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Race Relations REPORTER

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No. 20: Nov. 16, 1970

Black politics in the election

The Nov. 3 elections boosted the black officeholders in the South to well over the 600 mark, as compared with fewer than 80 when the Voting Rights Act went into effect in 1965. However, the level of importance of office won by blacks in the region was not elevated. Marvin Wall, research director for the Voter Education Project in Atlanta, reports that the highest level in terms of power and authority for elected blacks remains as that of state legislators, sheriffs and local judges. The black voters' role Southwide is analyzed by Wall in a special report in this issue. RRIC staff writer Bernard Garnett reports how black candidates fared in Alabama, where the predominantly black National Democratic Party of Alabama fielded 162 candidates and the state elected its first two black legislators since Reconstruction. * * *

ESAP funding criticized

The Emergency School Assistance Program (ESAP), a new effort of the Nixon administration to support desegregating school districts, is something less than a smashing success so far. The \$75-million first installment on what is promised as a multi-billion-dollar program has attracted heavy competition in the bidding. Its handling by administration officials under Vice President Agnew's direction has been roundly criticized.

For example, Fulton County (Ga.) Deputy Supt. Douglas McRae said the application procedure has been "handled in a fashion so grotesque and mysterious that it seemed like something straight out of Edgar Allan Poe." McRae said his encounter with government representatives made him feel like he was "in a loan shark office."

A detailed critique of the ESAP operation will soon be released by a coalition of civil rights organizations making a study of school desegregation (*Race Relations Reporter*, No. 19: Nov. 2). The coalition's assessment of ESAP--first installment in a more comprehensive study--is expected to be highly critical of the administration's handling of the program. * * *

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RACE RELATIONS REPORTER

fornia and Nevada that the lake be permitted to drop to its "balance" point. The Paiute have now independently taken legal action against the Department of the Interior in a late-hour effort to save the lake.

It was clearly evident at the convention that Indians must maintain even fiercer vigilance over their rights, because water losses today are very expensive: the Indians have very little left.

Another case that carries the interest of Indians nationally is the struggle of Washington State Indians in maintaining federal treaty fishing rights against the interference of a third party—the State of Washington. The Indians, primarily the Muckleshoot, Puyallup and Nisqually, who endeavor to squeeze a living off their little resources, depend upon the taking of fish for their needs. The state, in protection of its commercial but primarily sports fishermen, insists upon controlling Indian fishing in the rivers and streams. The Indians, to demonstrate their unwillingness to be subjected again to "broken treaties," have conducted "fish-ins," which have resulted in gunfire exchange with state police and the manhandling of Indians by troopers enforcing state law.

The Department of the Interior has sued on behalf of the Indians. But Indians do not consider Interior intervention always the best course of action. They say that history bears it out, that Interior has often covered its real motives by its overt generous acts. The department went to bat for Pyramid Lake once upon a time, got some laws on the books but made no mention of securing water for Pyramid Lake.

The question emerged as to why a national convention of Indians should be held in such an ungodly place as Alaska. The reasons expressed by chiefs throughout the country have great merit, for the settlement provisions passed by the U.S. Senate in July, 1970, for the Alaskan Indians go far beyond any settlement of Indian claims in history.

If the Senate bill should complete passage in the Congress in its present form, it would set precedents American Indians consider too dangerous to overlook. The Indians went to Alaska to see for themselves what the natives were giving up and to warn the Alaska natives of the dangers of insufficient foresight in dealing with Congress.

ities in the area of solid, basic high school education and greater opportunities in higher education.

In 1968, the BIA listed 14,500 employes and it may be higher than that today. Nevertheless, considering there are some 600,000 Indians in the country, a ratio of one employe for every 41 Indians is an excellent one. Unfortunately, all that labor results in very little benefit for the Indian individual. Thus, NCAI leaders find it hard to blame the youth for their attitudes.

Indians feel that everything they have ever revered and protected has fallen prey to the needs of the growing white population. Now, it's water and the abundant life it holds. Though the Indian was hoodwinked out of his land and his buffalo, he's not about to be deprived of his water rights or his fishing rights.

The danger of losing water rights faces many Indians in this age of high water usage. Any contest, whether generated by a state, the federal government or the Indians themselves, will affect all Indian tribes that depend heavily upon their right to utilize their water resources.

One of the nation's leading experts in Indian water rights, Bill Veeder, an attorney in the BIA, was at the convention. Although his knowledge in this delicate area probably surpasses that of any other expert, Veeder, by federal law, is not permitted to act as counsel or co-counsel on behalf of Indians where the U.S. Government may be a party on the other side of the issue. Major legislation will be introduced in the next Congress to correct this law.

Many dozen water-rights cases exist, but two important examples are Pyramid Lake, Nev., and fishing rights in Washington State.

Pyramid Lake was "drained" by deprivation (diversion of feeder stream) so that a desert community of whites could be built on its diverted waters. The Paiute Indians who once lived in natural harmony with the environment, now watch their lake drop a foot and a half each year—down a total of 80 feet since the Bureau of Reclamation built a dam across the Truckee River.

The Paiute have taken their case to the U.S. Congress only to be outmaneuvered by politics. They have pleaded with the Department of the Interior for the Bureau of Reclamation (under the Department of Interior) to release more water to Pyramid Lake, only to have Interior Secretary Hickel make deals with the governors of Cali-

Tenants and HUD negotiate

The National Tenants Organization has successfully negotiated with the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for a "model lease and grievance procedure" for all existing and future public housing. The agreement, which still must be cleared by HUD higher-ups before going into effect, will guarantee public housing tenants a hearing, with legal counsel, before an impartial board prior to eviction. Conditions are specified under which evictions can occur. Public housing also is made subject to existing local housing codes and tenants are guaranteed the right to withhold their rents if housing managers do not make required repairs in 48 hours. Besides NTO and HUD, the National Association of Housing and Renewal Officials was a party to the agreement. NTO's national conference in Winston-Salem, N. C., this week (Nov. 19-22) will have a theme of "A Decent Home: The Struggle in the 70's." Among those expected to address the 1,000 delegates from NTO's 170 affiliated chapters will be NTO chairman Jesse Gray; Julian Bond; Howard Fuller of Malcolm X Liberation University; and two HUD assistant secretaries, Sam Simmons and Norman Watson. * * *

Richmond asks consolidation

The Richmond, Va., school board has asked U. S. District Court to order the consolidation of the Richmond school system with the school systems of adjacent Henrico and Chesterfield counties. Richmond, which is under federal court order to establish a unitary, nonracial system, has 64 per cent black and 36 per cent white students. If the three systems are consolidated, the racial proportion would be about 67 per cent white and 33 per cent black. Judge Robert R. Merbige Jr. will hold a hearing Nov. 18 on the Richmond board's motion to make officials of Henrico and Chesterfield counties and the state of Virginia parties to Richmond's school desegregation suit. Federal courts have shied from crossing political boundaries on school desegregation suits, although Judge J. Skelly Wright, in his 1967 ruling in the Washington, D. C., school case, recommended that adjacent districts cooperate on a voluntary basis in a racial distribution of students. At an Atlanta seminar on school desegregation last year, U. S. Fourth Circuit Court Judge J. Braxton Craven Jr. predicted that this issue would soon come before the courts. * * *

Two views on militancy

Two black academicians differed sharply over the state of American black militancy at a recent symposium on international racial tensions and identity. Harvard Professor Martin Kilson, a political scientist, stated that there were recent indications that all-black political organizations were on the decline. The reason, he said, is failure to recognize the necessity of allying with whites. Speaking at Vanderbilt University, he said, "Blacks clearly lack the resources for viable all-black political and institutional self-determination."

"Many blacks dislike and hate the very guts of whites and vice-versa... but they simultaneously recognize that they need whites and vice-versa.... Those nationalist Negro groups who propound (otherwise) indulge in sheer fantasy, albeit psychologically satisfying," Kilson said.

Kilson's remarks evoked pointed disagreement from a Fisk University sociologist, Gerald McWorter, who accused Kilson of misinterpreting reality by taking "sort of quick Ivy League fancy footsteps" through history. "The theoretical underpinnings of Brother Kilson," McWorter said, "is basically almost as if God had pronounced that we be all linked together, so that there's no other possible alternative.... The last question I have on all this is, where is Professor Kilson on the question of revolution?" * * *

R-and-B hall of fame

A number of black musicians in Los Angeles have stepped up their 10-year campaign to build a "Rhythm-and-Blues Hall of Fame." The proposed museum is designed to preserve the black music form that inspired today's "Soul" and "Rock" fads. Many of those involved were at their height of popularity in the 1940's and 1950's, when R-and-B was the "pop" music favored most by black youths. Much of the legal groundwork, such as obtaining a California state charter and tax-exempt status, has been completed, and the creators have begun concentrating on developing concrete plans. Band leader and promoter Johnny Otis estimates the outline should be ready early next year.

Otis told RRIC that in addition to enshrining R-and-B artists, the Hall of Fame would offer musical training and scholarships to inner-city youths and provide temporary assistance to R-and-B artists facing financial difficulty. "We envision a center resembling the kind of clubs we had to play in the old days, though may be not quite that funky," Otis said.

"I'm happy to see that people are interested in the music our people have produced," Otis said. "But Rhythm-n-Blues still is a little neglected, though things finally are getting better." He was referring to the 1970 Monterey (Calif.) Jazz Festival, in which he and other former R-and-B greats were starred performers during the annual blues segment museum project. They first received national publicity during Otis's recent guest appearance on "Homewood," an educational TV show originating in Los Angeles. "It's something like Country-and-Western music. People used to look down on it, but now it's respectable, and they have their Hall of Fame in Nashville," Otis observed. "In the old days," he recalled, "we were musical step-children in the black world. What we played wasn't considered 'true' blues--which is a bunch of bull because our music was actually urbanized blues. Jazzmen also frowned on us." * * *

'Directions in Black Studies'

The Center for African and African-American Studies (CAAS) will conduct a three-day conference (Dec. 3-5) at Atlanta University, focusing on the theme

"Directions in Black Studies." This third-annual conference concentrates on giving direction to educators and scholars in Afro-American research. Among the persons scheduled to head seminars and serve as consultants are Arna Bontemps, poet, historian, novelist and librarian; poet Don L. Lee; Dr. Horace Mann Bond, dean of the School of Education at Atlanta University; and Hoyt W. Fuller, editor of Black World. CAAS director Dr. Richard A. Long expects an attendance of 400 to 500 persons. * * *

Minority medical students

Figures released by the Association of American Medical Schools indicate that the 40,238 students in the 107 U. S. medical schools include 2,604 members of minority races. Nearly 42 per cent of the minority students are freshmen. The AAMS reported that minority enrollment in this year's freshman class was nearly 50 per cent higher than last year (1,084 this September, compared to 727 in 1969).

The number of Negroes in medical school now stands at 1,509--of whom 697 are freshmen. The 148 Mexican-American medical students include 73 in their first year. Indians totaled only 18 and 11 are freshmen, while Oriental enrollment stands at 571, of whom 190 are freshmen. Puerto Ricans numbered 358, and 113 are freshmen. The increase falls far short of the number the National Medical Association says will be necessary to meet acute health needs in minority communities (See Race Relations Reporter, No. 14: Aug. 17).

Black librarians organize

A group of young black librarians, who met last summer at a Fisk University program on black studies materials, has formed a new organization to "make library science relevant to the black experience." Helen Quigless, an officer of the Association of African-American Bibliography, said that the group, which now has 40 members, plans an evaluation of existing black studies materials--including bibliographies; a revision of Library of Congress subject headings to make them reflect more accurately the black experience; and compilation of a "Black Union Catalog," which would list all materials available in black collections. AAAB would try to make sure that black studies programs do not become a "capitalistic hustle for racist publishing companies out to make a buck" by issuing inferior materials, she said. The association's president is Alex Boyd of the University of Illinois. Write Helen Quigless, 1884 Columbia Road N. W., Washington, D. C., for further information. * * *

REPORTER POSTSCRIPTS: The board of directors for Race Relations Information Center will meet in Nashville on Saturday, Nov. 21.... Race Relations Reporter will change its frequency of publication during the holiday period. The next issue will be dated Dec. 7 and publication will not be resumed until the mid-January issue. * * *

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mation. Mrs. Elizabeth J. Johnson, assistant dean of admissions at the University of Virginia, was elected secretary.

In two days of discussions, the group explored a range of issues and mutual problems. Among them:

- Black students' financial needs, the diminution of federal funds for student aid, and the absence of any black administrators in the financial aid offices of the colleges;
- The need for more supportive services for black students, both in academic and in extracurricular matters;
- The pros and cons of alliances between the black students and white radical students (There was a general consensus that most black students tend to regard white activist groups with suspicion and distrust. "They call themselves radicals and revolutionaries," said one, "but a lot of them are just playing poor." Said Walter Murray Jr. of Vanderbilt, "The black students are living with reality, but the white students are living with illusions. They have other interests, but if we allow something other than race to become the issue, we lose out." And Ben Colbert of the University of Georgia added, "We have to do our own thing, and the whites are no help. Long hair, bare feet, playing soul records—all that is just jive." Several of them noted that whites reacted indignantly to the Kent State killings but hardly acknowledged the shooting of blacks at Jackson State.);

• How to increase the numbers of black professionals on their campuses and in the many colleges and universities that have none;

• How to relate to existing organizations of black professionals in the academic world, and to overcome the apparent conflict between their role and that of the black colleges.

It is probably inevitable that the desegregation of higher education in the South should raise a conflict between those who are committed to the survival and growth of the black colleges and those who want to establish true parity for blacks at the formerly all-white colleges. The black administrators in Atlanta seemed especially sensitive to this dilemma, and they tried to stake out a middle ground between the two. Said Tommy Nelson:

"This has been one of the battles black people have always had to fight. It's not a question of black colleges or white colleges. What we're after is seeing to it that as many black kids as possible get a good college education. It's going to be a long battle, and I don't see any answer in sight. But we can't worry about it. We can't let it come down to a question of one or the other. We have to have both options, in order to make sure that black people have the skills to be productive and to survive in this society."

Cherokees Fight Poverty, Illiteracy

BY FRYE GAILLARD

The Cherokees' problems with the U.S. government began in earnest in the 1830's when most of the tribe was rounded up and shipped west by President Andrew Jackson, who defied the U.S. Supreme Court to accomplish the feat. More than 4,000 Indians died during the forced

march from Georgia and the Carolinas to the oil-infested, hardwood hills of eastern Oklahoma. But the survivors did quite well once they got there.

By the dawning of the 20th century, the Cherokee nation had adopted a constitutional system of government providing for courts and jury trials, representative councils and universal suffrage for persons over 18 years of age. A system of taxation supported such services as road construction and education, and the educational system itself was extraordinarily effective.

Some 90 per cent of the Cherokees were literate in their native language, which is no mean feat. The alphabet invented in the early 19th century, by a Cherokee thinker named Sequoyah, has more than 80 characters.

At the turn of the century, the Cherokees had their own Cherokee Nation, with a high literacy rate and its own governmental system of courts and schools. Then when Oklahoma became a state, the federal government dismantled the Cherokee Nation and the Bureau of Indian Affairs took over. Frye Gaillard visited the Cherokees in Oklahoma and found that they now have a high rate of illiteracy and poverty. In the next issue of the *Reporter*, he will report on white and Indian efforts to solve these problems.

Bilingual education was so successful that the Oklahoma Cherokees had a higher English literacy level than the white populations of either Texas or Arkansas. In addition, the tribe had constructed a system of higher education that included more than 200 schools and academies, and it was not uncommon in those days for Cherokee students to go to Eastern colleges.

But times change, and today the average Cherokee adult (according to computations by the U.S. government) has completed slightly more than five years of school. The drop-out rate among Cherokee young people hovers around 75 per cent, and the resulting illiteracy rate among adults is approximately 40 per cent.

A large percentage of the Cherokee fullbloods now live in Adair County, a ruggedly beautiful land of rocky hills and colorful scrub oaks, but which in economic terms is the third poorest county in the entire country. Some 90 per cent of the Cherokee families living there are on welfare, and the average income among Cherokee fullbloods is believed to be less than \$500 a year. Some families have no income at all.

What happened to the tribe is quite simple. Oklahoma became a state in 1907 and when it did, the Cherokee Nation was dismantled by the new sovereign, typically enough, in violation of earlier treaties. Affairs in the future were to be handled by the U.S. government on the grounds that the government could do it better, and because the powers that mattered were convinced that you can't have a nation within a nation.

And so in 1970, Cherokee fullbloods are among the most powerless people in the world—a fact that becomes all the more curious in juxtaposition with two other facts. First, the tribal treasury is not empty—far from it. It contained almost \$1.5 million as of last April. And second, the titular chief of the Cherokees is W. W. Keeler,

the chairman of the board of Phillips Petroleum and one of the most powerful men in Oklahoma.

The most contradiction between the fortunes of Keeler and the poverty of his tribesmen has resulted in a bad press for the chief lately, and his supporters are evidently becoming a little skittish in the presence of journalists.

Thus, at the expensively modern tribal headquarters near Tahlequah, Okla., earnest talk is heard about "Chief Keeler's sincerity" and about plans to bring industry into the area, and the promise is that things will get better in the not too distant future. Many Cherokee fullbloods are inclined to doubt it, however, since Keeler has already been chief for 22 years and things are still as bad as they ever were.

But to a large number of Cherokees, what they see as Keeler's lack of effectiveness in serving their needs is of secondary importance. They seem to resent most bitterly the fact that by any reasonable standards, Keeler is not even an Indian. Officially, of course, he is. He is one-sixteenth Cherokee and a descendant of an ancestor officially listed as Cherokee by the U.S. government. That, by government definition, is all it takes to be considered a Cherokee, and there are some 90,000 people who meet that requirement. Of the 90,000, approximately 50,000 are almost completely white, biologically speaking, and are completely white in every other way. Of the remaining 40,000, only about 10,000 are fullbloods.

Another deep resentment many Cherokees harbor with regard to Keeler is that they did not choose him. He was appointed in 1948 by President Truman, in classic testimony to the Indians' lack of control over their own affairs. Fullbloods held an election in 1954 in which Keeler was voted out, but the Bureau of Indian Affairs refused to recognize the results, and Keeler remained as chief. In 1969, a Cherokee named George Groundhog filed a federal suit for the chief's post, but the suit has languished more than a year in the courts, and at present an appellate judge is considering whether the case should be considered.

In the meantime, the Cherokees struggle against an overwhelming array of problems. Recently, for example, a group of several dozen fullbloods met in the hills near the tiny community of Bull Hollow, Okla. They huddled in the barren living room of a four-room farm house, while an old pot-bellied stove reflected enough heat to reduce the late-evening chill to a bearable level. The meeting began with a Baptist prayer and then a hymn—both in Cherokee—and the discussion continued from there. No English was spoken, except occasionally in translation for a mono-lingual visitor. As the conversation dragged on, many topics were taken up, but the most urgent concerned the land—and its perpetual shrinkage. In one way or another, Cherokee land-holdings are reduced by some 5,000 acres a year.

The problem stems in large measure from federal policy. In 1887, Congress decided that Indians were just like ordinary white folks and passed legislation granting each Indian 160 acres of his own. The hitch was that few Indian tribes had any tradition of private ownership of land, and consequently landholdings down through the years have become thoroughly fragmented. It is not unusual now for a dozen Cherokees to hold part interest in a 160-acre plot.

But the real hang-up is that the State of Oklahoma has passed what is known as the partition law, which states that when one person owning an interest (any interest at all) in undivided land asks that the land be partitioned among the owners, his request has to be granted—regardless of the desires of the other land-holders. And if the courts rule that the land cannot be equitably partitioned, the property has to be sold and the money partitioned—regardless of whether the land-holders want to sell or not.

Money for land is a bad deal to a Cherokee, but in practice the courts almost never partition the land. Instead they require its sale, very often to a white man, at official appraised value.

The second most frequently employed tactic to compel Cherokees to part from their land is the method currently being applied against Susie Black Fox, a poverty-stricken Cherokee woman who recently requested anti-poverty food commodities. Under Oklahoma law she was denied the commodities because she owns more than 40 acres of land, and no one who owns more than 40 acres—even, for example, an elderly, crippled person, living alone with no visible means of support—is eligible for any form of welfare. The result is that Susie Black Fox, who meets all other eligibility requirements for commodities, must sell three-fourths of her land or do without.

In addition to land problems, the health needs of the Cherokees are also acute. Every day at the small and understaffed Indian hospital in the town of Tahlequah, Indian patients spill out of the waiting room and into the halls. The overburdened doctors are able to spend an average of only six minutes per patient. Leo Greenawalt, the young and energetic director of the hospital, says many of the diseases afflicting the Cherokees are almost unheard of among whites today, and to complicate matters, many of the patients speak only Cherokee, while the doctors speak only English. And, says Greenawalt, the situation does not seem to be getting much better.

But there are people, both white and Indian, who are trying to help the Cherokees. Their efforts will be reported in the next issue of *Race Relations Reporter*.

Colleges Accept 'Seg' School Grads

Admissions officers at Southern colleges and universities are not eager to talk about it, but graduates of the private segregated schools that have sprung up in the wake of integration present a problem. It's not because the "seg academies" are unaccredited—most colleges now are willing to accept a variety of students who for one reason or another are not graduates of accredited high schools. The real problem is the uneven quality of the academies—from pretty good to extremely poor—and the lack of any effective way to assess that quality.

A check with admissions officers at half a dozen major colleges and universities in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee indicates that the "seg academy" graduates have little difficulty being admitted. But the admissions people say the longer a student has been attending one of the private schools the more difficult it is to tell how well prepared he is for college. Said one official: "We're non-political at

the input level. The only thing relevant is, has the student's school experience adequately prepared him for what this university will require of him? The longer he's been enrolled in one of the new private schools, the harder it is for us to answer that question."

The Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, which accredits educational institutions at all levels in the Southeast, is said to be watching the private school phenomenon carefully but apparently will not take any position either for or against the racial policies of the schools. Dr. Felix Robb, executive director of SACS in Atlanta, says the association's standards of accreditation do not extend to the question of admission based on race or sex. It's entirely up to the colleges, he says, whether to accept graduates of the segregated academies, and it's his guess that the colleges will not be influenced by whether or not an applicant's preparation was in a segregated school.

A possible consequence of the growth of private academies is that more emphasis will be given to standardized test scores. One admissions official said, "The less we know about the school an applicant has been to, the more we'll have to lean on his ACT or College Board scores. Otherwise we have no real basis on which to evaluate his grades in school." Standardized tests have come in for heavy criticism of late, and their importance as a primary measurement of admissibility has been declining. Ironically, the segregation academy graduates could bring about a restoration of the former status accorded to the tests.

If colleges are now paying less attention to the accreditation status of high schools—and the evidence seems to indicate they are—the implications of that could have a seriously detrimental effect on the whole accreditation process, at least at the secondary school level. Some college admissions officers say that in time the accreditation machinery may help to put the spotlight on "fly-by-night, commercial schools" and others thrown up as a desperate defense against integration. But one dean says, "a school can meet the minimum standards of accreditation and still do an abysmal job of education." And he adds: "We don't attach much significance to accreditation."

American Indians Meet in Alaska

BY JAMES THOMAS

American Indians divide into philosophical-issue areas: Tribal (reservation) Indians, Urban Indians and Indian Youth. All three issues were discussed at length during the 1970 Convention of the National Congress of American Indians held late last month in Anchorage, Alaska.

As time neared for the convention's panel on youth, a small number of students from the U. S. West Coast busied themselves placing posters and placards in the entrance to the convention floor. "Biggest Land Robbery" read one, advising Alaska natives not to settle with the U. S. Congress for a fractional sum offered by the Congress. "Red Power" and other demanding displays were apparent as the youth expressed exasperation with

Some 1,000 delegates attended the annual convention of the American Congress of American Indians in Anchorage, Alaska, on Oct. 18-24. RRIC asked James Thomas, a full-blooded Tlingit Indian of Yakutat, Alaska, to report on the convention and summarize the Indian's views of their problems. Thomas is public relations director for the NCAI, which has more than 180 member tribes including some 400,000 Indians. A fuller report on the convention is scheduled to appear in the next edition of the NCAI's publication, the *Sentinel*, which Thomas edits.

the older delegates who have always maintained a dignified air at NCAI Conventions.

A variety of thought was expressed by the large panel on youth. Some members voiced the same philosophies of the delegates in urging an orderly development of Indian affairs, while most loudly denounced the "Apples" in NCAI. An "Apple," explained one 18-year-old college coed from Washington State, "is a storefront Indian, red on the outside—white on the inside"—a rather descriptive simile but difficult to pin on Reservation Indians who still maintain traditional Indian life.

Indian students are impatient with those educated Indian leaders who utter the sounds of great chiefs but do little to solve problems and to fully expose the issues that face American Indians today.

Although Indian youth indict the entire federal system for the "savage" removal of land from the Indians, the Bureau of Indian Affairs is a particular target. The basic federal policy that led to the Bureau of Indian Affairs was established 151 years ago. Yet, today, American Indians remain at the bottom of minorities—sort of a Minority's Minority—in everything: health—life expectancy 44 years; education—average five years of schooling, a high dropout and suicide rate; opportunity—an average family income of \$1,000 to \$1,500, and 40 per cent unemployment.

Many Indian young people feel the reservation keeps the Indian from developing because of strong federal controls over Indian policy on the reservation. Along with urban (non-reservation) Indians, these youth somewhat reluctantly advise a faster acculturation of the people, yet they also strongly promote land takings by the Indians, such as Alcatraz and Fort Lawton in Washington.

Here a conflict exists. Tribal leaders indicate they will fight to their last ounce of energy any attempt to remove any reservation lands from their control and any major attempt to force the white man's life on the reservation people. In contention too, are federal laws that reserve bureau authority only to tribally enrolled Indians. Indian youth and urban Indians feel some of the benefits that reservation Indians enjoy should be available to urban Indians.

Students are frustrated by the bureau's educational policies. The BIA in the past, has been more interested in making Indian tradesmen than in educating them to compete effectively in America. Policy in past years has meant one-way tickets for Indians to urban centers, where they learned to weld pipes or style hair. Tribal leaders agree that the Bureau of Indian Affairs must assign prior-