricity, and 80 per cent are not served by water or sewer lines. Hogans—lodges of mud and logs—are common, even though some low-cost housing has been built.

Unlike many other tribes, the Navajos have considerable economic advantages—some of them, including oil and gas, are underground. But many of these have not yet been tapped, and most jobs are provided by governmental activities, plus work in small manufacturing plants. About 40 per cent are unemployed.

Tribal officials charge that Indians often suffer from job discrimination and an indifference by employers to training

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—Smithsonian Institution Photo

General Sherman confers with Indians in 1860s.

ABOUT THAT "TRAIL OF BROKEN TREATIES"—

In the first 100 years of nationhood, the United States concluded 389 treaties with Indian tribes, according to U. S. records.

Today, Indian militants are using the phrase, "The Trail of Broken Treaties," to dramatize their claim that the Government consistently has broken promises made to Indians about lands and services they were to get.

The phrase, Indian spokesmen say, actually applies to all commitments formally made by the United States to the Indian people—including laws passed by Congress and presidential orders that have replaced treaties in recent times.

Much of the Indians' bitterness, however, flows from what they regard as violations of treaties concluded between 1778 and 1871.

Historians point out that for many years treaties between the fledgling republic and powerful Indian tribes were pacts between powers of near equality.

It was just two years after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, for instance, when a treaty of peace and friendship was signed with the Delaware Nation of the Ohio Valley region. This pact's aim was to help secure the Western frontier against raids by British-paid tribesmen.

U. S. promises. Later treaties not only designated lands to be reserved to the signatory tribes, but also promised services and amenities to reservation dwellers.

An example is the 1820 "Treaty of Friendship, Limits and Accommodation Between the United States of America and the Choctaw Nation."

In setting boundaries of lands "ceded" to Choctaws in Mississippi, the U. S. promised:

"For the purpose of aiding and assisting the poor Indians . . . and to enable them to do well and support their families, the Commissioners of the United States engage on behalf of said States to give to each warrior a blanket, kettle, rifle gun, bullet mold and nippers, and ammunition sufficient for hunting and defense for one year. . . .

"A blacksmith shall also be settled amongst them at a point most convenient to the population and a faithful person appointed whose duty it shall be to use every reasonable exertion to collect all the wandering Indians belonging to the Choctaw Nation upon the land hereby provided for their permanent settlement."

A new approach. In 1871, Congress passed a statute declaring that "no Indian nation or tribe is to be recognized as a power with whom to make a treaty."

That law did not apply to existing treaties.

Even before then, primary authority for negotiating treaties with Indians had passed from the War Department, where it had been placed in 1784, to the Office of Commissioner for Indian Affairs.

This officeholder also directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the Department of the Interior.

For several years after 1871, the Interior Department concluded agreements with tribes, subject to Senate ratification.

The last one was made in 1888 with the Columbia and Colville tribesmen in the Pacific Northwest.

Since then, it has been the Congress and the President who have had the responsibility for making basic commitments to the Indian people and their tribes.

RESTLESS INDIANS

[continued from preceding page]

Navajos in anything but manual labor. Businessmen, on the other hand, complain that many Indians are unproductive. Says a salesman:

"Most Indians don't want to work. All they want to do is sit around and collect relief and let the white man do the hard jobs around the reservation."

Another goal of many residents is to decrease the powers of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Indians say that little more than 20 per cent of funds budgeted to Navajos ever reaches them.

In a new approach to politics, the tribe is learning to take a direct part in the lawmaking process. Recently the reservation was designated as a legislative district, and two Navajos were elected to the State legislature.

Shift to the city. Efforts also are being made to improve conditions for tribesmen who have moved to Southwestern cities. Urban centers have been set up in Phoenix and other locations to help with jobs, schools and housing. Officials of those organizations say there is a long way to go—that Indians are "at the bottom of the minority ladder" in getting assistance. Says Don Wilkerson, who heads the Arizona Indian Centers:

"In the city, the Indian suffers from high unemployment, alcoholism, a language deficiency, family disruptions, poor housing."

Some Indians are determined to remain in the cities—which they say are better than "digging roots and grubbing for a living" on the reservations. But others have chosen to go home, where the society is warm and familiar and opportunities appear to be expanding.

—UPI Photo

Demonstrators protest against what they consider unfair treatment of the tribes. Federal officials are considering big changes in Indian policies.

WASHINGTON: FORCING CHANGE ON THE GREAT WHITE FATHER

WASHINGTON, D. C.

It is in the nation's capital where groups such as the American Indian Movement plan to concentrate much of their drive for change in the future.

Says Gene Skenandore, director of the organization's Washington chapter:

"This town has never seen anything like the effort we're going to make. We're going to force the Government to make big changes—and help us get rid of those stereotypes of 'the noble savage' and 'the drunken Indian.' "

Already, the U. S. Government is considering a major overhaul of Indian policies, including the spending of billions of dollars. Plans have been under study for some time, but others were speeded up after such incidents as the take-over of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building here in November, 1972, and the seizure of Wounded Knee in February.

Both events were planned by AIM's militant membership. The organization's tactics are opposed by many tribal chairmen, who favor a more gradual approach. But some leaders of less-militant groups, such as Americans for Indian Opportunity, the National Congress of American Indians, and the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, applaud the goals of AIM.

What Indian activists are talking about are massive changes that could mean a doubling of federal spending on tribal activities. Mrs. LaDonna Harris, president of Americans for Indian Opportunity, which assists tribes in self-help projects, declares that anything less will fall far short of the goal.

Many leaders also advocate a reshaping of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, which manages various activities—such as roadbuilding and schools—on dozens of reservations. Some reformers want revisions ranging from abolition of the Bureau to cutbacks in the 17,629-member staff, which is 54 per cent Indian. The recently appointed head of the agency is Marvin L. Franklin, a member and former chairman of the Iowa Tribe.

Mr. Franklin is working on a plan to give each tribe easier and faster access to policy development—including budget—at the Bureau. He also is considering machinery to make the agency more flexible in dealing with each tribe.

Some critics, nevertheless, believe even more drastic measures are necessary. Says Leon F. Cook, president of the National Congress of American Indians, which is a Washington "watchdog" for 145 tribes: "We could get rid of all but 1,000 of those BIA people and make things really work if control were in Indian hands."

Secretary of the Interior Rogers C. B. Morton, who recently tightened his supervision of Indian affairs, asserts that this Administration has made and proposed changes that would give tribes great self-determination. White House sources say other revisions may be recommended.

Critics, however, charge that the Bureau is "awash in red tape" and often allied with business interests wanting to exploit Indian lands.

Hearings into Government policies are planned soon by the Indian Affairs Subcommittee of the Senate Interior Committee. The group is headed by Senator James Abourezk (Dem.), of South Dakota, who advocates legislation "that will help provide Indians with jobs, schools, housing and health care on a par with those of the non-Indian."

Some Indians are pessimistic about the chances of far-reaching change. Vine Deloria, Jr., president of the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, says many lawmakers are uninterested in tribal problems. He fears "no action in Washington, more frustration and violence by Indians, and more reprisals."

Mr. Cook, on the other hand, believes that conditions are ripe for a housecleaning in the Capital. The Indian Congress leader is confident that "the consciences of the American people and Congress" will make good the promises broken in the past. He concludes:

"This is what we're asking: Remove the shackles put on us by a Government that tried to destroy us. We want to move into the mainstream—but preserve our heritage at the same time."