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United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

January 19, 1983

Mr. Grant Dillman
Bureau Manager
United Press International
National Press Bldg., Rm 315
Washington, D. C. 20045

Dear Mr. Dillman:

We have been savaged by a non-issue generated by sloppy UPI journalism and I want to establish procedures whereby this will not happen again.

Last night your reporter Robert SanGeorge accepted from the commercial PR wire and ran without verification a story erroneously alleging that the Secretary of Interior wanted to scrap the Indian reservation system. UPI was apparently the only major news organization which took that unbelievable PR wire story and ran it without verification. AP, the Post, the LA Times, all the networks, and dozens of other papers and broadcasters called me to ask whether such an incredible statement could be true and accepted my explanation that the story was in error. Only UPI ran it by rote off the PR system, even though acknowledging its importance with the "URGENT" head.

We have been badly hurt, and needlessly so, by bad UPI journalism. The implausibility of the PR wire story was readily apparent to other journalists and could easily have been checked with us. I did not leave my desk from 7:30 a.m., Tuesday, until 1:00 a.m., Wednesday, and the evening was spent on this story. Verification would have been simple.

I am appalled that you would have such standards and I would like to hear from you as to how this situation can be corrected because this is not the first time we have been needlessly burned by UPI.

It took three phone calls to UPI to get a reasonably accurate revised story, such was the reluctance of your editors to acknowledge a mistake, and your wire stories still have not acknowledged the incorrectness of the major premise-- that Watt wants to close down Indian reservations.

Sincerely,

Douglas Baldwin
Assistant to the Secretary



United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20240

January 20, 1983

Memorandum

To: Director, Office of Public Affairs
White House

From: Assistant to the Secretary  

Here is a summary of how the Indian controversy got started and where it seems to be heading.

The Secretary has long been critical of Federal meddling in reservation government procedures and the resultant problems for Indians. In his interview with Conservative Counterpoint the Secretary said what he has said to the press on other occasions--including his briefing 10 days ago on his Annual Report. The difference this time is that Conservative Counterpoint hyped the show with a release alleging that he had called for the closing down of the reservation system (copy attached). They hadn't checked the story with us--they simply issued it through the PR Wire. UPI picked it up without question and ran it almost verbatim.

The controversy continued with echo from Indian "leaders," but has begun to turn our way as we contact the tribes and inform them of what really was said. The Seminoles and the National Congress of American Indians have retracted their initial criticisms and now support the Secretary.

The Administration's position and the Secretary's strong personal views are that the reservation system must be maintained but with substantial improvements in educational opportunities, economic development, etc., occurring primarily through the initiatives of Tribal Governments. This was the point of his comment today on Good Morning America. ABC's Nightline Wednesday came across with a welcomed balance and a surprising amount of agreement that Watt had correctly diagnosed some serious Indian problems (he had never mentioned "venereal" diseases; that was a creation of the Conservative Counterpoint news release.)

We are counterattacking with several initiatives:

- We have strung together the positive videotape--Counterpoint's Indian section, Nightline, some Watt response footage--and are showing it to Indian leaders. Nearly a dozen have seen it thus far. Indian Assistant Secretary Ken Smith hosts the showing and puts it in context; response is favorable.

- The National Congress of American Indians has a regularly scheduled meeting here next Tuesday-Friday and we will have select members breakfast with the Secretary Monday. We think that they in turn will defuse the "emergency" meeting that the militant executive director of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association (NTCA) is setting up for later that day with its overlapping membership.

- We have compiled lengthy call lists of Indian leaders and Smith's people are phoning them to properly explain the issue. They are also meeting one-on-one with Indians as they come into town for next week's sessions.

- Ken Smith has done numerous interviews for Western TV and newspapers.

- We are calling Western editors in Indian country and sending them background such as the White House Fact Sheet. We need the full policy paper, however.

- We have worked through a call list of Eastern network and print reporters and editors to explain the issue--particularly the reality of life on the reservation and the distinction that many had missed in the Secretary's criticism, not of tribal government but of the imposition of a Federal dominance over elected tribal systems.

- Our Congressional Affairs people have explained the issue to Hill staffers and have provided information kits.

Enclosure

USA TODAY

OPINION

John Seigenthaler, Editorial Director
John J. Curley, Editor
Allen H. Neuhauser, Chairman

JAMES WATT

Guest columnist

U.S. tries to build tribal self-sufficiency

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration is strongly committed to strengthening tribal governments so we can bring lasting solutions to problems plaguing many reservations.

Persistent problems on reservations are not the fault of the Indians themselves. Indians are the victims of failed federal policies. Subjugation by the cavalry in the 19th century was replaced with suffocation by federal bureaucracy in the 20th century. Excessive regulation and self-perpetuating bureaucracy have stifled tribes, thwarted Indian control of reservation resources and promoted dependency.

Indian leaders want to take charge of their reservations and their destinies. We in the Reagan administration ardently want to help them achieve their goals. Tribes have a right to develop the human and natural resources of their reservations; the 735,000 Indians living on or near reservations are entitled to the opportunities guaranteed to all other Americans.

Our Indian policy calls for the conduct of federal-tribal relations on a government-to-government basis, just as with states and cities. We recognize a continued federal trust responsibility. With this is a commitment to build tribal self-sufficiency and to minimize federal interference on reser-

James Watt is secretary of the interior.

ventions. Tribes are encouraged to assume responsibility for law and order, education and other services.

President Reagan has established a commission to recommend actions to improve reservation economies. Meanwhile, we are working with new programs to attract private capital to reservations. Just one of these is a new law we supported that allows tribes to enter joint ventures with private corporations in ways which bring not only greater economic return to tribes but also develop Indian skills in business and management.

Some tribes have developed successful reservation enterprises despite past federal policy; we will make it easier for other tribes to follow these good examples.

America's need for energy and other resources will give many reservations opportunities to prosper. Our policy encourages tribes to take advantage of this need, while carefully protecting their culture, environment and sacred lands.

Once freed of this stifling bureaucracy, America's reservation Indians can and will solve many of their own problems, and will contribute significantly to the rebuilding of America.

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The Topic: AMERICA'S INDIANS

Each day, USA TODAY explores a major news issue. Today's page includes our opinion that another study won't solve the problems of native Americans, other views from the secretary of interior, Arizona, South Dakota and Washington, and voices from across the USA.

Restore the pride of first Americans

At some time during his term of office, every American president, starting with George Washington, has asked himself: "What am I going to do about the Indians?"

Different presidents, faced with different times and different pressures, found different answers. Andrew Jackson adopted a policy to brutalize them. Herbert Hoover picked an Oklahoma Kaw, Charles Curtis, to be his vice president.

Most presidents in this century have named committees to "study" problems of Indians. Many have resolved to "help" them. A few have truly tried to be sensitive to the plight of native Americans who are caught in a cultural vise of values in conflict. But, finally, almost every administration has given lip service to superficial solutions. And the country has continued to ignore tragic conditions that cause frustration and hopelessness among the majority of its 1.4 million Indians, 735,000 of whom live on reservations.

Tribes and individual Indians own more than 52 million acres held in trust by the U.S. government. But while the land is theirs and they cling to their cultural heritage, there is little in their daily lives to give them pride.

Life on most reservations is hellish. Unemployment has soared above 30 percent and on some reservations actually approaches 80 percent. Housing conditions are often substandard. Health services are inadequate. Lack of opportunity creates a despair that has produced phenomenally high rates of suicide and alcoholism.

Last week it was the Reagan administration's turn to address the question of what to do about the Indians. The president announced he will name a nine-member commission — co-chaired, of course, by a non-Indian and an Indian — to find ways to improve reservation economies.

The commission's charge is to discover how to develop stronger private sector investment in Indian reservation commerce and how to reduce federal funds and the "federal presence" in Indian affairs.

The Reagan answer to the Indian question would have gone virtually unnoticed had not Interior Secretary James Watt selected that moment to issue one of his cryptic assaults on liberalism, declaring that reservations represent "an example of the failures of socialism."

Some Indian leaders criticized the secretary for oversimplifying the historic complexity of Indians' suffering. Still, the timing of the secretary's remarks will force national attention on the tragedy afflicting the first Americans.

That, in and of itself, is a service. But another study group and another try at reservation free enterprise won't cure Indian ills. The cure won't come until all the people of this land share the Indians' sense of lost pride and determine at last and at least to give that back to them.

USA Today
1-24-83

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RUSSELL MEANS

Guest columnist

Give Indians self-governing states

YELLOW THUNDER CAMP, S.D. — Secretary Watt's latest statement sounds like Hitler's propaganda minister, Goebbels, in the 1930s, when he began talking about a final solution.

Now Secretary Watt has come up with the final solution for American Indians: Get rid of us, get us out of the way. With a stroke of the pen we disappear and simply become members of the different slums of America.

Everyone should remember that the Indian people are the nation's second largest landholders, second only to the U.S. government. Sixty percent of the proven energy reserves of the United States are on our land. And we own most of the water rights out West.

What's happened to the American Indian is no different from what's happened to

many other indigenous peoples around the world — the aborigines in Australia and the Hmong in Laos.

The U.S. founding fathers believed that people of property here have a right to be materially well off. If that principle were working, then Indians would be among the richest people in America — instead, we are the poorest.

Many government agencies take millions in revenue from our land — the National Forest Service, the Park Service and the Bureau of Mines. State and local governments benefit, but not Indian peoples. We're living proof of the failure of the reservation system. We are out of sight, out of mind — we could be on another planet.

Imagine if the state and local governments of South Dakota were abolished. Imagine if every decision that affected South Dakotans were made in

Russell Means is a leader of the American Indian Movement.

Washington. The people would rise up in arms. It would be taxation without representation. Yet Indians remain government wards, totally colonized.

It took the U.S. government 100 years to get us into this condition. We could get out in 20 years, at no cost to taxpayers.

Each reservation should be changed to the status of an independent protectorate, much like the Vatican within Italy. If we were treated as self-governing states, we would have a voice in our affairs and be one of the heaviest contributors to society, from taxes.

It is true that you don't hear much about the fate of American Indians. The public would care if they heard about us, but they rarely do.

JOE DELA CRUZ

Guest columnist

Tribes deserve a role in decision-making

TAHOLAH, Wash. — When Indian tribes negotiated treaties with the United States 100 years ago to protect their rights, our ancestors never thought the resulting Indian-federal relationship would be interpreted to mean federal domination of tribal governments.

Today, we continue to struggle within the federal system against racism and greed, as we seek to protect our tribal rights.

We have found that each generation of tribal leaders must deal with ever-changing challenges if we are to continue to exist as Indian nations, a right we understood was ours when we signed the treaties.

The solicitor's office in the Department of Interior is responsible for protecting the legal rights of Indian people. In the past two years there has

been a noticeable decline in legal issues pursued by the solicitor on behalf of Indians. And some actual and proposed legal actions and opinions have been against tribal interests. This is clearly unethical.

Extensive reorganization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) within Interior was proposed by the administration with minimal tribal participation. Tribal views were virtually ignored until friends in Congress demanded answers. To make major decisions affecting our lives without our participation is simply not fair.

Rather than allow Indian tribes to develop according to their own priorities, the BIA has proposed changes that would give it more authority, and give the tribes less. Relations between tribal governments and the federal government are seriously strained. As

Joe DeLa Cruz, chairman of the Quinault tribe, is president of the National Congress of American Indians.

the private sector bids harder for our natural resources, a protectionist mentality is forming in Indian country.

The Indian-federal relationship can improve if the current administration would only apply its philosophy to Indian country — by eliminating federal intrusion.

Requiring meaningful consultation with tribal leaders on substantive issues would reduce tensions. The Reagan administration has an opportunity to create "a new beginning" for the next century of our relationship. We wait with growing impatience and mistrust, for a relationship requires recognition and dialogue ... and patience has its limits.

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VINE DELORIA JR.

Guest columnist

Without U.S. help, Indians always suffer

TUCSON, Ariz. — Secretary James Watt's recent outburst against Indian socialism is indeed surprising in view of the history of Indians.

In 1885, Sen. Henry Dawes of Massachusetts visited the five civilized tribes, and then spoke to a white group interested in bringing justice to Indians by integrating them in the American mainstream, a position similar to Watt's.

Dawes reported that there were no paupers in these Indian nations. Each family owned its own home, the Indians had built their own schools. No Indian nation owed anyone anything; they were sovereign governments. Dawes thought the tribes had reached stagnation: "There is no selfishness, which is at the bottom of civilization."

With Dawes' enthusiastic support the government divided the reservations into farming tracts and charged the Interior Department with the task of leading Indians into the glories of the private property system of economics. By 1934, the Indians were destitute, dying by the thousands, prostrate by every conceivable measure. John Collier made a valiant effort to reconstitute tribalism and for a short period Indians revived sufficiently to begin cooperatives and tribal businesses.

In 1954, again at the urging

Vine Deloria Jr. is the author of Indian books, including *God Is Red*.

of devout free enterprise advocates, the government began to terminate the U.S.-Indian relationship. Again tribes plunged into poverty and despair.

With Great Society programs in the '60s, Indians made a vigorous recovery. Again, people were fed, educated and employed. Some less fortunate tribal members began to achieve an economic level comparable to other rural Americans.

Then came Reaganomics. Badly needed development and training funds were radically reduced. Today the conditions Watt describes do abound on reservations; they've dramatically increased since his term began.

Americans should not be misled by Watt and Reagan and their description of socialism. They hold the idea that the only valid function of government is to purchase weapons — any other use of public funds is apparently a needless experiment in socialism. Indian poverty is a direct result of misguided efforts to make Indians as miserable as other Americans through the imposition of a fraudulent private enterprise system.

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THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

January 24, 1983

Mr. Joe Delacruz
President, National Congress
of American Indians
202 E Street N.E.
Washington, D. C. 20002

Dear Joe:

This will confirm the agreements we reached at our breakfast meeting. We have all recognized that there are severe problems on the reservations that need to be addressed. We also recognized that to solve those problems we must involve the elected tribal officials and the officials of the Reagan Administration. These officials must deal with the problems and not simply surrender them to the bureaucracies that tend to perpetuate problems rather than solve them.

I am asking, in accord with our agreements, that you appoint the appropriate people to work on the solutions under the budget and time constraints that exist. We cannot afford to sweep the problems under the rug or pretend they do not exist as Washington has frequently done for so many years.

Ken Smith and I will commit the time necessary to work with you and the appropriate Indian leaders to solve the problems that you have identified.

Sincerely yours,

/s/

James G. Watt

cc:
Secy Files
Secy RF (2)

IDENTICAL LETTER TO:

Mr. Phillip Martin
President, National Tribal
Chairmen's Association
1010 Vermont Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20005

Mr. Wilford Scott
President, Council of Energy
Resource Tribes
1140 Connecticut Avenue N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20006

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS OF KEN SMITH
ASSISTANT SECRETARY - INDIAN AFFAIRS
BEFORE THE EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING
OF THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
JANUARY 25, 1983

Introduction

Good morning. I will try to be brief this morning in my remarks because I want to spend more time listening than talking. I want to hear your suggestions and comments on where you want to go in the next two years and what we can do to help you get there.

* * *

I. Secretary Watt

For a beginning, I want to say something about Secretary Watt's much-publicized remarks of last week. I want to point out, first of all, that the Secretary in no way recommended abolishing Indian reservations. That was misinformation put out in a news release and widely circulated. It was not true.

Beyond that I simply want you to hear part of what Secretary Watt told David Hartman on ABC Television last Thursday. He said, and I am quoting: "I've been trying for two years to draw attention to the terrible plight of the American Indian. The American Indian has been abused for years and years. And for too many years politicians have simply been trying to sweep it under the rug, acting like it's not there. They deserve better . . . The Bureau of Indian Affairs has not done a good job . . . If I can draw attention to this Indian issue and get that solved, I will have made a significant contribution to America, and particularly to the American Indian who deserves so much better attention than the government has given him for 100 years. It's a problem we cannot afford to sweep under the rug. Let's address it, let's solve it." Unquote.

Those are the words and the thoughts of Secretary Watt.

* * *

II. The Indian Policy

While Secretary Watt's off-hand remarks were receiving so much attention last week, a major statement on Indian policy, issued by the White House, received comparatively little notice.

The Tax Status Act gives tribal governments the same tax advantages and exemptions as states and other local governments. It acknowledges the governmental authority of the tribes and it provides certain financial benefits.

The minerals act frees the tribes from the restraints of the 1983 Indian minerals leasing act which permitted the development of Indian mineral resources only through straight lease agreements. The new act permits tribes to have a management and entrepreneurial role in the development of these resources. They can now enter into joint ventures and other types of agreements for the development of their resources.

* * *

IV. A Look Ahead

I hope that I will get some ideas from you today of some of the things we should be doing within the next two years of my term in office. I have jotted down some ideas that I am going to relate to you, but I also want to hear from you on your ideas and thoughts. Here are some of the things I believe we should be looking at and that I will be working on:

-- Amend the Indian Financing Act so that an individual Indian entrepreneur can take advantage of our new economic development grant initiative. As it now stands, only tribes and tribal organizations can receive those grants and I would like to include the individual Indian. And we will be implementing the recommendations we will be getting from the Presidential Advisory Commission on Reservation Economies.

-- I will be looking for more ideas from you on ways we can strengthen tribal governments. I particularly want to hear from you on ways that you will recommend that we do that. The new initiative we have in our budget to help strengthen the small tribes will be a big help, but I know we need to find more ways. If you think we need legislation or some other means to do that, I want to hear from you.

-- Contract support funds. We want to change the formula that we have in effect on the amount of monies you get from indirect costs in your government contracts. We want to make the formula more equitable.

-- And I will continue to look for ways to foster self-determination through increased tribal operation of Bureau programs. I keep hearing from many of you that you want control on your reservations. I want you to have it. But you have to be willing to step out front and contract more programs so that you will have the direct control.

* * *

V. Conclusion

There is more I could say about what has been done, but I am going to stop.

There is so much more to be done. We need to look back occasionally. I think we have much to be encouraged by in the past two years. But I am more concerned about looking to the future and what we want to do in the next two years.

The President's policy, the legislation that has been passed, the funding that is being provided are all tools to be used for future accomplishments.

As Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs, responsible for working with you -- with Indian people and leaders -- I see the future as a challenge and an opportunity.

I think we can and will accomplish great things. I hope you share this attitude.

Thank you.

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Jack they check out / go with it on Thursday R4.

Indian political insiders have finally laid to rest the lie that they are unsophisticated, ineffectual, perennial novices in the Washington power game, a charge they have been chafing under for decades. What a handful of Indian leaders accomplished last week during the James Watt "termination" flap establishes them once and for all as highly skilled manipulators of Washington's Byzantine political apparatus.

The few quiet smiles that can be seen in Indian circles this week are well earned. And if some of them share space on Indian faces with a barely-concealed trace of bitterness, that is understandable; vindication has been a long time coming.

The Watt furor seemed on its face straightforward enough. In fact, it was the canny culmination of years of planning and cultivation. The embattled Interior Secretary appeared on a cable television program, "Conservative Counterpoint," produced by right-wing junk mail guru Richard Viguerie, to be interviewed by Howard Phillips, national director of the Conservative Caucus, and Jeffrey St. John, a conservative columnist. In the interview, Secretary Watt directed those who seek examples of failed socialism not to the Soviet Union but to any of this nation's 240 Indian reservations.

There, said the Secretary, one can find it all: the social problems are overwhelming, including unemployment, divorce, drug abuse, alcoholism and venereal disease. As Howie Philips slavered triumphantly over every word, Mr. Watt dropped the other jackboot: "Every social problem is exaggerated because of socialistic governmental policies on the Indian reservation," he said. "Indians have

been trained through 100 years of government oppression to look to the government as the Creator, as the supplier, and have not been trained to use the initiative to integrate into the American system."

It was a monologue straight out of the right-wing breviary and the Secretary's hosts gorged themselves on it. What happened next was quick and, more than predictable, virtually inevitable. Viguerie cranked up his press operation and issued a breathless news release quoting the Secretary as calling for the "abolition" of the reservation system in this country--something the Secretary never said and didn't even imply. The wire services passed the quote on. They would retract it later but too late. The word was out in Indian country and the denunciation marathon was on. Tribal leader after tribal leader, each more outraged than the one before him, demanded Jim Watt's resignation amid grave mutterings about "another termination policy." Even the few tribal leaders who supported Ronald Reagon in 1980 demanded Mr. Watt's ouster, though carefully holding the President blameless in the episode.

The Interior Department spent the better part of two days explaining what the Secretary "really meant." ABC's "Nightline" rounded up four tribal leaders for a program devoted to the Watt interview. The four sat for 30 minutes voicing shock, concern and dismay over the dire threat to Indian people embodied in the Secretary's interview, studiously ignoring moderator Ted Koppel's repeated reminders that Mr. Watt had not, in fact, called for another termination program.

All in all, it was masterfully done. And if Jim Watt was superb as the architect, there can be no overlooking the stunning performances turned in by Indian leaders. They were performances given under enormous pressure. One of the "Nightline" guests described it after the program:

"It was kind of eerie. We pretty much knew what we were going to say and what our answers were going to be regardless of what questions Koppel asked us. Jim went over that thoroughly that afternoon. And he was right on the money about Koppel's being a fair reporter. Jim knew the guy would keep reminding us that he--Jim--didn't call for termination. And sure enough, he did. It was tough not to cave in to, well, the truth of the interview. But that would have wrecked everything.

"But I damned near lost it when they ran that part of Jim's interview that basically called all tribal leaders crooks and thieves--the part where he said all tribal officials are interested in is keeping Indians 'locked up in the desert, away from jobs,' so we can get our hands on all that federal Indian money. I mean, it sounded so real. We get that crap from red necks at home all the time and I guess I'm used to responding to it automatically. But it dawned on me that that's why Jim had said it: it was authentic.

"So when one guy told Koppel we needed more money, that helped me get back on track. I remembered that relocation was part of the old termination program, so I said we wanted money to relocate not just the Indians but the whole damn reservation to the cities. I figured that would put the right-wingers on their

butts--all those old car bodies in their lily-white suburbs."

The entire episode was exquisitely orchestrated. And, while there were a few near misses, there were no disasters. Planning is the reason, planning which for tribal leaders only began two and a half years ago but which for Jim Watt goes back much, much further.

Since he took the reins of the nation's largest natural resource department, environmentalists have been at their most strident ever in calls for Jim Watt's resignation citing alleged depredations against the natural world. To some careful observers, prominent tribal leaders have seemed less shrill--some say almost perfunctory--in their denunciations of the Secretary. To be sure, it is a nuance invisible to all but the most seasoned Washington watchers. But it is real, nonetheless, and there is a reason for it. Tribal leaders know Jim Watt, who he is and what he is about, in a way that environmental leaders never will.

During the transition period between the Carter and Reagan Administrations, Mr. Watt began quietly identifying Indian leaders clever enough and talented enough to become part of a remarkable team. There were never more than a handful but they were enough. In private meetings with them, Watt eloquently described his solidarity with the Indian people and Indian aspirations. He avidly shared the plans for tribal homelands he had developed through the years--years also spent cultivating his ostentatious reputation as an irrational ideologue in posts such as director of the Joe Coors-founded-and-funded Mountain States Legal Foundation.

And he told them, too, of the early years: how he was placed

in Wyoming to be raised by a middle-class Christian couple; how he was made bald surgically to look less benign and more malevolently insensitive; how he practiced the maniacal giggle he would later use to such devastating effect when he spoke of "Americans and Democrats;" and how he was sent to law school. All these details were in pursuit of a single objective, he told the leaders. And with the inauguration of Ronald Reagan, that objective, conceived and set in motion years ago by a man he knew only as Yuri, would in the fullness of time be achieved: he would be the Secretary of the Interior.

In those early meetings, tribal leaders were, as they later recall, frankly suspicious of Jim Watt. They'd seen the reports about the man's statements and his record. And they saw in them nothing good for Indian tribes. But they soon began to appreciate the scope of Mr. Watt's plans and preparations. Suspicion moved to guarded interest, then to admiration for the mind behind it. Trust would come later.

As Watt's dreams for Indians matured, so did his knowledge of the obstacles to the fruition of those dreams. He developed strategies to overcome them. He came to know better than most that any serious proposals in the Reagan Administration to redistribute wealth to Indian tribes would fire the wrath of the right-wing Holy Trinity: Jesse Helms, Paul Weyrich and Viguerie.

Throughout these early sessions, participants remember, Mr. Watt never misled tribal leaders about the stakes or the odds. It was in these early meetings that he showed the candor and honesty that would weld the alliance for the ensuing critical two years.

"He told us that before we agreed to join him, we'd better know the 'stakes,'" recalls one participant. "He said that if we succeeded, we would establish the base for an era of social engineering and radical economic revision that could guarantee Indian futures for a century. He said we'd launch an Indian era that would make the Nixon years look like the Dark Ages.

"But he said that if we failed, he would be through and so, probably, would Indian tribes. And there was only one way to fail."

So long as the right-wing remained convinced of his orthodoxy, Mr. Watt and his Indian allies would be free to pursue their goals. But if the ideologue's image were blemished Watt would be hounded out of office. He warned the Indians that his successor would likely be someone who believed--and was willing to act on--the nonsense that Mr. Watt spoke only out of pragmatic political necessity.

The decision before the Indian leaders was a difficult one. It became easier when Mr. Watt outlined his plans for gulling the right-wing.

"There is about these far right organizations a kind of institutional paranoia," Watt told them. "If they perceive any threat to the movement or to a member, they lose track of everything else and focus on it. The surest way to guarantee my credibility with them is to become a martyr for right-wing ideals."

Mr. Watt outlined in careful detail the role the Indian leaders would play in the scheme: that of Romans to his brutalized, innocent Christian conservative. For the first two years of the

Administration, he said, nothing much would be done to or for the nation's 1.4 million Native Americans. But throughout, Mr. Watt would deliver outrageous public statements about Indian affairs, alternately patronizing and demeaning, always threatening. Indians would form an antiphonal chorus for the conservative audience, shrieking for the Secretary's removal as a lineal descendent of George Armstrong Custer. Indians' public outrage would signal to the right wing that Jim Watt remained doctrinally sound and could safely be ignored.

The Indian leaders agreed and the work began. They were good in their roles, surprising even Jim Watt who had hand-picked them. But still, the roles took some practice. A few rough spots had to be honed down.

"At first we were a little too quick on the trigger," one insider remembers. "It reminded me a little bit of when I was a kid and would bring home a bad report card--usually in deportment. My Dad would take one look at the card and start unbuckling his belt. Before the belt even cleared the loops, I'd start screaming bloody murder. We were a little like that in the early days with Jim. But before long, we learned not to scream until we were actually hit."

The alliance's *raison d'etre* and severest test began last week. Secretary Watt's public anti-Indian outbursts during his first two years in office were only a prelude to the real performance--one designed to pave the way for the unveiling and implementation of the Administration's long-awaited Indian policy statement.

"If those conservatives read that statement and even take it at face value--never mind reading between the lines--all Jim's years of preparation for this moment would go down the drain--and him and us with them," explained one Indian strategist. "Jim said we had to do two things and there was no room for mistakes: we had to convince the conservatives he was really one of them, regardless of the so-called Administration 'stampede to the left'; and we had to convince them that the Indian policy was not to be taken seriously, that it was a joke, no threat to capitalism and that the Administration had no intention of carrying it out."

Secretary Watt suggested, and the Indians agreed, that the best approach was for him to go into the conservative camp and launch a brutal attack on Indians and the federal/Indian relationship.

"Then it was up to us to shed real tears, to bleed publicly and convincingly," an Indian insider explained. "I suggested to Jim that he go on Phillips' program. Some of the group thought we needed a broader audience than a cable program would probably have, something like one of the networks. But Jim said he thought 'Conservative Counterpoint' would be perfect. First, it would be credible for him to sit down on conservative program and really talk from his heart--sort of like coming home. And second, Viguerie, the producer could be counted on to take his most damaging statements, exaggerate them out of all proportion and hit the press with them. That would guarantee us national network attention.

"The other advantage, Jim said, was that he--Jim--would be

able to moderate his remarks a little, counting on Viguerie to distort them. His concern was that Members of Congress who don't know what we are doing might come after him if the most vicious remarks came from his mouth."

Thus, Mr. Watt would have a "misquote" defense against Congressional reprisals and the far right would hear what it had to hear if the Reagan Indian policy were to be announced and implemented.

"Anyway, once we decided to let Viguerie and Phillips do the work for us, setting it up was simple," the strategist continued. "We kicked around what the Secretary should say and finally decided that the most foolproof approach was to hand conservatives some socialist horror stories--that's where we came up with the stuff about the 'socialist government policies' on the res. The rest fell pretty naturally into place.

"It was a serious--even somber--meeting because of what's at stake. But we couldn't help but laugh at the one about rampant venereal disease on reservations. Think about it: Here's Jim, this white guy, talking about VD on the res when half the white people in the country are running around with herpes swearing to each other it's in remission."

It is always the case with a skillful, professional production that the audience remains unaware of disasters narrowly averted. This production was no exception: there were near disasters but they did not distract. As the chorus of Watt denunciations began to reach fever pitch, some Indian leaders, necessarily ignorant of the scheme, began to counsel against

"overreaction." A few, always quick to respond to an official summons, trooped dutifully to the Interior Department where public relations officers (also unaware) argued that the Secretary was being misquoted, didn't say what he said, didn't mean it if he did and probably wouldn't say it again any time soon.

They and others began to urge tribal leaders to focus not on Secretary Watt's interview but on the Reagan Indian Policy Statement. The statment, they said, was the real Administration policy. And too devastating a rebuttal to Jim Watt's remarks could back the Administration off the Indian policy and destroy its prospects for implementation. What those who counselled moderation could not know was that the Reagan Indian Policy Statement could not bear conservative scrutiny: if the tribes en masse focused on the statement, so would the right wing. Secretary Watt would thus lose the critical framework within which he could implement the real policy--his policy. He would also lose the freedom of movement so tortunously gained to manage Indian policy without right-wing interference.

There were a few tense hours when it seemed the chorus would fade, when Watt and his Indian allies feared their plan to divert conservative attention from the Indian policy statement might fail--and with it, the rest of their plans.

But the softening of Indian voices was only a brief interlude. Old habits blessedly took over. For some tribal leaders, denunciation is a formal exercise of tribal sovereignty and can't be overused. For others, it is a healthy purgative and a chance for denunciation is not lightly ignored. The chorus again swelled.

And to its cadence, Jim Watt, Christian conservative, marched toward martyrdom in the socialist arena as the right wing rallied to his defense--all precisely as it was meant to do.

Old Washington hands always quick to criticize Indian politicians and always slow, because of professional jealousy, to praise a successful political ploy not their own, are this week frankly admiring--and plainly astonished--at what the Indian insiders have accomplished. Some, of course, insist that Jim Watt deserves the credit as writer, director and producer of the scheme. But others--most, in fact,--are sage enough to know that Watt would not have risked his long-range plan by placing it in the hands of political incompetents. That he brought tribal leaders into the scheme with him is perhaps the best measure of his high regard for their judgement, their skills and their talents.

One thing, at least, is certain: Washington Indian politics will never be quite the same. One seasoned Washington veteran said it well:

"It used to be that Indians only had two arrows in their quiver when it came to political dealings and once they were fired we'd all go home. First they'd start every meeting with, 'Long ago, before the white man came, my people...' Then after a while they'd stand up as a group and march out of the meeting, leaving the white people with their mouths hanging open. No more."



THE ARIZONA REPUBLIC

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1889-1975
Publisher 1946-1975

EUGENE S. PULLIAM

President

DARROW TULLY

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Director of Sales

BILL SHOVER

Director of Community Services

Where The Spirit Of The Lord Is, There Is Liberty—I Corinthians 3:17

Editorials

Environmental Politics

LEADERS of the nation's five most prominent environmental groups recently met to develop strategies on energy and environmental issues for the 1984 presidential campaign.

Although they always have cherished their rugged independence, the groups met at the Washington headquarters of the Democratic National Committee.

This hardly demonstrates the neutrality that environmental organizations claim in their campaigns for funds.

The fact is, they are becoming politically more partisan.

Environmental organizations have joined forces with an increasing number of lobbying groups to fight such far afield political battles as immigration reform and population control.

They also have allied themselves with consumer causes, opposed the MX missile for reasons not involving the environment, attacked the highway jobs bill and assailed commercial advertising.

Critics charge many environmental groups operate somewhere between political negativism and partisan advocacy of the liberal Left.

There was a time when many termed these same groups elitist Republican.

What caused such a drastic shift?

Blaming the policies of Interior Secretary James Watt is simplistic and essentially false.

Partisan environmental politics really began in 1976 with the Carter administration.

Perhaps never before had so many environmentalists joined government with the deliberate intent of political activism.

Watt has tried to restore balance to federal environmental regulation, but has been met with uncharacteristic rudeness by preservationists.

They hope to recapture political power-brokering of the Carter years.

The political wheeling-and-dealing now practiced by environmental leaders could eventually fracture their organizations along political lines.

However, they apparently are willing to assume the risks of coalition politics to reassert power.

If that fails, then the environmental movement would become nothing more than another political busybody in a jungle of self-serving gadflies.

Its original worthy purposes and goals will then have vanished.



NATIONAL TRIBAL CHAIRMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Suite 910 • 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. • Washington, D. C. 20005 - 4949

202 - 737-7011

January 25, 1983

The Honorable Ronald Reagan
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The American Indian people from across the nation are shocked and dismayed by the inaccurate and reckless remarks of Interior Secretary James G. Watt in the telecast of January 18, 1983. In response, the national board of the National Tribal Chairmen's Association met in Washington, D.C., on January 24 and 25, 1983, to assess the misimpressions created by the Secretary.

Mr. Watt's statements are inconsistent with the facts of history and law and do not comport with your Indian policy statements, by which he is bound. Furthermore, his statements are inconsistent with your campaign promises and the commitments extracted from Mr. Watt during his Senate confirmation hearing of January, 1981.

Indian reservations are the last territory and homeland of the Indian people in this country, and are governed by duly-elected representatives. The United States Constitution recognizes the unique status of Indian governments, which is woven into the fabric of American jurisprudence. Indian reservations are not a product of socialism, but of democracy. The founding fathers observed Indian governments and used them as models for the Confederation resulting in the United States. The federal government gained a territory in perpetuity over which to govern through treaties and other agreements with Indian nations, with promises to: 1) protect the Indians in their reserved territory and other private property, and 2) provide a variety of health, education and social services to Indian people, in perpetuity.

The federal government historically has not lived up to its trust responsibility to fulfill these promises, and it is for this reason that the Indian people today suffer from the poorest social and economic conditions of any population in the United States. The federal government has also failed to live up to its promise to irrigate the arid reservations, and it is for

this reason that some tribes live in desert conditions adjacent to well-irrigated non-Indian lands that have received water welfare for over a century. For the Secretary to blame these conditions on the Indian people or to imply that Indians wish to keep other Indians in a state of crisis is stunning and must be addressed.

The manner in which the Secretary discussed Indian reservations as socialistic in nature and afflicted with drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, divorce and social diseases not only reveals his inability to address these problems, but promotes general misunderstanding of the federal Indian trust responsibility. Under the guise of liberation and freedom, the Secretary promotes a policy that would inevitably lead to termination of Indian reservations and a wholesale raid on Indian resources.

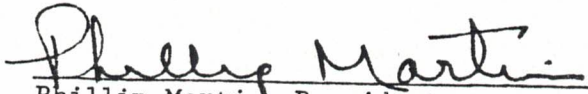
We are deeply saddened that the Secretary has chosen to be so disrespectful of both the Indian people and office he now holds. We call on the Secretary to publicly apologize to American Indian people for his insensitive, ignorant and deleterious statements.

We are resolved to call upon you, Mr. President, to remove Mr. Watt from his position as Secretary of the Interior, which he has demonstrated represents a public responsibility he does not believe in and cannot meet. We ask that you replace Mr. Watt with a Secretarial nominee who is cognizant of the rights and needs of American Indian nations and peoples.

We call upon you to assure that the Indian Nations are accorded recognition of their sovereign powers of self-government, their invaluable Winters Doctrine Rights, and the dignity of their demands that the United States Trustee join the tribes in their efforts to fully protect and utilize those Winters Rights.

Finally, we call upon you to direct that the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service be redesigned and restructured, in order to significantly reduce the cost of maintaining the bureaucracy and to make the savings available at the local Indian agency level.

Sincerely,


Phillip Martin, President
National Tribal Chairmen's Association



NATIONAL TRIBAL CHAIRMEN'S ASSOCIATION

Suite 910 • 1010 Vermont Avenue, N. W. • Washington, D. C. 20005 - 4949

202 - 737-7011

R E S O L U T I O N

NTCA No. 83-1

A Tribal Response To Remarks Made On National
Television By Secretary of Interior James Watt.

- WHEREAS: The American Indian people have registered shock, dismay, and disgust, to inaccurate and reckless remarks made by Interior Secretary James Watt in a national telecast on January 18, 1983, and
- WHEREAS: Secretary Watt characterized Indian reservations as "socialistic" in nature and as being afflicted with drug and alcohol abuse, unemployment, divorce, and social diseases, and
- WHEREAS: Such statements reveal not only the Secretary's inability to administer the Federal Indian-oriented programs and a misunderstanding of the Federal Indian trust responsibility, and
- WHEREAS: The Secretary has outraged Indian communities by his brazen charges of socialism in a callous disregard of the historic role of tribal governments in the introduction of democracy to the early colonies; the democratic nature of present day tribal governments and the valiant, and so often ultimate sacrifices of many Native Americans in the defense of democracy and in opposition to the assimilation of communistic encroachments, and
- WHEREAS: Under the guise of liberation and interaction, the Secretary has advocated a policy that would inevitably lead to terminate Indian reservations and open reservation resources to public exploitation, and
- WHEREAS: Secretary Watt has further demonstrated total ignorance of Indian culture and representative government by asserting that popularly-elected Indian leaders impose chains of reservation bondage upon their respective constituencies in order to perpetuate their political offices and to assure a state of continual indigency on Indian reservations, now

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Board of Directors and the assembled membership of The National Tribal Chairmen's Association calls upon the President of the United States for the resignation and replacement of James G. Watt as Secretary of the Interior, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that Secretary Watt publicly apologize to the American Indian people for his insensitive, ignorant, and disrespectful remarks. Such apology should be made on national television as was the original remarks, and

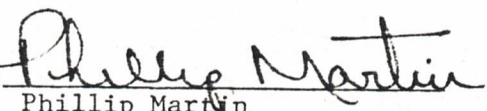
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the President and the Congress redesign and restructure the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service to significantly reduce the cost of maintaining those bureaucracies and to make the savings available to fund programs and services at the local Indian agency level. Such redesign and restructure shall be made in positive consultation with the Indian tribal leadership, and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED that the Indian Nations be accorded recognition of their sovereign powers of self-government, their invaluable WINTERS DOCTRINE water rights, and the dignity of their demands that the United States as Trustee join the tribes in their efforts to fully protect and utilize those WINTERS rights.

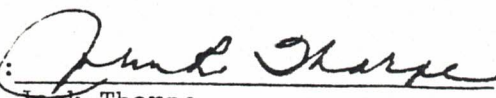
C E R T I F I C A T I O N

The foregoing Resolution was duly adopted by the Board of Directors and the membership of The National Tribal Chairmen's Association at a duly called Special Meeting held in Washington, D.C., on this 25th day of January, 1983.

Signed:


Phillip Martin
President, N.T.C.A.

Attest:


Jack Thorpe
Secretary, N.T.C.A.

Apaches Struggle for Identity

Tribe Learns to Adapt But Won't Be Bullied

By CAROL ANN BASSETT
Special to The Denver Post

WHITE MOUNTAIN APACHE RESERVATION, Ariz. — The narrow road leading through Salt River Canyon cuts through deep gorges into the heart of the White Mountains. It passes through small villages where grazing horses roam freely across the reservation's grasslands. In the distance, Baldy Peak rises white with snow.

It is said that this peak is the quiet abode of the gaan, the mountain spirits of the White Mountain Apaches who make a yearly pilgrimage to the mountain top to pray. Nearby, two different worlds converge, bringing the tribe into modern times.

About three miles away on a lower peak, the machines of modern technology lift skiers to the summit of Sunrise Peak, a ski resort that this year has attracted visitors from as far away as Pennsylvania, Illinois and Europe who are traveling in the West.

Apache Sunrise Ski Resort, owned and operated by the White Mountain Apache Tribe, was conceived as a way of generating tribal income with minimal damage to the environment. Built with an federal economic-development grant in 1970, Sunrise since has expanded to become the most successful ski resort in Arizona.

"We must take the best of the white man's world and blend it with our own without losing our Apache identity," says Ronnie Lupe, tribal chairman of the reservation's 8,000 Apaches. "We envision many diversified developments, but there is no easy road to economic success."

To Lupe, the free enterprise system in America means "hog it all, or someone else will." This is one reason why the tribe has set a goal of using modern technology to develop the reservation's resources, but shuns white man's control.

Sunrise is perhaps the most obvious example of this philosophy. Last month, the tribe opened a second slope, called Apache Peak, which doubled the resort's skiable terrain. The tribe plans to open a third peak late this year.

"We're becoming more favorably compared with Purgatory and Telluride. We are now competing with them for the Arizona market," said Ron Malfara, general manager of the resort. Purgatory and Telluride are major ski areas in southwestern Colorado.

Sunrise is only one of the many industries developed by the White Mountain Apaches in their drive for self-sufficiency. Timber has brought the tribe its greatest wealth. Cattle, fishing, lakes, hunting and camping also have turned this resource-rich terrain into profit.

The rugged Apache highlands in east-central Arizona are blanketed with 1,000 square miles of ponderosa pine, fir and spruce, but there has been ravaging of the environment to support a timber industry. Strict conservation allows recutting only every 120 years, and the tribe maintains greenhouses for reforestation, as well as fire-fighting crews.

The Fort Apache Timber Company, nicknamed FATCO, was begun in 1961 with \$2 million of borrowed money. Today, the tribe owns an extensive sawmill operation, where annual lumber sales exceed \$20 million, providing employment for more than 300 White Mountain Apaches.

Evidence of progress abounds. At Whiteriver, the tribal headquarters 40 miles southwest of the ski area, there are new homes, new office buildings, a new shopping center, a movie theater and bowling alley, and a \$14 million hospital with solar heating and cooling.

"We blend in quite well with the so-called economic changes that are taking place," Lupe said in interview. "But Apache philosophy is diametrically opposed to greed, getting rich. We want our people to realize an advantage over and above what we call the white man's measuring stick. We are being measured in terms of dollars and wealth. But are you really measuring us as human beings?"

Despite the tribe's apparent economic success, problems remain. The reservation's unemployment rate last year reached 40 percent. Much of the housing still is substandard, and alcoholism is widespread.

"The illiteracy rate here is very high," said Phil Stago, director of the White Mountain Recreation Enterprise. "We have people here who have never been off the reservation. Some have never heard of Sunrise."

Stago, 35, who ran against Lupe in the election to become tribal chairman last April, was defeated

Please See APACHE on 10-B

Arizona Apaches Adapt, Retain Indian Control

APACHE From 7-B

by fewer than 100 votes as Lupe moved into a fourth four-year term. Stago said he disagrees with the tribe's position on self-sufficiency and sovereignty, claiming these terms are being used to impress the public.

"The tribal leadership deep inside doesn't want self-sufficiency," said Stago. "Federal grants have flowed like water onto the reservation. That didn't help us become self-sufficient. Instead, we became more dependent on the federal government."

"Now all the federal funds are gone and people are really hurting. Reaganomics is not doing this. We are doing this to ourselves."

In the field of outdoor recreation on the reservation, Stago persuaded the tribal council to assume control of wildlife in 1974. The Arizona Game and Fish Department was ordered off the reservation and Stago, as director of Recreation Enterprise, took over the job of manager for hunting, fishing, camping and other forms of outdoor recreation.

At Stago's urging, the tribal council agreed that game quotas and fees would be set by the tribe, not the state. He also convinced the council to limit the number of non-tribal elk permits to an average of 30. With such a permit, a person can hunt for elk on the reservation for five to seven days with Apache guides. This year an elk permit costs between \$7,000 and \$10,000.

With 400 miles of trout streams, 26 lakes and 1,000 campsites, the tribe brought in \$2.2 million in its five-month recreation season last year. But Stago said the bulk of that was spent on patrolling the reservation and protecting its resources.

"The United States government has guaranteed us sov-

eignty," he said. "Now we are using it."

Most Apaches say that sovereignty always was part of their culture, at least before the white man began meddling in their lifestyle. It is something they are desperately striving to recover.

Related to Canada's Athapaskan tribes, the Apaches reached the Southwest in the 1400s. A semi-nomadic tribe that calls itself Indeeh, the People, they divided into separate groups, roaming the mountains and the deserts.

Unlike other Apache bands, who suffered devastation and plunder in the last century, the White Mountain tribe managed to hold onto this part of their homeland.

The 20th century brought a different battle to Apache country, the struggle to prosper in the face of an encroaching alien society. In the fight to retain their identity, however, the White Mountain Apaches repeatedly have refused to be bullied.

Compared to other Arizona Indian tribes, the potential for self-determination among the White Mountain Apaches is high. A wide range of minerals lies untapped beneath the earth: iron ore, manganese, asbestos, uranium and low-grade coal. There may also be deposits of natural gas and oil.

So far the tribe has done little to initiate exploration. "The tribe has no desire to screw up the reservation just to be self-sufficient," said Charlie O'Hara, administrative aide to Lupe. "Gas and oil companies have wanted to come here. The tribe's attitude is, if our minerals are valuable now, they'll be even more valuable later."

Chairman Lupe admits that the 1.6 million-acre White Mountain Apache reservation gives his tribe an advantage over others,

including non-Indians.

"We have a piece of ground that other people don't have," he said. "We have the high ground. The man who has the high ground wins in a battle."

This so-called "high ground" not only offers resources to the skiing and timber industries. It also contains rich grasslands, fostering another Apache enterprise, cattle.

Hundreds of Apache cattle owners run 18,000 head of Hereford cattle in nine livestock cooperatives across the reservation. Apache cowboys are hired by each cooperative to look after the members' livestock. The industry attracts beef-buyers from all over the country, but the Apaches have repeatedly refused to lease their rangeland to white ranchers.

In Navajo Country, into which the reservation extends, the main industries are tourism and ranching. Anglo residents of the county have complained that Apache prosperity is the result of too many federal grants.

"The attitude of neighboring communities is one of bitterness because the tribe has a beautiful piece of land," said Cliff Anable, program director at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Whiteriver. "The local people perceive that the Indians are getting a big hand-out from the government. That just isn't true."

At Sunrise, 70 percent of the resort's 300 employees are Apaches, according to Malfara, the Canadian who was brought in to manage the resort. The majority of these are ski lift operators and maintenance people, he said.

"The tribe is optimistic about moving more Apaches into top-level management. Skiing is a completely foreign sport to them, but they're definitely getting more open in their dealings with whites," Malfara said.



Carol Ann Bassett

Ski lift carries skiers up mountain at Sunrise ski resort.

A common question asked by non-Indians about the visible progress here is, "Who is running the show?"

According to Stago, director of the revenue-producing recreation operation, most of those in top-level management positions with the tribe are non-Indians. "The majority of Apaches in management have no formal or professional training. There's usually an Anglo in the background pulling the strings."

Lupe's aide O'Hara insists, however, "There's never any doubt in your mind who's managing the tribe. It's the tribal council. They're willing to accept white expertise, but not white control."

Besides the reservation's timber and unexplored minerals, it is Sunrise Ski Resort that holds the greatest potential for profit, according to Malfara. Last year the resort brought \$3 million to the \$5 million Arizona ski industry.

Sunrise now accommodates 8,500 skiers a day. Malfara said when the resort's third peak opens later this year, "Sunrise would be ahead of Purgatory by 25 percent in uphill capacity as well as skiable terrain. It will become the biggest in the Southwest, bigger than Telluride, Purgatory or anything in southern Nevada, southern Utah or New Mexico."

Tribal Chairman Lupe is proud of Sunrise. He named it after the Apache Sunrise Ceremony, or Changing Woman Ceremony, a puberty rite. And while he points proudly to the progress on the reservation, Lupe holds fast to his Apache identity.

"You have to rise with the reality of the morning and not get lost in the fantasies that many people offer about the promised land. We're so close to this Mother Earth we live upon. We are amongst this vast creation. We try not to get lost on the Hallelujah Trail."

For Release January , 1983

DRAFT

NEW NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY ANNOUNCED BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

President Reagan today pledged to help develop and strengthen tribal governments as a means to solve persistent economic and social problems on Indian reservations.

In the first major Presidential Indian policy issued in more than a decade, the President reaffirmed the government-to-government relationship between the Federal establishment and tribal organizations.

The President said actions have been taken and additional steps will be initiated to improve and strengthen the tribal governments so they can spearhead economic development on reservations to overcome massive unemployment problems.

"For centuries, Indians have been encouraged to rely upon Washington and for centuries that philosophy has failed," the President said. "Most Indian leaders have come to understand, and this Administration recognizes, that the tribes themselves must have control of their own destinies. Our policy and our programs are designed to help the tribal governments so they can solve their own problems. We are making self-determination work."

The President issued the statement in conjunction with the signing of a bill giving Indian tribal governments the tax advantages, status and exemptions enjoyed by states and local

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governments. The President said the new Tribal Government Tax Status Act is "one element in my Administration's policy of working with Indian people through their tribal governments."

Tribal governments also have been strengthened by recently passed legislation supported by the Administration to give tribes new authority to join in joint ventures for the development of natural resources on reservations, the President said. Previously, tribes were severely restricted by Federal law.

The President said there was additional good economic news for tribes in the Administration's highway improvement program which will provide \$375 million to build new roads on Indian reservations during the next four years.

The President said the Federal self-determination policy initiated in the 1970s is sound, but that there had been "more rhetoric than action" and the Federal bureaucracy itself had impeded true development of Indian tribal government. He promised less interference from Federal bureaucrats and regulations.

The President said, however, that the tribes should free themselves from dependence on Federal financing. In the future, he said, "necessary Federal funds will continue to be available but Federal funds should be regarded as supplemental." Indian governments will always receive a share of Federal monies the same as other local and state governments, he added.

DRAFT

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A number of administrative actions designed to build up tribal governments and develop reservation economies were outlined in the policy statement. They included:

- Establishing a Presidential Advisory Commission on Indian Reservation Economies composed of private business leaders and Indian representatives. It would help tribes find solutions to economic problems and would advise the President on Indian economic issues.
- Moving the White House liaison with Indian tribes from the Office of Public Liaison which deals with private interest groups to the Office of Intergovernmental Relations which deals with governments.
- Ask Congress to expand the authorized membership of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to include a representative of Indian tribal governments.

The policy statement also calls upon Congress to acknowledge by joint resolution the special relationship of Indian tribes with the United States and to finally, and expressly, repudiate the termination policy expressed in the 1953 House Concurrent Resolution 108.

It also directs the Cabinet Council on Human Resources to coordinate the Indian programs of the various Federal agencies. According to the 1980 census figures, there are about 1.4 million

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Indians and Alaska Natives in the United States. About half of them live on or near Indian reservations and communities. There are 283 Federally-recognized tribal governments and 193 Alaska village organizations. The United States holds more than 52 million acres of land in trust for various Indian tribes and individuals.

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