

AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORICAL RESEARCH PROJECT

University of New Mexico

Side 2 →

Tape Number: Side 1 # 501

Tribe: Cherokee, Chippawa, Tuscarara, _____

Informant: JERRY WILKINSON SAM ENGLISH MYRON JONES
EXEC. DIRECTOR ASST. DIRECTOR (FORMER N.C.H.I.)
N.Y.C. N.Y.C.

DWAYNE LABOON
Law Student
U.N.M.

Informant's home address: ALBU. N.M.

Band or Clan: ??

Date and location of interview: FEB, 1970 - KUNM RADIO STATION

Field Worker: IRENE SILETMAN, ANNA BOYD (actually K.U.N.M. Taped an interview with)

Date of transcription: ~~FEB, 1970~~

Contents: Interview of KUNM with the above people concerning current issues, stand of American Indian Today

Evaluation of Interview: Good

Future Prospects:

Miscellaneous Tape #501

Side 2

1. OVERTON James / President of Chickasaw TRIBE - OKla.
"The Unfinished Journey" The 5 civilized TRIBES of Oklahoma
SPEECH
2. MR. WARREN / representing W. Keeter (President of Cherokee TRIBE)
SPEECH
3. JERRY Wilkenson / Cherokee
EXUC. Director N.I.Y.C.
INTERVIEW

FEB. 1970

HILTON HOTEL, ALUB, N.M.

INDIAN EDUCATIONAL WORKSHOP
SPONSORED BY THE B.F.A.

The 1st two are tapes of speeches made
the interview was of comments about the
conference + current ISSUES.

Good

Irene Silent man
Anna Boyd

Tape #501
MISCELLANEOUS
KUMN Interview
February 10 1970-26th
By ANNA BOYD and IRENE SILENTMAN
Side one

Jerry Wilkenson-Cherokee, Exec, Dir, NIYC
Sam English-Chippewa, Asst. Dir. NIYC
Myron Jones-Tuscarora, formerly NIYC
Dwayne LeBeau-Sioux, ICAP, UNM Law
student....discusses: Ind, youth
movements, current Ind, affairs,
land and water rights, self-de-
termination.

- Q. Good evening.....my name is Mike Caldwin, and you are listening to Acropolis, a monthly program of interviewing and debate, but generally a form style of programming. Tonight's subject is dealing with Indian affairs and we have with us in the studio this evening, Jerry Wilkenson, who is the Executive Director of the National Indian Youth Council, Mr. Sam English who is Assistant Director of the National Indian Youth Council and Myron Jones, former project director of Community Development for the National Congress of American Indians.....and Mr. Dwayne LeBeau who is a law student at UNM. And I will be questioning them on various aspects of Indian Affairs.....To start off, what I would like to ask first....is what are the basic problems of Indians, in primarily a white culture..? If any of you would like to respond.....we can edit out anything that is on the tape.....don't feel, you know, inhibited.....
- W. Well, I think probably the most revealing aspect of the problem as found in the statistics relating to Indian ecology.....for example, in the field of education, 60 to 70 percent of Indian students drop out of high school and only 1% of the Indian population goes to college and out of this 1%, about 60% drop out.....In the field of housing.....it runs as high as 80% of Indians living in substandard levels.....The average family income in, for example in Philadelphia, Missouri, is \$550 a year.....on the Navajo reservation it is \$1500 a year.....The reasons for these statistics are more complex.....I think just recently, have we been able to make some improvements in them, but I think that some of the basic reasons that these statistics are existing, we haven't made much progress as far as that goes.....(?).
- Q. Would you say that most of the Indians have been kind of poverty stricken, are in this situation?
- W. Well, it depends on what you mean by poverty.....I

think that we are poorer in the physical means, but I don't think that Indians belong to the culture of poverty at all.....I think that we belong to a very rich culture.....I think we have.....the lifestyle of Indians is very rewarding and fulfilling and I think when someone talks about Indian poverty, they are talking about lack of material things.....

Q. Is there a conflict between the kinds of opportunity open to Indians who live on reservations and those people who live off the reservation? And acculturate themselves into a white urban society?

E. I think there is.....In one sense there, the dominant white world has greatest respect for that which seems to be familiar....like it.....and someone who had spent many years in the city or was born in the city feel more like the white person and in that case, it is easier to hire.....I think that it is very much like the situation where for years.....only very light skinned Negroes were hired for anything and now so many changes have come over, the Afro's are accepted..... but someone could have spent 30 years on a reservation and if they were well-educated, would seem to whites to have a white style about them. They would make it simpler and you also find this situation..... people will say that the Indians, immediately around them are not acceptable to them, but all other Indians are wonderful..People out here think eastern Indians are fine.....and people in the East think Pueblos are great.....their love or acceptance is inversely proportional to the distance, directly proportional to the distance.....

Q. What accounts for that, I mean why is that?

E. Ethno-centricism.....needless to say.....

W. I think that one of the things that this country has a fewer of, is difference.....you see that in Oklahoma, in a country store.....A white farmer goes in and finds two Indians speaking Creek or Cherokee, he will be terrified over this thing.....and you run into this, As long as there's this proximity, he's really scared but he's out there.....becomes kind of a fantasy.... perhaps the Eastern people think the Pueblos don't really

exist, you know, perhaps they are just some romantic idea of Pueblos. And out here we have the same kind of situation.....for example, in Ponca City, Oklahoma, local Indians are very often refused service.... in a bar, however, an Indian from outside the area wouldn't have much trouble in getting served.

- Q. So, there could be some kind of comparison made between Blacks and Indians in that respect.....The northern Negro is much more acceptable to the southern whites than the people that lived in his own areas, or born Black.....The United States, historically, surely hasn't had a very clean record regarding its affairs with Indians and dealing with them. Principally among them, I suppose, would be the question of land.....Do Indians have enough land on which to live and make some kind of living?
- E. Certainly not, many of the tribes are constantly in the process of litigation to get back some of the land which has been lost and, of course, one of the problems with the federal government is they are attempting to get them to do the things that the other people should be doing....As for the situation, for example, many of the Indian people are not the agrarian type, many of them, some of them are, but the majority of them not.....and for whatever land that the Indian people have got...most of it is barren, in Arizona, New Mexico and, you know, white people can't try to maintain a living on 60 acres of land and why should Indians be expected to and you certainly.....
- W. One of the problems, too, I might mention is often that land, which is Indian owned, is not Indian controlled...on many reservations....the white community has almost total control over most of it, as far as leasing and other kinds of thing.....
- Q. Through the BIA?
- W. Through the BIA and through various other kinds of means.....
- E. I have some satisfaction that, the white income per acre on Indian land is 14 times the income of the

Indian and it has usually to do with.....
 with the big jump is between irrigated land and non-irrigated land....It isn't just a matter of more land there is a close connection between land and capital, and the whites who come in, come in with enormous farms and enough capital to irrigate it and develop it and so forth...and that is on Indian land.....the Indian land.....the Indians on their own land and on that same land adjoining it.....will not be able to irrigate, even if the Indian people could irrigate, one of the basic needs of anyone who is doing any type of work in the area of farming, agriculture things and so forth needs the necessary capital, one of the basic problems with the Indian people is they can't get the necessary capital because first of all you land is held in trust.....the bankers.....the financial people are very recuctant to do anything, because it is held in trust.....that is the basic problem and that many of the people do have even if they do want to go into it, expand, for example, whatever operation that you might have, cattle, where the economic unit might be 200 heads where they might have 50, the problem is getting the money to finance and expand the operation.

- Q. Have certain tribes been more successful than others in terms of establishment of a decent standard of living and why would this be so??
- E. I think you are talking about something that is very much a part of the culture, is the fact that the value system of the Indian people are not the same, as the non-Indian society. The standards, for example, are like you mentioned here.....are just not the same.
- Q. What would those standards be for most?
- E. Well, it depends on what area you are in and live there, I will just use a prime example.....One of the values of the non-Indian culture is the fact you're paying a 20 thousand dollar mortgage on you home, a new car... which the Indian people don'tthis isn't necessarily a standard that they attempt to shoot for..... It just isn't, the value system isn't.....
- Q. What things are important to Indians? Culturally. Is it mostly a cultural thing?

- E, Intergrity.....which isn't necessary, the same as a non-Indian society, the status of the father displace in his own society, his family isn't the same as (?) isn't the same.....
- Q. Do Indians have great difficulties working with the BIA at times.....I was wondering if any of your attitudes were expressed in the way the BIA works..... with the Indians.....? Would the BIA be representative of a kind of white attitude towards Indians??
- L. I think it is representative, but it is also victims of it, without knowing it. It had to do with, tribal leadership, is one of the things that gets to me about meetings, tribal groups, or any tribal groups....with- in an hour, they will be outside people coming in and asking these tribal members about water and land rights and I investigated.....it is a very complex issue, more complex than any other group of 50 men in the world....would be willing to deal with in a space of two or three hours and as a result of that the tribal leadership is responsible, theoretically responsible, for anything and everything that effects the tribe.... And neverthe less they are put in a position where they have to be manipulated by things on the agenda in meetings like this and by the agenda of outside leads and put the position of needing some expert advice immediately and the BIA steps into that role, supposedly, they handle the investment questions of how much timber to cut and when.....I don't think that it is necessary at all, that they do play that role because everything works towards that because of the way problems that are being pushed in a sudden way.....and water rights are more complex than any 10 people can handle over a period of over three or four months..... and it is assumed that the BIA is acting in behalf of the tribe with it's expertise, but in fact, it often doesn't.....because of it's role in relation to white society.....
- W. One of the things that I think that this kind of leads this situation to sort of perpetuates itself in that it, perpetuates outside control that to solve all of these problems and to be an Indian, you have to be a lawyer, to find out your status, the status of your land and

so forth, but this kind of a highly complex legal incrustations of reservations and Indian people, it rally perpetuates the outside entrance and outside control of it, it leads to keep Indians incompetent to do certain things and it doesn't encourage development of leadership that knows how to deal effectively with this situation on reservations and so, it is sort of a self-perpetuating situation and I think that this is what most Indians are tending to break down, what is meant by self-determination.....

- Q. So, there are or is a kind of paternalism established accidentally on the whole way that the BIA relates to the Indians....?
- W. This is given to the kids when he is taken away from the parent and sent to boarding schools and he gets it when he gets back and this is just a whole history of this, several generations of it.....and it's kind of one of the things that outside control does...it just saps you, first of all, of any ability that you have to run your own affairs and then second of all, I think that it decreased an individual's work in his own community because you have no power in it, at all, and maybe his neighbor over there doesn't have any power, and so in a certain sense his neighbor isn't worth anything to him, it is just all laying out there.....and so consequently often you have people at each other's throat because of the situation you know, there's nothing, no power there and you are relying completely on the outside and yet you hate to take him there.....
- Q. So, it has the effect of also breaking the internal organization of tribes.....?
- W. Yes, I think often the tribal council....vary all over the country, but I think that when you have an Indian community and you have white folks moving in on you, taking over all the functions of the community, so in order to deal with that, you set up a tribal council and these are the people who often are not most representative of the people but people who can best deal with that outside situation....so you have got to have some kind of structure to deal with all of this stuff up there.....and it is bad when you get those kind of guys who are most in tune with the outside and not the ones who are most untuned with what is

going on in the inside.....you tend to put those kind of guys in the postions.....

- Q. What is being done to alleviate this kind of situation because I know that it is getting extremely bad in some areas.....I am thinking of specifically, the Hopi reservation.....there is quite a bit of conflict there, I was wondering if anything specifically had been done to change this? What can be done?
- L. I wouldn't know too much about the Hopi, perhaps some other area.....I think that an organization is only as good as the people within, and once, I think, that it tries to have a voice, you know, in the selection of key people, not only the Bureau, but any other organization that deals with Indian affairs, once you have an opportunity to make decisions, as to who has key position and I am talking about the people who make policies, within any organization, then I think things will change and until then, I don't know what is going to happen, there isn't anything much to.....this is what I personally think.....
- Q. From reading the newspapers, it seems like there is no love lost between the Indians and Mr. Hickle, what is the bone of contention between Hickle and Indian groups, throughout the country?
- J. I know that.....Indians.....it is so.....so deep, all of his speeches are so paternalistic that it's difficult to believe that, but apparently he doesn't, and the speeches he gave to the National Congress of American Indians convention, speaking in and out, he had seen a cartoon saying, "if you like Custer, you will love Hickle...", he said I think you are going to change your mind about that, "If you like Indians you will love Hickle...", that is clearly just something about a man's style, except that style is just a symptom of things he acted on in Alaska and in his speech about it's time Indians cut the cord.....so forth....
- Q. It is difficult to do when you are not given the power to do that.....
- J. Well, I don't think that there is any problem with Indians standing up on their own two feet.....I think that he means something else by that.....he meant,

he does that little twist of saying that as if reservations were given by the good graces of the government and it stands as an eternal favor to Indian people, that's a peculiar way to make reservations and it is like Hitler saying that he did the Jews a favor by putting them in concentration camps, to save them from the hostilities of their neighbors.....And yet, Hickie has talked about reservations as if they represented some sort of generosity.

- Q. How do Indians, say on a personal level, manage to keep their inward hostilities, mostly some great hostilities on the part of the Indians towards the government and towards white culture, in general.....for the kinds of misleadings and deliberate actions that were taken against Indians in the last century.....and the beginnings of this one.....and in terms of breaking the treaties and so forth.....How do Indians deal with this....? Because I think the classical picture that we have is sort of quaint people that you come to visit on the reservation.....really don't ever stand up and speak out against the situation that they are living under.....is it because they prefer to live that way....go ahead.....
- J. I don't know....at the moment, we have to accept that which has happened in the past.....in fact that at the same time to.....the various dealing that the tribes have with the federal government.....and or at least have the objective of regain....gain it back some which we might have lost.....because there's no other person to use.....
- W. And another thing, in the relationship.....the closeness of Indian families and the way Indians think of each other and the way that Indians cooperate with each other, the kind of existence is a very satisfying one,, it can hold people together through all kinds of things. Indian culture is strong and where it is strong, people can see bad things....going on....but their life style and the way they live themselves are not critically threatened in an immediate tackle.....the Indian life is very satisfying.....way to live...very strong one.
- Q. What recently.....in San Francisco some, there was some kind of action taken, regarding Alcatraz.....What are the basic issues behind the action that have been takenin (?). Maintaining Al-

catraz as some kind of place for Inians, are free to come and so forth.....what is the basic issue involved?

- W. Well, I think it is a symbolic act under the symbolism of the island....is probably the most important thing, I don't think any of us have been involved in that particular project.....I think the people involved in it would speak better for themselves, but I think to me, it was a symbolic thing. The physical land these doesn't excite me too much, back home we have 150 square miles of trees and mountains and so forth and it is pretty hard for me to get excited over 12 acres of rock in the middle of the ocean...you know, it is symbolic.....
- Q. Fishing for questions, because of my lack of knowledge on whats going on but, is there anything that I should specifically bringup? That we could talk about.....
- J. I wanted to say something about your earlier question, is the very strong Indian sterotype is that of all accepting....one of the images you hear at indian industrial conferences.....it's said in a different way but what it amounts to is Inians as cheap docile labor fits the role of manually dexeterous and that sort of' thing.....and I'm not accepting.....I think it is, there is a kind of Indian leader who belives strongly that no action should be taken, it would be offensive to anyone because it's necessary because of the rala-tively small size of the Inian community.....it is necessary to rely always on the power of the hands and these people would look down on any action that would seem to be abrasive.....I know two different meetings of qualified tribes...where the question of Alcatraz was brought up, to vote for regional support and in both cases, they did not vote on it, they tabled it as a question, they wanted to know more about it and the reason for this conservativeness was to do with the histroy that certain white have gone out of their way to push, later on we can hlep you or not help you, and if you are very good we will help you and if you are not very good, we won't help you.....
- Q. And so, people are afraid to like, muddy the water or like more turbulence than there already are.....
- J. Yeah, I think at the same.....a meeting at which no votes was taken on Alcatraz, Commissioner Bruce asked

what he should do? There was a group that had seized his office in Chicago and had made a series of demands.....Should he give into the demands? And they did vote on it.....No, you absolutely should not..... no one should give in to the demands that are made through coercion. I think that it is an approach that "don't offend anyone" approach is one that clearly won't work.....has not worked, shows no sign of working, but I certainly don't understand why people continue to practice it.....

- Q. The social movement within white culture are very different so that attitudes taken and one of those taken is a sort of radical position where people have finally gotten tired of going through channels and not getting anything done and it doesn't seem to me that there are any corresponding sort of movement within the Indian community, is partly responsible for this, the attitude of conservatism....because of not wanting to offend people?
- W. No...I think one of the things is that people, Indians involved in Indian affairs always act within the context of their own community, whereas perhaps SDS radicals completely just cut himself off from his parents and everything and I think especially the young people, Indian young people who are for change are very conscious of the fact, that their mother and their father and their parents and the community, where they come from even though they might be just hot under the collar about different sort of things....that influences their style that he might go about trying to improve people and the way that they demand things and also I think an Indian young person sees very clearly, is the fact that, you know before the old days, this really effort was to assimilate Indians and in that respect is possible.... and he sees he is repulsed by that kind of attitude and also he sees the same thing come on from liberal white people and new left and these kind of people... and who will say, unless you use the words, honky, fascist pig and so forth in every other sentence..... you are not really protesting with it and the Indian young person sees that as the same kind of cultururation stuff.....that has gone on before and it is the same attitude that made our grandfathers cut off their long hair in the Indian schools and it is still carrying on.....by the white liberal community today and.....

- J. This goes back to, I think, to many of the tribes and the way society functions. One of the, perhaps, most unwanted things by any member of the tribe was the bannishment from his own tribe, be expelled from it, I think many of the Indian people, the students, as well as adult people you know still feel that and whatever they do they think in terms of this same thing that I mentioned, the fear of being expelled from their own tribe.....
- Q. That would influence the way they go about fighting a problem, probably.....take a small break, we've covered a number of different things.....
- J. How much longer do we have to go?
- Q. Oh, about 20 minutes, half an hour.....
- J. Well, why don't you just continue on with what you are doing.....
- Q. Well, you know, I have been fishing around.....because my familiarity, I am not all that great...well, we are going to talk a little bit about white attitudes and land rights situation and so on.....why don't you just start asking some questions....?
- L. Have you gotten into the problems of urban people?
- Q. Well, we spoke about it briefly.....
- W. Alright.....you could talk about activities of NCAI.
- L. You haven't gotten there to that yet?
- W. No
- J. Why don't I relate to you the previous experience and then you can go from there.....
- L. Are we doing this one tape.....why don't you turn the tape on.....
-
- Q. I have a question of Myron.....you were working with a CAP director in New York City.....in the anti-poverty

program, can you tell me the problems of urban minorities? How do you see the problems of urban Indians... are they unique in a way or are they related to the other minority problems.....

J. Both, they are related and unique.....I worked in the area of south Brooklyn which is Black, Puerto Rican, Italian and Indian, primarily Iroquois, Mohawks and they were running a poverty program.....they, the Indians, the urban Indians.....they were not at all interested in participating in the poverty programs through this, though this isn't any typically situation the only group of Indians that I have ever had that, a specific trade, under the Iron Workers Union and making a good living and they, at one time, had a community base had been breaking up and most completely broken up and had been over a period of years because as people would make more money, they would move out of their area which was run down and crumbling and move into other areas and I think the situation was also different from that of other urban Indians in that they are close enough to home, to the home reservation and able to travel and use that as a base and they may spend nine months of the year traveling around the country, and three months back on the reservation and when he retires he goes back to the reservation. I don't think that this is the same as the problems, in Los Angeles and Chicago, where Indians come looking for work, any kind of work, and hope for the best, and you are stuck there and wanting to go back but not quite able to go back.....and I think that is specific, you (?) the only thing I have to say about the situation in Brooklyn does not apply to other urban Indian situations that I know of or I have ever heard of.....

Q. Well, I think it was last year the NCAI had a proposal some sort of mechanism to study urban problems, you know, it was defeated as I recall. Isn't there a problem between those Indians who have left the reservation for cities like LA and Chicago and the Indians that work on the reservations.....aren't there problems between them.....that the reservation Indians are afraid that the urban Indians are going to vote to discontinue the federal aid.....?

J. Oh, there is just this situation in Colville, where most

of the members of the council live off-reservation and are, and have been in the (?) unless they changed their minds recently, for termination of the reservation and of per capita payment and is it a very serious kind of thing for the people who live at Colville, which seems to me that they would be the only ones entitled to vote on whether or not the reservation is ended.....and the majority of them are for it...but the majority of the leadership lives off the reservation and would prefer a straight per capita settlement....

- Q. Wendell Chino has quite a few years ago, submitted a position for the BIA and has since then been and in depth study of this and certain proposals were made, one to take the BIA out of the Department of the Interior, one to set up sort of a National Board of Education for Indian schools..... I will direct this to all of you, do you see any in the future that the Nixon administration will move on any of these things? And if not, what is going to happen between the various shifts between the BIA and the tribes??
- W. Well, about all I have seen out of the Nixon administration, so far, is a willingness to do more studies and surveys on Indians....and it appears to us that we already know very much what the problem is and what we want is some concrete action and some concrete programs, but as yet, as far as I know, the Nixon administration has made no moves to solve these problems.
- Q. The BIA has had a history of very indepth study kind of thing.....would you say that they have been very short on action in regards to these study programs?
- W. Well, I think that one of the ways that the National Indian Youth Council has approached all of these studies and so forth is we see very little Indians in it at all, what we see is kind of a conflict between liberal whites who would like to run Indian affairs and conservative whites who run Indian affairs now... and we would, but don't see any Indians participating and being able to participate in any meaningful way in this kind of discussion over education and all of this. And one gets the feeling often that Indians

are on the sidelines and depending on who wins, Indians will be called in to sanction the winner. And it is quite strange in that, one of the goals....what is at issue is Indian control of Indian institution, so if the liberal point of view of things, wins out, that would be ironic.....because it would displace personalities.....

- L. One of the problems the government has with Indians is trying to decide what agency deals with people, you know, I don't think that there is any agency that deals specifically with people other than by services..... and so to remove it, the BIA is supposed to deal with Indian people, you know.....
- Q. Dwayne, in your work with the Indians.....your evaluating CAP's and I know that you are involved in formation of ICAP.....Can you tell us something about what they are doing? And.....
- L. Well, the interior basic idea and concept behind ICAP, as to whether it worked or not.....they are beginning to develop something and well, they are coming up with the results now, as to whether it has worked or not.....The basic idea of it in the beginning was that to provide a staff of technical assistance people the tribe and whatever types of assistance that it needs and being able to obtain it.....funds and so forth, whatever the administration can use, in order to fit their needs because you see, the idea felt that all along there hasn't been these types of people like assistance from the government and other organizations and so we can handle it and staff it and give them some money to do some work with, go out and do the help the tribes do whatever they are going to do and secondly, to provide training, to help train, but first of all, the tribe being able to determine their needs and their response.....
- Q. How are the training programs run.....I can remember looking at the training program, to train fire fighters.....training qualifiers.....and the ditch bosses. Are the training programs training the people to do work that there is usually a market for? Or are they just for training another.....
- L. No, the type of training that was originally visualized

was, you train them to become specialist.....whomever the administrators are, on the reservation, wherever the people are are taking part with the funds that they might need.....to train these people so that they can run better programs, you know.....and this was the concept, not to train these, which is supposedly is the tribes responsibility.....to train their people wherever they are going to live and (?) whatever they might be, but this wasn't the original objection.....

- Q. So then, are you satisfied....then....that people....I was thinking was the Concentrated Employment Programs in New Mexico.....
- L. Yeah, well, my office isn't involeved with this.....
- Q. Well, would you like to comment on whether or not people are being trained for the thing they might be able to possibly find jobs for...??
- L. Yeah, I think so.....I think this is the basic problem that we encounter quite a while ago.....that you know, this being the tribes responsibility to develop their own programs, the ideal thing would be they develop... suppose they get a plant in that's supposed to employ people to do some specific thing.....and then the tribe would train people specifically to do this job, but the problem was that like training little heads and you haven't got the jobs for them anyway....And this is what the basic problem of the Concentrated Employment Program anyway.....and just about all the training programs initiated was the fall down in the developing aspect ofthe program....
- Q.Roberts suggested.....he made this point once....he said that OEO in it's dealings with Indians is different in its dealing with other poverty groups, in dealing with Indians, it was funding the establishment, it was funding the people who were in power..... and that would man the tribal council and in funding others, other groups, it was giving funds to those who weren't the establishment, who weren't in power..... was that.....
- L. What makes you think that?
- Q. Well, that was his point.....Is the OEO funding the

the Indian establishment and is the establishment going to make moves that have to be made?

- L. This is another big question....if I said yes....they do try and they do fund tribes specifically, the tribe develops a project or a program that they would like to operate...based on whatever the needs of the tribes are, right? So then the Indian division funds it, depending on whether the needs of the tribe and also depending on whether it is feasible or not....but mostly they fund it and then ICAP decides whatever assistance they need, okay.....in training, or the development of their skills, will they be able to manage it..... the administration and whatever other aspects are involved you see, this is a regional concept of ICAP.....
- Q. Myron, you have been working next door to ICAP, have you developed any attitudes about it and its work? Maybe you can say something else in this.....
- J. Well, I think I mentioned this a minute ago.....I don't know whether the poverty programs are as relative that we are looking at. The poverty programs in Albuquerque are controlled by the county and I mean....in any of these.....in New York City.....the poverty program is usually lazy, maybe he did take a chance in the way that he structured it but still you find proportionate number and wards, you find disproportionate numbers of whatever that neighborhood establishment was....and the question is what isn't their profession but which side are they on? Are they more anxious to see that everything goes smoothly in the area or are they willing to have a little upheaval for the sake of some real social movement as opposed to an illusion social movement?
- Q1 Well, on which side are most of the Indians involved in ICAP? Which side are they on?
- J. I wouldn't know, I wouldn't dare make that generalization.
- Q. You want to explain that, Dwayne?
- L. I don't know anything about it.....
- Q. Seems to me that there has been a touch on the subject

involved in.....

- Q. Well, then is it feasible to have a statewide Indian Community Action Project?
- L. I am not qualified to say.....
- E. Whether it is feasible or not.....I think that each tribe has different interests and it rally, (?) and many times these cause problems that sometimes just can't be worked out and so that you have basic problems, you get people involved in and have different interests, not too many agree.....
- Q. Myron, how has or in which direction has, has the NCAI moved since the old days when it's reputation was that of, I don't know how to put it in words.....not necessarily a very strong advocate for Indians.....
- J. I know the NCAI only by reputation, so that more and more, it is an emphasis to moving the NCAI office from Denver to Washington, making it's main office in Washington.. an awful lot of.....the real action is going into the fact that individuals in the community has to take place in Congress.....and therefore, a big job of NCAI would be to effect legislation to let people know....about.. legislation and I think this is a real problem...there is so much legislation that does effect Indian communities and whether or not the word Indian is ever mentioned in the law, it is going to have an affect. And certainly, up to now, NCAI has never had a size to begin to cope with that.....and as far as I am concerned, I think the critical role of NCAI would be to let all tribes know what pending legislation is.....and where it stands in relation to committees and really in effect not only be there but act as a tribal agent in negotiation on the legislation because it is very' tricky and small tribes at times, the minority tribes can't afford to have their own word in Washington.... but they keep an eye on things and if they made that a part of NCAI other than to come in as an official spokesman, but this, there is so much detail work to be done in relation of legislation that the key thing about that though, is I don't think the NCAI will ever speak.....I don't think that an individual NCAI'er will ever speak for any tribe without first checking with the tribe....and acting as a spokesmen, only when they are required to do so.....

- Q. Well, would you say that their function was as clearing house, can it be a united political Indian front? Is that possible?
- J. Yes, there are some solutions, but usually what has happened, is it depends on a local level and from a great interest of people involved.....and what happens with the land around Blue Lake is of great interest to people from New Mexico and they all have their own axes to grind and they do have their own legislative groups working and they do have their lobbyist.....Congressmen and Senators are.....
- Q. Can you effective by, how much weight or how much influence is handled by itself?
- J. I think really Toas is (?) it is really effective in through pushing people into a moral corner and not requesting any particular kind of man, just saying, this is where we are....this is ours.....and are you going to do this for us for the sake of this and I think that the Toas thing was, for example, of how that might work, the non-Indian testifying against Taos..... far outnumbered the Indians testifying for it....But together.....
- Q. Why is that so, because some particular situation exists, in Toas??
- J. Well, part of it was just travel moeny. The head of a New Mexico conservation group went to speak in keeping the land there and other lobbying groups have travel money and are able to send their people, have some friends in Washington.....and I don't think they are going to get.....well, I won't say that.....but it isn't likely then that you will ever get all of it... get it together as a political group, I mentioned before the diversity of interest.....and people from Washington and Oregon and California are interested in water, people up in South Dakota are interested in jurisdiction problems, down here it's water.....the primary or principle interests are different.....
- Q. Well, the question has been, can they deal effectively, in dealing with an individaul basis and this is.....
- J. If it is specific in regards to individual grups but if

the issues, that pertain to all for them, well, there is a possibility.....

- Q. I have a question for Mr. Wilkinson.....How is the NIYC set-up and what is it's purpose.....in getting Indian people to cooperate?
- W. Well, it was originally founded in 1961, by a group of college students and returning veterans. At first, it wasn't quite sure what it wanted to do and, of course, that reflected, I think, on the situation at the time and what things were all about, but at least it was going to be a voice of Indian young people.....since that time, it has involved to an organization of 3,000 members that has chapters on various universities across the country and chapters in some Indian communities, as well as, a few individuals members and I think, one of the first things that we have discovered in the council was that the majority of the people who belong to it are reservation Indian young people, as opposed to urban Indians or toher people who are not particularly attached to their community. And one of the things that was discovered quite early was that most of these people were primarily 15 or 16 and 25.....didn't consider themselves youths, because most of the Indian communities that they came from, there was no such thing called youth.....and there were Indians of different ages and just because a guy is a certain age on a reservation doesn't mean that he thinks that just because someone else is his same age that he's got anything special going with him.....and so it reflects quite a few.....quite a spectrum of Indian people. Currently, it is engaged in a number of activities..... there are organizations on college campuses and supporting Indian students on college campuses, engaged in various kinds of issues.....such as the Indian studies programs and various toher ikinds of things... and also we are engaged in filing some complaints against the Bureau of Indian Affairs, on behalf of employees that have been working there for years and years in the same position and we think that this is one of the reasons that the Burea hasn't been as responsive to Indian people as it could have because it would generate leadership within the organization itself, it failed.....to get Indian people in postions of responsibility, and has in fact, really by paternalism and general steriotype attitudes of Indian

confidence and so forth.....has helped to keep Indians down and so curently, we have two suits being filed which should be over the year, maybe 10 or 15.....we think we have some success, so far in that, number of agency directors, have called in the list of thier Indian people and tried to promote as many as possible and they had maybe even in terms of dollars, maybe one hundred dollars, a thousand dollars, maybe fifty thousand.... has been pumped into Indian people for these promotions, we're filing suits and there will be more suits to comeand various different students engage in dif-ferent kinds of smaller projects all over the country.. from language courses to civics courses.....During the summer we have a summer program and last summer we had 150 college students hoping that we will promote some kind ot Indian education because these are institutes run by students and the cirriculum was in large measure developed by the students and we are looking forward to having another one next summer and perhaps expanding on the program....And then, we have considered setting up another company to market Indian arts and crafts somewhere in the East.....and we should have that very soon. There are a number of local issues that are going on throughout the country an we try to get invol-ved in those and involve various people on reservations in different things.....

- Q. You began by saying that when you started there wasn't anything such as Indian youth.....is there now an Indian youth movement? I think that a remarkable percent of the Indians in this state are under 25.....something like 70%.....
- W. I think one of the attitudes of the Bureau is too, in order to show that they are doing a good job and that the Indians are getting into the main stream, is to try to create a generation gap, in the Indian community. I personally, don't think that this is a healthy attitude and it is generation gaping in the Indian commmunity, I suppose, but it is no where the proportions that exist in the rest of the society.....
- Q. Well, do.....both of you.....do young Indians tend to be more militant and is there a growing militancy among Indians and how will this affect Indian affairs?

W. Well, the Indians have been militant for a long time, because they don't want to adopt the culture of the term 'militancy', and that is not indication that they are not acting and concerned about doing something.... Probably, it is not as visible, if you want to call it militancy or whatever as other groups might be that, but it is till mass movement for change on the part of all Indians, and I think it takes on Indian characteristics and it is done in an Indian way which is the most effective way when you're dealing with their own people.

Q. I have heard that there are some specific incidents, where schools are run by the BIA have not allowed the Indian children going to their schools to speak their own language, is this a prevalent sort of thing..?

W. There are a number of problems like that....there is this prejudice against Indians speaking their own language, many of the kids are called down for that... and some schools don't allow anything Indian to be in the dormitories or in the classrooms or anything, they have an art class and they don't encourage Indians to do Indian art.....And also there is a question of separation of church and state in Indian schools where an Indian kid is practically forced to choose a religion and he has to be Catholic or Mormon when he goes to school. There is a religious coordinator that is paid by the state to make sure that this happens and often this results in a kid ending up with a religion different from his parents.....and especially if his parents has gone to the Native American Church or practice their own native religion, and so these kind of people is not necessarily, this kind of system isn't producing the kind of person that can come to terms with himself or with his community and really be an effective person.....

 Q. Yeah, do you have a few more minutes....can continue with it.....

E. There are a great many different questions..... Pyrmid Lake question still isn't settled and we talk about the question of water rights....land is useless around water to sustain life.....and it is vertually,

the end of the Pauites if the present direction of Pyramid lake continues

- Q. Who stands to profit from the Pyramid lake?
- E. Everybody else in those states who needs water..... there are dam projects.....power projects. It has been diverted in the last 60 years but now it is being diverted even further and it really comes down to the water rights question in New Mexico, had to do with the rights to the Rio Grande.....and what it will come down to, probably politically, will be the growth of Albuquerque versus a living community for the Pueblo, the Rio Grande Pueblos, it is basic as that.....and who is going to stand where, when that comes to a head?

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- Q. The war against poverty....such as it is....has tended to categorize the problem and they usually talk of it in terms of education or housing and employment, is there one need among Indians that is greater than the others, are those three categories appropriate for Indian problems...?
- E. I don't think that the United States, there're not isolated, they're all related, so if a person has a job and is going to build a house (?) a full-time job.....if he has got a house that to protect his family....education, so if anything, it might be a job.....
- Q. Myron, do you feel the same way?
- J. Well, I would add to that in a way, that the problem of maintaining land, rights to the land, the ability to use their land, the water that goes with it....are critical and our Indian, in question, are not in questions of other groups in the war against poverty....
- Q. Dwayne?
- L. I think Myron said it.....
- Q. Speaking of other minorities.....I suppose we are talking about Blacks, can Indians take on some of the same methods used by the Blacks? In their struggle....Is the Black movement and Indian struggle analogous at all?

Could there ever be anything like an Indian equivalent to a Black Panther Party.....for instance.....

- E. Well, there is a group in Milwaukee, an Indian group, which patrols the police, checks out the police to make sure that the police behave themselves in relations with Indians.....
- Q. Have you had difficulties in this area.....police harassment of Indians? In Milwaukee.....
- W. In Gallup.....
- E. Yes, NICY's paper had a great write up on Gallup....
- J. I even hate to drive through Gallup and see what's going on.....
- Q. What is going on in Gallup?
- W. Well, it is a general situation of a town, that economic-wise it is totally tied to the Indian and yet Indians have really very little to say about what happens to them and there is a problem of police brutality and problem of inadequate jail conditions, there is a problem of alcoholism and there is a problem of Indians getting exploited in the Gallup Ceremonial and this is a problem where, I think, Indians are in kind of a twilight zone, It is a place where there is a kind of hostile attitude towards Indians and it makes their living from them and then the tribal.....the reservation where they come from and both the tribe and city disclaim jurisdiction over the problems that Indians have in Gallup, the Indians are caught in that kind of situation.....Also, I think, that it is just the fact that it is almost a kind of classic situation of something that most places have done away with years ago.....One of the things that happens in a way.....is in Gallup, happens in a lot of small towns in Oklahoma....because you can go by small towns in Oklahoma and you can see Indians in the bar moved out into the streets, you see the wagons pulled up and people waiting there and there, you can see all kinds of crimes committed against Indians that don't get taken care of as far as justice goes, you see, this is something that is prevalent all over and there are many specific instances in which the National Indians Youth council has become involved in and I don't know.....was....what the attitudes are.....One thing

it doesn't make much difference to people in Los Angeles and so forth, don't think Indians are real, people in Gallup and various little places in Oklahoma and Mississippi and North Dakota, but local people think of Indians, and these local people, surely, don't have the idea of the noble savage, their idea is of a drunken brown bum.....

- Q. Well, I guess now we are talking about human rights... and I think that was the answer to the question that I asked before.....Can Indians take on the tactics of the Blacks.....and well, you know.....is there a need to radicalize, for instance, Indians in order to make some kind of progress?
- W. No, I don't thinkyou have got to be able to explain this thing to people.....probably people in Indian communities don't understand what Black power is or don't even know who they are.....and so I think what it does is to pull to get the good things in life and pull to remain separate and I think the situation is somewhat different in that, Indians are trying to protect their identity from a lot of things that are happening and perhaps the Blacks are trying to find one.....I don't know what the future holds as far as Indians protesting, but you know, I think that Indians are really one of the most radical people around, they have a lot of opinion and more organization among Indians.....One of the problems wasn't organization because Indians are more organized than anybody else.....and I don't know what direction that is going to take, but we are working on more specific problems.....
- Q. This point about Indian organization.....is the nature of that organization such that it perpetuates, the system as it is now or will it change? When you say, there is a need to protect the Indian culture.....can that happen.....can the Indian culture survive?
- W. Oh, there is no question about it.....no question.... it may not be the stereotype Hollywood Indian of what Indian culture is.....but it will survive and it's a very strong thing.....
- L. Well, Jerry you said that there are 5,000 federally unrecognized Indians in the state of Louisiana.....representing six tribes and about 14 different Indian commun-

ties. And they have maintained themselves as Indian communities against overwhelming odds.....I think this is the idea of radicalizing....what the evolution of Black revolution was from, Martin Luther King and integration position to a separatist position which was considered radical. But what radical Blacks say in that way is virtually any Indian would take for granted.... separate self-sustaining communities that is very radical, but still considered radical Blacks...thought...

- W. I think some of the most radical things.....one of the most radical concepts growing today is the desire of Indians to maintain their identity in a world where there is a great deal of insanity and a push toward sanity and ..(?) mediocrity, (?), I think you want to maintain your identity in a world like that is very radicalconcept.....
- Q. Well, it seems that where there is an urban situation involved with minority groups, this is where the problem begins and so would you say, that as long as Indians are living primarily...on reservations, living in separate communities, that those particular involvements are brought about by the Black Panther Party will not arise among Indians?
- W. Well, I don't know.....you have had Geronimo and Sitting Bull.....I'm not sure if they weren't the Black Panthersthe Indians are standing up to date....and for their rights and control of their own communities, they have stood up in the past and I don't know what form this will take on the part of Indians.....
- L. Well, I think there is such a difference between radical thought and radical action....there are people..... universities are full of radical thought, but people who act in a most radical way....there are people who really do blow up police stations and....really out of desperation, they do it out of the feeling of nothing to lose....there are people who are kicked out of the Panthers for being too bad....too reckless...., too undependable.....and they operated from the feeling that they have nothing in particular....they can't see any future, they had absolutely nothing to lose..... by going to jail for 20 years.....and there is no par-

allel to that in Indian communities.....

- Q. There is always the Indian community which acts as a stabilizer factor.....
- L. The radical action has always grown out of cities.... out of a situation that is almost the opposite..... specifically enclosed with a vague history, well, the culture of poverty that was mentioned earlier. It is kind of a frantic feeling when somebody stands up and says I can't take anymore of this.....there is not a parallel situation.....in Indian communities.....
- Q. So you are saying.....
- L. There is something.....it is good to keep Indians on reservations.....
- Q. First of all, is there still an exodus from reservations, I mean from reservations to cities...? Are Indians leaving reservations in the numbers that they were 20 years ago.....??
- L. I am not sure.....I don't know.....I would venture to say from my travels, that it is pretty well balanced, between the exodus and those coming back.....if anything, there might be more going back.....
- W. Won't the reservations.....and all the things that goes on there, still the reservations isn't a concentration camp and I think that it is the best thing that Indians have going, it is the best thing that they have.....
- Q. We have to stop thinking of them as reservations and more as communities.....
- W. Well, I don't know.....
- Q. I wanted to return to the BIA for another minute....I think all of you agree that we were too optimistic with the Nixon administration.....that he is not going to make any dramatic changes.....What are some of the things that need to be done? Dwayne first....should the BIA continue or do we need something new...?.....new federal Indian relationships without the BIA....? Has it's history condemned its future?
- L. I don't know.....my question before...what is there

to replace it?

Q. Well, what kind of changes can we make in it then?

L. Well, I think that there are a lot of changes that they have to make, first of all and just the only problems at the present time and has been for the last few years would be, get them to be more responsive to the needs of the people which is the basic....It has already been indicated, I think, that a few years ago... at a meeting at (?), when they were first contemplating the idea of moving the Bureau to HEW and the tribes said they didn't want it moved to HEW.....you know.....though I am sure that the basic idea.....

Q. How are you going to make the BIA more responsive??

L. Well, I mentioned my thoughts earlier....you know.... I mentioned earlier that any organization are only good as the people that are in it...you know....once the Indians have a voice in the selection of key people in the whole agency then and only then will it change because then they'll get people who are responsive to the needs of the people, there are a lot of people in that organization that could care less about the Indians.

Q. Did the Indians have any voice in the selection of Bruce as Commissioner?

L. This I don't know.....I haven't heard anything.....

Q. Do you agree that, that is the answer, that the BIA could become more responsiveany ideas..... how you are going to do that?

L. Well, I think that there is really a problem with the BIA, within the Department of the Interior and then it is land rights.....if the Department of the Interior is responsible for lands all over the country, as long as the BIA is under it, it is a very serious structural problem....there's the Commissioner of the BIA, he could be the finest man in the country.....his boss is still the Secretary of the Interior....and there's a conflict of interest there.....that comes up again and again, on waterDo you build a dam that

will take away Indian water.....after all the arguments of the Department of the Interior will be this whole section of the country....will profit from the dam, but it will destroy a whole part of this reservation, and I've said a conflict of interest.....unfortunately, there is no conflict of interest.....push comes to shovel, the Department of the Interior makes the decision based on Indian rights measured against the rights of all concerned.....and the BIA officials with the best of intentions will say that about anything, about a school program, about anything else they imagine that they are clear cut Indian advocates, exactly as a lawyer would be.....they're constantly in the position of saying, yeah.....on the one hand these are the Indian considerations and then there are the considerations of the school district as a whole....and so their advocacy is a little half-hearted through structure....

- Q. Well, should it be out of the Department of the Interior.....what should it be??? Should it be under the office of the President??
- L. I would think that directly under the office of the President where everything that happens in it would be much more visible than it is now.....would be better than HEW, simply because of the competition..... Tribal leaders have argued against it being in HEW, said that their greatest concern was competing with other groups for a share of the HEW pot.....
- Q. Speaking of Mr. Bruce.....do any of you have any feelings on how he has done his job so far?? Has he surprised any of you or.....?
- L. Well, my opinion, my personal opinion is one of wait and see.....
- Q. Well, he has been in office now.... for how long?? About nine months.....that's fairly long.....
- W. Well, of course, he got into trouble to begin with in the way that he was appointed.....because as far as I know, no Indian organization or tribal organization was really consulted on his appointment.....he had two things going for him....one, he was an Indian and second, he was a Republican and not necessarily in that order.....of importance.....and as a result, I

think Indian people have been suspicious of what he is going to do and so forth, and he hasn't been directly involved in Indian affairs and whether he is going to be able to pull together a team and be able to do effective work.....and effective advocacy for Indian people, all remains to be seen.....

- Q. Let's take up his boss Mr. Hickle.....how do you feel about Hickle?
- L. I think.....whether Commissioner of Indian Affairs is a good guy or a bad guy.....if he is an out and out louse.....he is going to push against tribal interest, that would be another question, there is no evidence of his having done that.....but I think the question of what a Commissioner.....what any Commissioner in BIA can do within the government structure.....and he is....so far as I know, has not come forward with any new ideas....other than being more responsive, but I, what do you do with responsiveness.....?
- Q. Could he consider, for instance, order from now on in schools, Indians students would be allowed to express their Indianness in whatever way that they pleased?
- W. See that is one of the problems, is that the rhetoric is always the same.....everybody comes on the scene, you have to get to have more Indian involvement.....we have to listen to Indians more.....and so forth...everybody says this, you know.....The question is, what do you do?? And so I think Indians.....I think only action is going to impress the Indian people and this with the Commissioner and we are all waiting, waiting to (?) see what your buddy does, and his attitude and the power involved, so forth, I think that you can institute a lot of changes, but often the rhetoric is so old it makes a lot of indecision... and a lot of inactivity and a lot of bonds.....because everybody is saying the same thing, like community controlled schools.....everybody is for Indian control of the operation of their educational institutions.... I mean that was a communistic five years ago and now everybody was saying it.....but then when you look at the records.....how many schools do the Indians control, or how many boards of education do Indians have that their kids go to.....you don't find very many over the years.....you say that you are for that, but how much

have you done then???? Like at Riverside School in California.....they are for self-determination, they are for Indian control.....of the educational system, but the Indians out there are trying to do it.....and the problems of buling and so forth are enormous.....

- Q. Is one of the problems.....Indian andthe vote? Do you have a voting registration guide? Are Inddians registered.....even if you had all Indians registered to vote.....would it make a difference in that context?
- W. There might be some area in which that would be a general solution.....but I don't think that would be particularly effective except in somefew areas..... Indians have already voted against alot of stuff that's happened., they've voted against the educational system by dropping out of school, they've voted against the economic system by staying on the reservations, they don't go out and punch a time clock, they stay at home. So maybe Indians have been voting all the time.....

THE END