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does not recognize that right, and many thousands of Soviet Jews who want to leave for Israel are being refused."

The declaration said:

"The Jewish people has undergone many persecutions and sufferings, many malicious or well-intentioned assimilation campaigns, and has succeeded in maintaining its identity.

"We believe that, now, again, Jews will answer the anti-Israeli campaign not by renunciation but, on the contrary by fortifying their pride in their people, by exclaiming, Next year in Jerusalem."

[From the New York Times, Mar. 28, 1970]

JEWIS MAKE APPEALS TO SOVIET LEADERS

Moscow, March 27.—Josef Kazakov, a Jewish engineer, and three members of his family today sent a letter to the Soviet Union's three leading officials asking permission to emigrate to Israel.

The letter said that their son, Yasha, was in the third day of a hunger strike outside the United Nations headquarters in New York, protesting the refusal of Soviet authorities to allow the other members of the family to leave this country.

The letter, copies of which were made available to Western correspondents here, said the hunger strike was "a desperate measure" but was not meant "to harm the Soviet state."

"It is motivated wholly by the futility of all the efforts we have made to get permission to leave," the letter said.

It was addressed to Premier Aleksei N. Kosygin, President Nikolai V. Podgorny and Leonid I. Brezhnev, head of the Soviet Communist party. Reliable sources said that members of the Kazakov family had gone to the offices of the party Central Committee yesterday to deliver the appeal but had been told by an official that it would be filed unread.

Yasha Kasakov, 23-year-old Israeli, continued his fast at the Isalah Wall opposite the United Nations yesterday to dramatize his efforts to get his parents out of the Soviet Union. Mr. Kazakov, who emigrated from Moscow to Israel last year, said he would continue to fast, until the Soviet Government responded to his plea.

ISRAEL CALLS ON SOVIET EMIGREE TO END HUNGER STRIKE AT U.N.

JERUSALEM, March 29.—The Israeli Government today called on a recent Soviet immigrant, Yakov Kazakov, to end his hunger strike in front of the United Nations headquarters building in New York.

Mr. Kazakov, who had been the subject of Israeli Government criticism for other public actions, has been fasting for five days.

He has said that he is seeking to publicize his parents' inability to obtain exit visas. A letter from his father, Iosif, published here and in New York yesterday, asked for help to go to Israel, "our homeland."

The Israeli Government, while attempting to publicize what it calls the plight of Soviet Jewry, is strongly opposed to having recent émigrés such as Mr. Kazakov participate in the campaign.

The reasoning seems to be that the Soviet authorities will close the door completely if they feel that those leaving are being enlisted to slander Soviet Government policy.

The Israeli Government statement on Mr. Kazakov's hunger strike was issued after the weekly Cabinet meeting in Jerusalem. A spokesman said that it had been drafted with unanimous agreement.

It spoke of the "Jewish and human drama to which no man or Jew can be indifferent" taking place outside United Nations headquarters.

ISRAEL BACKS AIMS

"Yasha" Kazakov, it said, using the diminutive, began his fast to support his demand

"that his family and all Jews who so desire be permitted to emigrate from the Soviet Union and to immigrate to Israel."

In an apparent attempt to disassociate itself from the émigré's demonstration while supporting his aims, the Cabinet said:

"Yasha Kazakov embarked upon his hunger strike on his own initiative, but the heart of every Jew, every man from Israel and, we believe, every man with a conscience throughout the world, beats together with him in his just struggle."

It added, however, that "the Israeli Government calls upon Yasha Kazakov to cease the hunger strike which he has begun."

Foreign Minister Abba Eban has said that recent immigrants were not the best people to carry the message of Soviet Jewry forward "because we don't want them to be the last" immigrants.

Mr. Kazakov, 22 years old, whose own departure from the Soviet Union last year followed publication in the West of a complaining letter, argues that timidity only encourages repression and that Israeli leaders are out of touch with the situation.

MASSIVE RALLY CANCELED

About 60 persons huddled under umbrellas across the street from the United Nations building on First Avenue yesterday in what had been planned as a massive double rally in support of Mr. Kazakov.

Plans for two rallies—one at 43d Street and the other at Hammarskjöld Plaza, at 47th Street—were scrapped and the few supporters who turned up despite the wind and snow gathered at 43d Street.

"If the weather had been better we would have expected maybe 2,000 or 3,000," one of the organizers said. He said the rally might be rescheduled for next Sunday.

Mr. Kazakov appeared to be holding up well. He strolled around chatting with his supporters and said he was feeling fine.

THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Mr. MONDALE, Mr. President, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, like the weather, is something people always talk about but about which very little is done. And like the weather, it is vulnerable to attack but rarely understood.

I believe the Minneapolis Tribune has done its readers a tremendous service by its recent publishing of a five-part series by Mr. Frank Wright, entitled "BIA: The Red Man's Burden."

This insightful series takes a look at the BIA and its relationship with Indians today. It explains how this relationship developed and why to this day a classic love-hate relationship exists between Indians and the BIA.

This is a timely series of articles, especially in light of the recent upsurge in interest in Indian affairs and the renewed determination of many Indians to regain control of their destinies. The more widespread the dissemination of articles like these, the better understanding people will have of the problems the Indian faces today and the reasons why Indians feel as they do about the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

I ask unanimous consent that this series of articles, as well as an editorial which accompanied the series, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN—U.S. INDIANS' BROTHER—THE BIA

(By Frank Wright)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Suddenly, the American Indian is no longer docile. In his search for a better deal he is increasingly militant—protesting, demonstrating, adopting tactics of confrontation used by other minorities and dissident groups. His most frequent target is the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In this series of articles The Minneapolis Tribune examines the bureau, the Indian feeling toward it and the prospects for reform.)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Some people call it our original army of occupation.

Others call it America's colonial service. Still others call it the great white father—the embodiment of all that is evil in bureaucratic paternalism, the business of doing things for people and to them.

Whatever it is labeled, the Bureau of Indian Affairs—now nearly 150 years old—has been and continues to be the dominant factor in the life of every red American.

Self-determination is on the rise and other agencies are getting into the act, but the bureau retains immense power over the approximately 470,000 Indians who, according to the latest estimates, live on or immediately adjacent to the more than 420 reservations and other sanctuaries set aside for them by the federal government.

The bureau has about 14,500 employees, down a bit from its usual complement but still enough to field one for every 32 Indians it claims to have under its jurisdiction.

BUREAU SUPERVISES ALL SERVICES

For many of those Indians, the local bureau office remains the center of reservation authority.

One observer who visited the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota described it this way:

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs is the economic and political force . . . bureau personnel attend most public meetings and usually call them to get the Sioux to agree to some program or other, and direct them as well. The school teachers are federal employees in the bureau. The local Indian who drives the school bus is a bureau employee. The social worker who calls at Indian homes is part of the same federal bureaucracy. Tribal projects are supervised by bureau officials.

"After living on the Pine Ridge Reservation for a few months, one cannot help falling into the habit of looking back over one's shoulder now and then."

In similar vein, the Harvard Law Review has commented:

"Although the normal expectation in American society is that a private individual or group may do anything unless it is specifically prohibited by the government, it might be said that the normal expectation on the reservation is that the Indians may not do anything unless it is specifically permitted by the government."

Despite the supposed protections of full United States citizenship granted to them rather belatedly in 1924, Indians still are treated in many respects as a subjugated people.

FEDERAL CONTROL DATES FROM 1775

More than 2,000 regulations, 370 treaties, 5,000 statutes, 2,000 federal court decisions and 500 opinions of the attorney general apply specifically to them, according to one count that is not disputed by bureau spokesmen.

Federal control goes back to 1775, when the Continental Congress declared its jurisdiction. Later, in 1789, the Constitution gave the government power to regulate commerce with Indians, a power broadened by statute and judicial decision until it took in general management of almost all their affairs.

Much of the bureau's leverage stems from its authority over Indian land.

The Indians and their tribes own it—50 million acres, an area slightly larger than South Dakota and slightly smaller than Minnesota. Such as it is—and it frequently is remote and scrubby—it is their biggest financial asset.

But the federal government holds it in trust and determines its use. The owner may not sell it or lease it unless the bureau approves.

The bureau, though, sometimes may sell timber from the land or permit other encroachments without the owner's approval—after determining that the owner's long-term interests, as it perceives them, will be served.

If an Indian wishes to eliminate the trust-ship and hold title to his land as do other property owners, he may. But first he must convince the bureau that he is capable of managing his own affairs.

The list goes on and on.

BUREAU MUST APPROVE TRIBAL LAWYER

Much of tribal government is subject to bureau review.

If a tribe hires a lawyer—and there are few Indian lawyers at all and a few white ones who will practice on reservations—bureau approval must be obtained.

The bureau more than likely has had a hand in providing the reservation Indian's home, if he has a halfway decent one; in providing his job, if he has one at all; in providing his education, such as it may be; even in approving the distribution of his personal property in his will, if he has any personal property to distribute.

Reservation Indians are not the only Indians who experience the power of the bureau.

Because Indians recently have become the nation's fastest growing minority and because the marginal economy of the lands that the white man gave to them will not support them all, a new breed of red man has developed.

He is the urban Indian, and there are, according to most estimates, about 200,000 of them living in the larger cities of the nation.

The bureau dominates their lives by encouraging them to leave the reservation—and then turning its back on them. Instead of intruding into every facet of their being, as it does on the reservation, it ignores them—except for a special job training program that has had mixed results—once they reach the city.

BUREAU OFFICIALS CLAIM LEGAL BAN

Bureau officials say that the law prevents them from following the Indian to town.

The truth is that there is no law that says in so many words that they can't.

The bureau attitude was expressed clearly in a confrontation last month between a delegation of urban Indians and federal officials at bureau headquarters in Washington. Clyde Bellecourt of Minneapolis, executive director of the American Indian Movement, asked Harrison Loesch, assistant secretary of the interior for public land management, to "show us that statute."

"You have your own lawyers. You find it," Loesch replied.

The sequel came two weeks later when Walter Mondale, D-Minn., a member of the Senate's subcommittee on Indian education, spoke to an education conference at Collegeville, Minn.

"Mr. Bellecourt looked and couldn't find it," Mondale said. "I looked, and I couldn't find it. The Library of Congress looked, and they couldn't find it."

When pressed, bureau officials say that what they mean is that Congress historically has restricted them by appropriating money only for reservation aid.

In addition, they contend that Congress' approach is the correct one.

URBAN INDIANS "NOT ENTITLED" TO BUREAU AID

It is Loesch's view, for example, that urban Indians aren't entitled to bureau help because they have access to the entire range of government services available to other city residents who need housing, employment, welfare, health care or other assistance.

That sounds good in theory.

But in practice it frequently doesn't work that way.

According to a study done in Minneapolis by the Training Center for Community Programs at the University of Minnesota:

Many Indian people are neither culturally nor experientially equipped to extract the services needed from these agencies. Ignorance about what services are available or appropriate; lack of knowledge about how to proceed to get help; transportation and child care problems which prevent visiting agencies; frustration and anxiety over residency requirements; delays and the completion of many forms; reluctance to visit agencies where few, if any, Indian faces are likely to be found; embarrassment over the personal appearance caused by inadequate or inappropriate clothing; lack of understanding of just what is expected of the Indian client by agency personnel; unwillingness to ask questions for fear of being embarrassed—these are some of the barriers which prevent Minneapolis Indians, particularly those new to the city, from getting the services and help which is available."

What it all adds up to, for both the reservation Indians and those in the cities, is that life with the bureau seldom has been a happy medium.

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN—REDTAPE, LOW RANK HURT INDIAN BUREAU

(By Frank Wright)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Bureau of Indian Affairs may be more bound up in red tape than any other agency in the free world.

But that is not its only encumbrance.

In addition, it is a second-class citizen in the Interior Department, where it has been billeted since 1849. And, when it goes to Capitol Hill, it must deal with congressional committees that usually are more interested in land and its valuable resources than in people and their problems.

Together, these factors make it a wonder that the Indian has made any progress at all.

Just for starters, the bureau's manual of regulations and procedures contains 33 volumes.

They are not regarded lightly.

Over the years the bureau has earned a reputation as one of the slowest and most hidebound agencies in the federal government.

In 1961 a task force was set up by then Interior Secretary Stewart Udall, an incoming Democrat, to study Indian policy. The task force criticized "the slow rate at which the bureau performs through a network of reviews and appeals all the way to the secretary's office, with numerous side trips to specialists and solicitors."

The situation apparently didn't change.

When the Republican proprietors took over in 1969, a new study was ordered. Prepared by Alvin Josephy Jr., an expert on Indian life and history, it said the bureau is a compilation of checks, balances, caution, resistance and delays, with little decisiveness and action. "The layering and compartmentalizing . . . result inevitably in slowness, frustrations and negativism, as well as a continuing Niagara of studies, assessments, opinions and reports. The bureau . . . is literally drowned in paperwork, while on the reservation level the Indians wait."

The bureau has been criticized repeatedly, both for its structure and for the caliber of many of the people who work for it.

Josephy's description of the bureaucratic roadmap:

"At the present time, a decision between the Indians and a branch officer on the reservation faces a long, torturous route from the branch officer to the agency superintendent to the area branch officer to the area assistant director to the area director to the division in Washington to the assistant commissioner to the commissioner and perhaps higher still. Eventually it starts down again, following the same zigzag route. Even this is a simplified route . . ."

STUDY AFTER STUDY COMPLAINS OF PERSONNEL

Study after study, expert after expert, task force after task force have complained about the personnel:

"Simply timeservers of mediocre or poor competence who remained indefinitely because they were willing to serve in unattractive posts at low rates of pay for long periods of time . . ."

"In the 19th Century the Indian service was a patronage dumping ground for unscrupulous politicians. In the 20th it has become the refuge of incompetent civil servants. The blatant corruption and victimization of the last century has given way to ossified mediocrity."

"There are a lot of good people over there, but it's amazing how many have lost their pizzazz because of the frustrations."

"The Bureau of Indian Affairs is anemic. There's a river of tired blood."

BUREAU PRESSED BY OUTSIDE INTERESTS

Aside from its own structural and personnel inadequacies, the bureau constantly faces trouble from pressures originating elsewhere in the Interior Department.

The interests of oil and other minerals, electric power, water, mines, parks, fish, other wildlife and outdoor recreation all are represented by offices in the department and all come complete with powerful outside lobbies. Often they cast a hungry eye toward land owned by the Indians and held in trust for them by the bureau.

The situation was summed up this way in a memorandum written last August to the Senate subcommittee on Indian Education by Gary Orfield, an assistant professor of politics and public affairs at Princeton University:

"Interior is an old-line unimaginative agency very heavily preoccupied by the political struggles over federal lands in the West and by a variety of resource management tasks. Coping with human problems and community development are not basic parts of the department's mission, and its record has been very poor."

Much the same situation pertains in Congress, where the bureau is the business of the House and Senate Interior Committees.

As Orfield put it:

"These are low status committees offering few political rewards for most members, and thus they are composed largely of either newcomers, lacking seniority or (senior) men from western public land states who can make political mileage representing business and community projects which are dependent on Interior Department cooperation. The constituencies represented on these committees tend to be far more conservative and far less sympathetic to social problems . . ."

INTERIOR COMMITTEE'S CONCERN SINKS LOW

Interior Committee interest in solving Indian difficulties has sunk so low that non-members in Congress have started guerrilla actions. Rep. Donald Fraser, Minneapolis Democrat, has helped organize an informal bipartisan group in the House which is trying to prod the bureau. Walter Mondale, D-Minn.; Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., and others in the Senate are trying to persuade that body to create a new select committee on Indian needs that would take the play away from the Interior Committee.

Neither effort has had much success so far.

So the Indian, ensnared in red tape within

the bureau, pushed to the bottom of the totem pole within the Interior Department and given an often cool reception in Congress—finds it tough to get action.

"About the only time we win around this town," says Browning Pipestem, an Indian lawyer in Washington, "is where there are no interests competing with us. And how often does that happen?"

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN—INDIAN LOT IMPROVING, BUREAU CLAIMS

(By Frank Wright)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Life for the red man, to hear the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) tell it, is getting better all the time.

His health is better, his living conditions are better, his education is better, his economy is stronger.

The bureau has the statistics to prove it, naturally, most of them based on improvements in the past 10 or 20 years:

Largely because the Public Health Service has entered the field, life expectancy of Indians born today is 64 years, up from 44. Deaths from tuberculosis, intestinal diseases and pneumonia have dropped sharply. Many more babies are being born in hospitals and are surviving. The birth rate of the once-vanishing American is now about double that of the United States as a whole.

More than 90 tribes have established housing authorities to work with the federal government. As of June 30, 1968, about 2,700 new dwelling units had been completed; 1,500 more were under construction in a cooperative venture with the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

The school dropout rate among Indian students for whom the bureau is responsible has been cut. The average Indian now has 8.4 years of schooling, up from 5.5 in 1950. The number wanting to go to college—and capable of it academically—is increasing. The bureau now officially encourages pupils to attend public schools rather than its own—and 58 percent or more do. For those still in bureau schools, official policy now calls for bilingual education and an approach intended to make the Indian aware of his heritage and proud of it rather than uninformed and ashamed.

Whereas Indian income previously was so small as to be virtually unmeasurable, it is up to about \$1,500 yearly for a family of four. Industry is being attracted to reservations, often with the help of the Small Business Administration. Indian land holdings are now increasing rather than dwindling.

BUREAU THINKS POSITIVELY ABOUT RECORD

As would almost any agency, the bureau is thinking positively about its record.

Even the bureau, however, admits that Indians continue to be the most disadvantaged minority in the country.

The Indians' health level is still the lowest in the nation. Life expectancy still falls short of the 70.5 years on which Americans as a whole can count. Infectious and communicable diseases still occur with greater frequency among Indians than non-Indians, largely because of malnutrition, unsanitary water and lack of knowledge of basic health practices. The government's efforts to build more hospitals, provide more doctors, take health services out into the field where Indians can get access to them fall far short of the need.

Housing is still pitiful, as anybody who has ventured off the main highways of a reservation knows. In 1969 a bureau survey showed that almost seven of every eight units were either substandard or overcrowded. As any Indian housing authority that has tried knows, getting approval for a new project from the government is easier said than done.

As for education, the Indian dropout rate still is almost 50 percent—compared with 27 percent for all American pupils. The 8.4

years of schooling still is less than the 10.6 average for everybody else.

Like other minorities, the longer the Indian stays in school, the farther he falls behind his white contemporaries.

And there is plenty of evidence to indicate that the bureau's educational practices fall short of its proclamations.

NO DISOBEDIENCE—THINGS DON'T HAPPEN

For example:

In 1966 Dr. Carl Marburger, superintendent of schools in Detroit, Mich., where he built a record for working with minorities, became the bureau's first assistant commissioner of education. He left only 15 months later, totally frustrated. "There was not a flagrant disobedience of orders or anything of the sort, but just a failure for things to happen," he said.

Small Eskimo children still are uprooted from their families and sent thousands of miles to attend bureau schools because the bureau happens to have an empty classroom in one of the "lower 48 states" and none in Alaska.

The report of the Indian Education subcommittee of the Senate, issued last November after an exhaustive series of hearings and field trips, alleged that many bureau schools were still trying to expunge all traces of Indian heritage from their young charges and were still trying to pressure them into accepting only the white man's ways and attitudes.

NEW BOARDS ARE MOSTLY ADVISORY

In 1968, President Johnson ordered the bureau to establish local Indian school boards on the reservations. Practically all that have been created are advisory only and are in most cases ineffectual, the Senate subcommittee found.

In addition, it found that Indians had little say in forming educational policies in states—such as Minnesota—where no bureau schools exist and the federal government gives special aid funds to local public school districts for accepting reservation pupils. Minnesota is among the states making some measurable but small progress.

In the words of Sen. Walter Mondale, D-Minn., a member of the subcommittee: ". . . the basic issues in Indian education are still totally unresolved."

As for the Indians' economic status, the red man obviously has a ways to go to fill his dinner pail. The \$1,500 average income is only half the \$3,000 that a family can earn and still be classified as officially poor.

Industrialization is considered the best prospect for uplifting reservation economy, but progress is slow at best.

ONLY HALF OF JOBS GO TO INDIANS

According to critics, about 10,000 new jobs have been created on or near reservations since 1962, but less than half have gone to Indians. Indian unemployment still runs about 50 percent, more than 10 times the national average.

Many of the new industries, usually run by whites, are small and financially marginal and employ primarily women who receive low wages. The failure rate is high, leaving the victims not only depressed economically but also emotionally drained.

The bureau likes to point out that Indian land holdings increased more than 100,000 acres between 1966 and 1968 and that its policy—after watching the holdings decline from almost 150 million acres to 50 million—is to encourage expansion rather than dispersal.

That is little solace, however, to those who have seen their land succumb to the white man's view of progress—such as the Fort Berthold Indians of North Dakota.

Garrison Dam, stretched across the Missouri River by the government in the 1950s, flooded 25 percent of the reservation—150,000

acres of fertile bottom land that was the basis for the Indians' rather healthy agricultural economy.

ANOTHER BROKEN PROMISE IN NORTH DAKOTA

The bureau refused to support an Indian plan for an alternate site that would have taken land less valuable. The government did promise to provide 150,000 acres of downstream land as a substitute, but then it failed to deliver after the dam was built.

Unemployment and relief costs skyrocketed.

Ultimately, the government paid the Indians about \$80 per acre but declined to let them keep mineral rights. Later, oil was discovered, but the Indians received no royalties.

The Army relocated those forced by the rising water to leave, moving them out in alphabetical order without regard for community or family relationships. Native villages were dispersed.

A picture of George Gillette, then the tribal business council chairman, weeping as the land is signed over is a tragic classic. It would be easy to get the same kind of picture there today.

As one recent account puts it, "Today, many years after the opening of Garrison Dam, Fort Berthold is still in emotional and economic shock."

Bureau officials continually urge Indians to keep looking to the future.

Given the past and the present, many Indians find that admonition hard to swallow.

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN—INDIANS HAVE CURIOUS LINK WITH BUREAU

(By Frank Wright)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—At first glance, the Indian attitude toward the Bureau of Indian Affairs is most curious.

Many Indians have despised the bureau for many years—and yet they are among the first to come to the agency's defense whenever its existence is threatened.

It is a classic love-hate relationship that has survived for almost 150 years and seems destined to continue for many more.

One has no difficulty in understanding half the equation—why thousands of Indians nurture a deep animosity toward the bureau.

Often it has been the instrument of federal policies that have, to say the least, done the Indian little good.

First in the earliest days of Indian affairs efforts, came the policy of extinction under which the government tried to kill off the red man. To make the practice attractive according to historians, the government paid bounties for Indian hairpieces—and so the white man became a scalper.

The removal policy was adopted next, in the early and middle 19th century. The government forced the Indians to give up their land in the East—much of it lush and valuable—in return for frequently barren Western acreage that often required a change in the Indians' way of making a living and then was still unable to support them.

Among those promulgating this systematic uprooting was Thomas Jefferson, usually thought of as the great champion of liberty and freedom. As president, he expressed the hope that removal of Indians from the more heavily settled East would contribute to their advancement.

The policy, which came to rely more on military force than on diplomacy, was almost totally effective. The only federally connected Indian lands of any size that remain east of the Mississippi River are those in Florida and Wisconsin.

About the only thing the Indians got out of this involuntary migration was the promise that they could hold their new lands—such as they were—forever.

Toward the end of the century efforts to

"civilize" the Indians and make them "self-supporting" began.

The technique this time, in true capitalist fashion, was to make every Indian an owner. Reservations, traditionally held in tribal or community ownership, were broken up, and each Indian was given 40 to 160 acres as his very own.

Also, efforts were begun to erode Indian culture. Chiefs were undermined. Native religions were discouraged, in some cases outlawed; Christian missionaries were encouraged.

The idea was that the Indian would be assimilated into the white man's melting-pot world. The actual result was that many Indians, preferring the old ways, turned their back on the effort. Others tried the melting-pot but couldn't succeed.

Thousands of acreage allotments were sold by Indian owners to non-Indians who had the desire, the financing and the business acumen to accumulate them and develop them profitably. All told, it was one of the biggest land grabs in history. Over 50 years, Indian holdings declined from almost 150 million acres to 50 million.

Indian economic dependency on the government increased.

INDIANS REJECT CULTURE SYSTEM OF WHITES

And assimilation into the white culture was in many respects rejected. As anthropologist Anne M. Smith has explained it, white immigrants looked at the values and success-oriented goals of mainstream America and said, "It is good." So they jumped in. The Indians looked at the same mainstream in light of their own value systems—based partly on a reverence for the environment as God and on the idea of assistance rather than competition—and said, "It is polluted."

So, except for a brief period of reform initiated under the New Deal in the 1930s—when land allotment was halted, constitutional tribal government was promoted and a measure of economic aid initiated—the Indians have not had a particularly pleasant experience as a conquered people.

Why, then—coming to the second half of the love-hate equation—don't they want to break away from the bureau?

They have had that experience, too, and they found it worse.

Life apart from the bureau was called "termination," and it was practiced by the Eisenhower administration in the 1950s.

Its guiding lights were Arthur Watkins, R-Utah, and Clinton Anderson, D-N. Mex., members of the Senate Interior Committee.

In 1953, in the name of first class citizenship, all of the federal government's authority over half a dozen of the more well-to-do tribes and its responsibilities to them were ended.

The government proclaimed it as emancipation, the end of bureau paternalism.

INDIANS HAVE NO TERM FOR TREATMENT

Most Indians came to see it as just another form of annihilation. Earl Old Person, a Blackfoot who is president of the National Council of American Indians, has said of the policy, "In our Indian language the only translation for termination is 'to wipe out' or 'to kill off.' We have no Indian words for termination."

The experience of the Wisconsin Menominees was typical.

Without being given a choice, the tribe's trust land relationship with the government—which keeps tribes under a government thumb but also gives them a special claim to government services that no other minority has—was ended in 1961.

The Menominees overnight became a county, just like any other in Wisconsin.

It has been downhill all the way.

Where once there was a tribe relatively self-sufficient, with decent schools, reasonable community services and a communally

owned sawmill, there now is the most impoverished county in the state.

The sawmill became outmoded, and forest management controversies with imported white professionals seriously undercut the economy. Little help was forthcoming from any source. Relief costs soared. Median income fell below \$1,000 per family. Indians had to sell their land at auction because they couldn't pay the property taxes to which they became subject after termination. The county tax base is too small to support adequate schools and health facilities.

A University of Chicago study later concluded: "Freedom was the fundamental objective . . . The failure to extend the real freedom of the tribe has been almost total . . . The Menominee tribe is dead, but for no good reason."

There is no record indicating that any tribe became more viable after termination. Most collapsed.

TAMPERING WITH BUREAU STARTS SUSPICION

The policy was abandoned officially after only a few years, but Indians still remain suspicious of any effort—usually started by white liberal reformers—to tamper with the bureau and their relationship to it.

In recent years the reformers' most frequent suggestion has been to shift the bureau out of the Interior Department to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

However, numerous Indians are fearful of losing out to the bigger black minority in such a shift, and they have resisted. They tend to see the transfer as termination by another name, a view that not only may have merit but which also reportedly is encouraged by some of the people in the bureau who do not wish to see their own empires disturbed.

What the Indians have learned in all of this is that life with the bureau is a hardship, but it is better than any substitute offered through the years.

And they opt for what they regard as the lesser of two evils.

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN—CAMBODIA HALTS INDIAN MESSAGE

(By Frank Wright)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Our war in Indochina has claimed a new victim on the home front—the American Indian.

The list of domestic problems from which our energies as a nation have been divided by the war has grown mightily since we escalated the fighting in 1965.

Indian affairs was added to that list last weekend.

President Nixon, according to informants in the administration, was planning to issue on or about last Sunday a special message to Congress asking for new reform legislation on Indians.

But on the way to the tribal council ring Mr. Nixon launched his military adventure into Cambodia and quickly became preoccupied with it.

The Indian affairs message was postponed.

Some of the staff people who had been working on it suddenly found themselves taken off the job and reassigned to figure out why students were striking and closing their campuses in protest against the President's Cambodia decision.

There now seems to be no firm idea within the administration about when the Indian affairs message will surface.

Some informants say it will be within two or three weeks.

Others say it is delayed indefinitely.

Regardless, this is not the first time that Indians have found themselves shunted to the sidelines. Repeatedly in the last few decades, usually whenever a new administration takes over at the White House or a new commissioner is appointed at the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there has been grand talk about a new day coming for Indians.

Most of the talk in recent years has been

about the principle of self-determination—giving the Indians more say in determining federal policy toward Indians in Washington and in running their own affairs on the reservations.

Precious little in the way of dramatic reform has occurred, however.

In the past decade the amount of federal money spent on Indian programs has doubled—to slightly more than \$500 million annually.

About 40 percent is appropriated to agencies other than the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

But most of the money must be funneled through the bureau's bureaucratic maze or spent in co-operation with it, resulting in inordinate delays. And much of it—the exact amount is in dispute—is siphoned off for administrative costs that do little for the supposed beneficiaries.

By law, Indians must be given preference when the bureau hires employees. Even so, Indians comprise only 53 percent of the bureau's total work force of about 14,500. Few Indians are in the high-level jobs. Only 15 percent of bureau personnel earning more than \$14,000 yearly are Indians. Only a third of the agency superintendents are bureau field representatives, key men, are Indians. Only 16 percent of the school teachers are Indians.

The bureau says it has trouble finding qualified Indians for professional positions. Indians say that is a sad excuse and a bitter commentary on the quality of the bureau's education system and on its practice of encouraging students to take vocational training rather than aim for a college degree.

Only two bureau commissioners have been Indians—Robert Bennett, a Wisconsin Onondaga appointed by President Johnson, and the incumbent, Nixon administration appointee Louis Bruce, a New Yorker whose father was a Mohawk and whose mother was an Oglala Sioux from South Dakota.

Both have had their critics—Bennett for allegedly being too close to the bureau bureaucracy from which he ascended and Bruce, a dairy farm owner and former fraternity executive, for allegedly being an "apple." Apple is the Indian militant's term for a brother who is red on the outside but white on the inside.

The highest level at which the Indians have a voice in the government is the National Council on Indian Opportunity, created in a 1968 executive order issued by President Johnson.

Six of its members are Indians, appointed by the president. The first Indian appointees included Roger Jourdain, chairman of the Red Lake Chippewas of Minnesota; Cato, Valandra, a Rosebud Sioux from South Dakota, and Mrs. Ladonna Harris, a Comanche and wife of Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma, former chairman of the Democratic Party.

INDIAN IS STILL OUTVOTED ON COUNCIL

But, once again, the Indian is outvoted by the white man. In addition to the vice-president, who serves as chairman, the other council members are heads of the seven departments and agencies that spend money on Indians—interior; agriculture; commerce; labor; health, education and welfare; housing and urban development, and the Office of Economic Opportunity.

Because the bureau confines itself to assisting reservation Indians, the council has concentrated in great degree on working for urban Indians.

But, overall, the influence of the council depends on the willingness of the white department heads to act on the Indians' behalf. The council as a whole is essentially a co-ordinating agency with no real power to order anybody to do anything.

The Nixon administration has been trying to move in the direction of self-determination but has found the going difficult.

The top priority project of Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel; Harrison Loesch, assistant secretary of the interior for public land management, and Bruce has been to realign the top echelons of the bureau and bring in some new blood—supposedly younger, more flexible and more responsive to Indian needs than the old top management.

Seventeen persons have been ousted, and it is promised that three-fourths of the newcomers will be Indians.

The task of finding them, however, has dragged on far longer than Loesch and Bruce hoped. Some Indians—most of them working outside the government—already were earning too much money to shift jobs. Others, already working for the government, encountered complex Civil Service problems. Still others concluded that working for the bureau would be a sellout. So far, eight of the 17 spots have been filled. Bruce said earlier this week that he hopes to announce the rest of the roster Monday.

One of those who reportedly signed up is Lee Cook, a Red Lake Chippewa who has been serving in the Federal Economic Development Administration. One of those who reportedly declined is Will Antell, a White Earth Chippewa who is the top Indian education specialist for the state of Minnesota.

Loesch and Bruce also are not for the idea of allowing Indians if they wish, to run entirely by themselves the community services that traditionally have been provided by the bureau. This would be done by contract. Financing would come from the tribe's share of federal appropriations now being spent by the bureau in managing the tribe's affairs. The bureau would agree to resume the management of any tribe that tried running any part of its own affairs and failed.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AGENCY IS GOAL

Eventually, Loesch and Bruce would like to see the bureau turned into a technical assistance agency, standing by to help Indian tribes do what they want when they want to do it.

The two administrators have a handful of success stories to which they can point. The Ramah Navajos in New Mexico and the Rough Rock Navajos in Arizona have contracted to run their own schools. The Zunis in New Mexico will soon take over all community services—education, law enforcement, road-building, housing and economic development.

Similar proposals from about 10 other tribes—none in the Upper Midwest—are under review, according to Bruce.

How fast the idea will spread, he and Loesch can't say.

They figure that some tribes will want to stay entirely under the bureau's protective

and admittedly dependency-instilling umbrella. Some will want to experiment with running one or two services and others will want to take on everything. Contracting will not be forced on anybody, they say.

"The point is to make the opportunity available," says Loesch, a blunt-spoken former Colorado land lawyer. "There have been too many people around here who were unwilling to let the Indian make his own mistakes. That's a lot of crap. Everybody makes mistakes."

It was expected that Mr. Nixon's now-declayed message to Congress would include legislative proposals intended to make contracting easier.

Contracting will affect mainly the reservation Indian.

About the best the bureau will promise for the urban Indian is to urge other departments and agencies with Indian funds to use them. The council is promising to do the same, for whatever it may be worth.

MOVEMENT IN RIGHT DIRECTION AT HAND

In sum, there seems to be some movement in what many Indians would call the right direction, a direction that will allow them to take more control over their own destiny and allow their culture to develop again alongside the white man's.

The question is whether the movement is fast enough to do any real good.

Some Indians are encouraged, at least in small degree.

Others, more militant, are not.

To those who take the longer view, the rather moderate concluding words of a declaration of Indian purpose, written in 1961, still apply:

"... The Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed, however long that may be, to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land."

Equally appropriate, to those who take a shorter view, are the words of activist Clyde Bellecourt of Minneapolis, executive director of the American Indian movement.

In a recent confrontation Loesch asked him why he didn't take his appeals through regular channels instead of into the streets.

"We've been trying to go through regular channels for more than 100 years," Bellecourt replied, "and look where it's got us."

[From the Minneapolis Tribune,
May 24, 1970]

BIA: THE RED MAN'S BURDEN

Indian Americans are caught in a dilemma. They suffer in many ways from the heavy hand of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But they know that, as a small minority, they might suffer even more if the bureau were eliminated.

The dimensions of this dilemma have been reviewed in a series of articles by Frank Wright, a Tribune staff correspondent in Washington, D.C. As Wright pointed out, the bureau paternalistically dominates the everyday lives of reservation Indians, is slow in responding to the Indian drive for self-determination, and even falls many times to fulfill its obligations to protect Indian rights. (In the latest example of this, a Bureau of Reclamation irrigation project is robbing the Paiute Indians of a priceless lake in Nevada.)

Still, the bureau has helped to achieve gains for Indians in health, housing, employment, education and income, even though those gains still leave Indians far behind even the poorest of the poor among other groups in American society. Further, Indians saw the devastating effects of a short-lived policy in the 1950s to terminate BIA jurisdiction over Indian reservations.

The dilemma leaves little choice but to intensify the pressure for change within the present system, rather than to seek a new system. That means pressure to gain a stronger voice for Indians in managing their own affairs, pressure for more policymaking positions for Indians within the bureau, and pressure to relate BIA programs to urban Indians as well as reservation Indians.

The new BIA administration has taken some good steps to increase its responsiveness to Indian needs and to encourage greater Indian self-determination. The bureau continues, however, to resist pressures for a greater urban orientation, despite the fact that half or more of the Indian people probably live in the cities. The bureau cites congressional policy to support its stand, but it seems that the biggest obstacle to change is the BIA itself. Those 33 volumes of BIA regulations and procedures are a burden on the backs of Indian Americans.

CONCLUSION OF MORNING BUSINESS

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. SAXBE). Is there further morning business? If not, morning business is concluded.

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. GURNEY. Mr. President, if there is no further business to come before the Senate, I move that the Senate stand in adjournment, under the order previously entered, until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 5 o'clock and 5 minutes p.m.) the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, June 12, 1970, at 10 a.m.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

PRIVACY IS A FUNDAMENTAL AMERICAN RIGHT

HON. JOHN WOLD

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 11, 1970

Mr. WOLD. Mr. Speaker, increasingly, the Members of this body are expressing their concern of the many insidious ways in which the privacy of Americans is threatened. The concern is especially justified because of the changes in our society. The operation of Government and of business is said to require

ever increasing amounts of information about the individual citizen.

Unfortunately, this information is not always kept privileged.

I am delighted that the Casper Star-Tribune, my hometown paper with the broadest circulation of any daily in Wyoming, has joined my deep concern over this issue. I ask that an editorial in the June 10, 1970, issue of the paper, be published in the RECORD as an indication of the growing awareness throughout the Nation of the Government to intrude into areas it ought not to.

Such editorials contribute to the growing public awareness which is so necessary for the protection and preservation of our rights:

[From the Casper Star-Tribune, June 10, 1970]

NAMES FOR SALE: WHAT PRIVACY?

Congressman John Wold is so specifically right in his opposition to the (former) practice of the Internal Revenue Service in selling lists of names that we cannot see how anyone could reasonably disagree with his position.

Selling names and addresses for advertising and other uses is a common practice which helps a few to the annoyance of many. It is a practice which should be outlawed. While we tolerate it, we regard it as an invasion of privacy. Those individuals and institutions which provide such listings cannot be regarded as much less than scavengers at a cent or five cents a name. A customer or prospective customer writes to a company