

November 1, 1973

World Needs
NCAI SPEECH

IT IS WITH A GREAT DEAL OF PLEASURE THAT I TAKE
THIS OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THE 30TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF
THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS.

YOU HAVE DEDICATED YOUR CONVENTION AND ITS EFFORTS
TO THE GOAL OF RESTORATION OF THE MENOMINEE TRIBE TO FEDERAL
RECOGNITION AND TRUST STATUS AND HAVE ADOPTED AS YOUR THEME
"RESTORATION NOW"

IT IS ENTIRELY FITTING THAT THIS ORGANIZATION, NCAI,
MEETS ON THE EVE OF RESTORATION OF THE MENOMINEE TO CELEBRATE
THE PASSAGE BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF RESTORATION
LEGISLATION AND TO CONTINUE YOUR SUPPORT FOR THE COMPLETION
OF THAT EFFORT BY FINAL ENACTMENT INTO LAW OF THAT LEGISLATION

NCAI WAS FORMED IN 1944 WHEN THE FEDERAL POLICY
HAD JUST BEGUN TO MOVE AWAY FROM THE FIRST ERA OF
INDIAN SELF DETERMINATION UNDER THE ROOSEVELT
ADMINISTRATION TOWARD THE DISASTER AND TRAUMA OF THE
TERMINATION ERA

NCA WAS FORMED IN PART BECAUSE OF A GROWING
AWARENESS AMONG THE INDIAN PEOPLE THAT THIS UNHEALTHY
TREND IN NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY WOULD REQUIRE A STRONG
UNITED IND AN FRONT TO COUNTER IT

NCAI GREW TO MATURITY IN THE STORMY YEARS OF
EARLY 1950 WHEN TERMINATION DESCENDED UPON THE
INDIAN WORLD WITH A VENGEANCE.

THE INDIAN PEOPLE HAVE NOT EASILY FORGOTTEN THE
DESPERATION OF THOSE YEARS

THE WRECKAGE OF THAT DISASTROUS INDIAN POLICY
AND THE TERMINATION LANGUAGE IS STILL WITH US TODAY.

PHRASES, SUCH AS "HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 108"
AND "PUBLIC LAW 280", STILL HAVE A FORCE AND POWER TO
CAUSE DEEP CONCERN AND FEAR AMONG INDIAN PEOPLE.

BY LEGISLATIVE FIAT, SCORES OF INDIAN TRIBES AND
GROUPS HAVE BEEN FORCIBLY, THOUGH NONE TOO SUCCESSFULLY,
ASSIMILATED INTO THE "MAINSTREAM" OF AMERICAN LIFE.

WHEN THE TRUE MAGNITUDE AND SCOPE OF THE CATASTROPHE
OF TERMINATION BECAME APPARENT TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE, THEY
ROSE UP IN STRONG OPPOSITION TO ITS CONTINUANCE AS THIS
NATION'S INDIAN POLICY.

IT WAS LARGELY DUE TO THE EFFORTS OF THE INDIAN TRIBES,
UNITED IN THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF AMERICAN INDIANS,
THAT THE OFTEN UNINFORMED, SOMETIMES MALICIOUS DRIVE FOR
TERMINATION WAS BLUNTED IN THE LATE 1950'S AND EARLY
1960'S AND IS, TODAY, ON THE VERGE OF TOTAL, UNQUALIFIED
REPUDIATION.

THERE ARE NONE WHO CAN DENY THAT THIS MAJOR SHIFT IN
NATIONAL INDIAN POLICY REPRESENTS A MAJOR VICTORY FOR
INDIAN PEOPLE.

BUT THAT VICTORY FOR THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND AN
AROUSING NATIONAL PUBLIC WAS NOT WITHOUT ITS COSTS.

NOT COSTS MERELY IN TERMS OF DOLLARS AND CENTS,
BUT COSTS IN HUMAN MISERY, CULTURAL ALIENATION, AND
TRIBAL DESTRUCTION.

BY THE TIME THE ACTIVE PHASE OF THE TERMINATION ERA HAD RUN ITS COURSE, SEVEN MAJOR TRIBES ON OKLAHOMA, OREGON, WISCONSIN, NEBRASKA, SOUTH CAROLINA, TEXAS, AND UTAH PLUS SCORES OF SMALL RANGERIAS AND INDIAN COMMUNITIES IN OREGON, CALIFORNIA, AND UTAH HAD BEEN TERMINATED. AS THE ARCHITECT OF TERMINATION, SENATOR WATKINS, PUT IT, THEY HAD BEEN MADE "FIRST CLASS" CITIZENS".

PRESIDENT JOHNSON BEGAN HIS MESSAGE TO THE CONGRESS ON INDIAN AFFAIRS WITH A RECITAL OF THE NAMES OF INDIAN TRIBES, MOST OF WHICH NOW ONLY HAVE MEANING AS POSTSCRIPTS IN THE HISTORY BOOKS OR AS QUAIN T NAMES OF RIVERS AND TOWNS WHICH DOT THE EASTERN SEABORD.

THIS WAS THE LEGACY OF A MUCH EARLIER TERMINATION ERA.

UNFORTUNATELY, THAT MAY WELL BE THE LEGACY OF
THIS MOST RECENT TERMINATION ERA: ONCE HONORED AND
PROUD INDIAN TRIBES -- THE KLAMATH AND KATHLAMET OF
OREGON, THE OTTAWA OF OKLAHOMA, THE CATAWBA OF
SOUTH CAROLINA, AND THE ALABAMA-COUSHATTA OF TEXAS --
TO BE REMEMBERED ONLY AS POSTSCRIPTS IN OUR CHILDREN'S
HISTORY BOOKS OR AS THE QUAIN T NAMES FOR RIVERS AND
TOWNS DOTTING THE WESTERN UNITED STATES.

THAT, PERHAPS, IS THE REAL TRAGEDY OF TERMINATION.

WHILE WE DILIGENTLY PASSED LAWS TO SAVE FROM EXTINCTION
THE WILD HORSES OF NEVADA AND THE BLACK-FOOTED FERRET OF
SOUTH DAKOTA, WE CALMLY CONSIGNED TO THAT SAME EXTINCTION
THE MENOMINEE OF WISCONSIN AND THE KLAMATH OF OREGON.

WHILE WE P OUSLY ENACTED LEGISLATION TO PROTECT
THE REDWOOD OF CALIFORNIA AND THE REHISTORIC RUINS
OF MESA VERDE IN COLORADO WE KNOWINGLY CONTRI UTED
TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE PAIUTES OF UTAH AND THE
OTTAWA OF OKLAHOMA

IT I NOT WRONG TO PRESERVE AND PROTECT THE PLANT
AND WILDLIFE OF OUR NATION BUT A WHOLE RACE OF PEOPLE
OUGHT TO HAVE AT LEAST THE SAME STANDING BEFORE THE
LAW AS A TREE OR A HORSE

FOR SOME OF THESE TERMINATED TRIBES PERHAPS
IT IS TOO LATE

PERHAP THEY HAVE BEEN PUSHED TOO FAR DOWN THE
ROAD OF HISTORICAL OBLIVION

PERHAP.

BUT FOR THE MENOMINEE, IT IS NOT TOO LATE.

I TAKE PERSONAL SATISFACTION IN REPORTING TO THIS ASSEMBLY THAT IT IS NOT TOO LATE.

ON OCTOBER 16 OF THIS YEAR, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, BY AN OVERWHELMING VOTE OF 404 TO 3, PASSED H.R. 10717 RESTORING THE MENOMINEE TRIBE TO FEDERAL RECOGNITION AND TRUST STATUS.

IT WILL NOT BE NECESSARY HERE TO RETELL THE STORY OF THE MENOMINEE: THE COERCED TRIBAL CONSENT TO TERMINATION; THE ILL-CONCEIVED, POORLY IMPLEMENTED TERMINATION LEGISLATION; AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PLAN WHICH HAS BROUGHT THE MENOMINEE TO THE BRINK OF COLLAPSE.

WHO FEWER THAN THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND LEADERS
REPRESENTED HERE TODAY KNOW WHAT TERMINATION MEANS

BUT FOR THE MENOMINEE OCTOBER 16 WAS THE CULMINATION
OF A LONG, HARD-FOUGHT STRUGGLE AND EFFORT NOT WITHOUT
ITS FRUSTRATION, SETBACKS AND DESPAIR

WHILE I AM PROUD TO HAVE BEEN A PART OF THAT EFFORT
MANY FORCE AND PERSONALITY COMBINED TO BRING US TO
THE IMMINENCY OF SUCCESS

FOREMOST AMONG THESE IS OF COURSE MY FRIEND
MS ADA DEER A UNIQUE PERSONALITY AND A WOMAN OF
INDOMITABLE SPIRIT

ADA ALON WITH OTHER MENOMINEE SUCH AS SYLVIA
WILBUR LLOYD POWLESS AND SHIRLEY DALY, REFUSED TO
ACCEPT DEFEAT AND NEVER GAVE UP HOPE BECAUSE THERE WAS
AFTER ALL JUSTICE WITHIN THE SYSTEM

ADA AND THE MENOMINEE WERE TOLD LAST YEAR THAT RESTORATION WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION, THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE FOR REVERSING TERMINATION.

YET, LOOK AT WHAT THEY HAVE ACCOMPLISHED.

AFTER INTENSIVE WORK ON THE PART OF THE MENOMINEE, THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR SENT FORWARD TO THE CONGRESS A REPORT FAVORING ENACTMENT OF RESTORATION LEGISLATION.

AT THE REQUEST OF MS. DEER, MELVIN LAIRD, FORMER CONGRESSMAN AND PRESENT COUNSELLOR TO THE PRESIDENT, CAME OUT WITH A FORTHRIGHT STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR RESTORATION.

53 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF
BOTH PARTIES AND EVERY POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY WERE
PERSUADED TO CO-SPONSOR THE LEGISLATION WHICH PASSED
THE HOUSE.

404 OUT OF 435 MEMBERS VOTED FOR ITS PASSAGE.

PROSPECTS FOR ITS PASSAGE IN THE SENATE ARE VERY FAVORABLE.

FINALLY, PRESIDENT NIXON, IN HIS MESSAGE TO THIS
CONVENTION, URGES ENACTMENT AND ASSURES ITS SIGNING.

THIS IS A RECORD OF WHICH ADA, THE MENOMINEE, AND ALL
WHO GAVE THEIR ASSISTANCE AND SUPPORT CAN BE PROUD.

WHEN VINE DELORIA TESTIFIED BEFORE MY SUBCOMMITTEE

ON THE MENOMINEE BILL HE SAID

A LOT OF US HAVE ADVOCATED COMING
TO CONGRESS PRESENTING OUR CASE RATHER
THAN GOING ON THE ACTIVIST TRAIL
WE VERY BADLY NEED AN ACT BY CONGRESS
SUCH AS RESTORATION OF MENOMINEE TO
SHOW THE ACTIVIST THAT YOU CAN WORK
THROUGH THE SYSTEM EVERY DAY IN THE
FACE OF A LOT OF PEOPLE IN THE AMERICAN INDIAN
MOVEMENT AND OTHER MOVEMENT AND (THEY)
SAY WHAT HAVE YOU BEEN ABLE TO DO GOING
THROUGH THE SYSTEM. YOU HAVEN'T GOTTEN
ANYTHING DONE YOU HAD YOUR CHANCE
SO WE'RE TAKING OVER

WHILE THE MENOMINEE ARE NOT YET FINALLY RESTORED
I WOULD LIKE TO POINT OUT TO WHAT THEY HAVE
ACCOMPLISHED AS PROOF THAT EVEN IN THE FACE OF
DESPAIR AND WANING HOPE THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE
TO VIOLENCE AND A ROAD FOR JUSTICE WITHIN THE SYSTEM

YOU HAVE TAKEN "RESTORATION NOW" AS THE THEME
OF YOUR CONVENTION.

I HAVE TRIED TO SHARE WITH YOU THE APTNESS OF
THAT THEME AS WE MOVE VERY CLOSE TO THE DAY WHEN THE
THEME, FOR THE MENOMINEE, BECOMES FACT.

HAD THE PHRASE, "RESTORATION NOW", HAD NO MEANING
BEYOND THE RESTORATION OF THE MENOMINEE, IT WOULD HAVE
BEEN NO LESS IMPORTANT.

BUT, FOR MY PART, IT HAD AND WILL HAVE A
MEANING AND IMPACT FAR BEYOND THE MENOMINEE.

FOR ME, NO OTHER ACT OF THE CONGRESS WILL MORE
CLEARLY SIGNAL TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE ACROSS THE NATION
THAT TERMINATION IS A DEAD ISSUE AND A FIRMLY RENOUNCED
POLICY.

I AM SURE THAT YOU HAVE ADOPTED THAT THEME IN
THE SAME SPIRIT.

THE VARIOUS DISCUSSION TOPICS OF YOUR CONVENTION
AGENDA EVIDENCE THAT YOUR THOUGHTS, WHILE WITH THE
RESTORATION OF THE MENOMINEE, EXTEND FAR BEYOND THAT
TO THE RESTORATION OF THE MANY RIGHTS AND VALUES
THAT MAKE UP THE INDIAN LIFE.

IT IS TIME FOR A RESTORATION OF A TRUE RIGHT
OF TRIBAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

IT IS TIME TO RESTORE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE A STRONG,
EFFECTIVE TRIBAL GOVERNMENT THAT CAN WELL SERVE THE
NEEDS OF THE TRIBE AS A WHOLE WHILE PROTECTING THE
INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS OF ITS MEMBERS.

WE IN THE CONGRESS ARE NOW AWARE OF THAT NEED
AND DEMAND AND WE MOVE ON LEGISLATION DESIGNED TO
FACILITATE THIS GOAL

I HAVE INTRODUCED H R 103 WHICH WILL PERMIT
THE TRIBES THROUGH CONTRACTING TO ASSUME CONTROL
OF PROGRAMS OFFERED FOR THEIR BENEFIT

IT IS TIME FOR A RESTORATION TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE
OF THE RIGHT TO HAVE THE TRUSTEE THE UNITED STATES
TRULY AND HONESTLY RENDERED PROTECTION TO THEIR
TRUST RESOURCES AND ASSETS

MY SUBCOMMITTEE HAS BEGUN TO MOVE ON THE INDIAN
TRUST COUNSEL LEGISLATION WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION HAS
SUBMITTED AND WHICH I HAVE INTRODUCED AS H R 606

THE LEGISLATION SUBMITTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION IS ADMITTEDLY INADEQUATE IN MANY RESPECTS, BUT I AM FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT WITH THE SUPPORT AND ADVICE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE WE CAN FASHION LEGISLATION WHICH WILL GIVE SUBSTANCE TO THE LEGAL AND MORAL OBLIGATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES AS TRUSTEE

IT IS TIME TO RESTORE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE THE PRIDE OF SELF SUFFICIENCY AND THE RIGHT TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN RESOURCES RATHER THAN LEASING THEM OUT TO OUTSIDE INTERESTS

MY SUBCOMMITTEE HAS TAKEN UP THE INDIAN FINANCING LEGISLATION WHICH WILL INCREASE THE REVOLVING LOAN FUND BY 9 MILLION, CREATE A NEW LOAN INSURANCE AND GUARANTY FUND TO SUPPORT 100 MILLION IN PRIVATE LOANS

TO INDIANS, AND AUTHORIZES APPROPRIATIONS FOR AN INDIAN BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT FUND AT A LEVEL OF \$10 MILLION FOR THE NEXT THREE FISCAL YEARS.

WE HAVE REFINED THE LEGISLATION WHICH HAS ALREADY PASSED THE SENATE AND WILL SHORTLY BE REPORTING THE BILL TO THE FULL COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION.

IT IS TIME TO RESTORE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE THE RIGHT TO CONTROL THE EDUCATION OF THEIR CHILDREN, WHETHER IT BE IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS OR IN BIA SCHOOLS.

THIS CONTROL MUST EXTEND TO WHAT IS TAUGHT, WHERE IT IS TAUGHT, HOW IT IS TAUGHT, AND BY WHOME IT IS TAUGHT.

INDIAN ADVISORY COMMITTEES ARE NOT ENOUGH

CONTROL MUST MEAN CONTROL OF FUNDS BEING MADE AVAILABLE
FOR INDIAN EDUCATION AND CONTROL OF THE EDUCATIONAL
PROGRAMS AND CURRICULUM.

IT IS WITH THIS FIRM CONVICTION THAT I WAS THE
PRIME HOUSE SPONSOR OF LEGISLATION IN THE 2nd
CONGRESS WHICH BECAME THE INDIAN EDUCATION ACT OF 1972

IT IS WITH THE SAME CONVICTION THAT I WILL SEEK TO
PASS LEGISLATION IN THE COMING YEAR TO BRING ABOUT NEEDED
REFORM IN THE BIA EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM AND SYSTEM

IT IS TIME FOR THE RESTORATION TO THE INDIAN
PEOPLE OF THE RIGHT TO HAVE AN EFFECTIVE ADMINISTRATION
OF THE PROGRAMS AND FUNDS AUTHORIZED BY THE CONGRESS FOR
THE BENEFIT OF THE INDIAN.

THE INDIAN PEOPLE DO NOT NEED A BIA THAT GOES
LEADERLESS FOR NEARLY A YEAR.

THEY DO NOT NEED A BIA THAT OPERATES IN AN
ATMOSPHERE OF CONFUSION AND CHAOS,

THEY DO NOT NEED A BIA THAT DRIFTS AIMLESSLY.

THEY DO NOT NEED A BIA THAT IS THE SUBJECT
FACTIONALISM AND POWER STRUGGLES AMONG THE BUREAUCRATS
AND PETTY POLITICIANS.

IT IS STILL UNCERTAIN WHAT THE SOLUTION IS FOR THE
REORGANIZATION OR REFORM OF THE BIA AND FEDERAL
ADMINISTRATION OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

WHATEVER OCCURS MUST OCCUR WITH THE FULL, PRIOR
KNOWLEDGE OF THE INDIAN PEOPLE AND WITH ACTIVE CONSULTATION.

IT IS WITH THAT VIEW THAT I AM GIVING ACTIVE
CONSIDERATION TO SUPPORTING LEGISLATION MANDATING A
CONGRESSIONAL REVIEW OF THE FIELD OF INDIAN AFFAIRS.

SENATOR ABOUREZK, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE
ON INDIAN AFFAIRS, HAS INTRODUCED LEGISLATION IN THAT
REGARD WHICH I HAVE REVIEWED.

WITH SOME MODIFICATION, IT MAY WELL MEET THE
REQUIREMENTS WHICH I SEE NECESSARY TO BRING ABOUT THE
END THE INDIAN PEOPLE HAVE SET.

AND FINALLY, IT IS TIME -- LONG PAST TIME -- TO
RESTORE TO THE INDIAN PEOPLE THE PRIDE AND DIGNITY
OF BEING INDIANS.

THE LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM WHICH I HAVE OUTLINED
FOR YOU HERE TODAY WILL DO MUCH TO AID IN THAT EFFORT.

THE CONTINUED EFFORTS OF THE CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP
OF WHICH, FOR MY PART, I PLEDGE YOU -- AND THE OTHER
FRIENDS OF INDIANS BOTH IN AND OUT OF GOVERNMENT WILL
AID IN THAT EFFORTS.

BUT IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS, THE RESTORATION OF
INDIAN PRIDE AND DIGNITY DEPENDS ON THE INDIAN PEOPLE THEMSELVES

IT IS THROUGH THEIR EFFORTS AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS,
WORKING WITH THE TOOLS AND RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO THEM THAT
INDIAN PRIDE WILL BE RESORED.

WHO CANNOT BE PROUD TO IDENTIFY WITH AN ADA
DEER WHOSE WILL AND DETERMINATION HAS TURNED AROUND THE
ENTIRE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON THE QUESTION OF
MENOMINEE TERMINATION.

WHO CANNOT BE PROUD OF A VINE DELORIA WHOSE WELL-
DESERVED RESPECT AMONG THE INDIANS AND WHOSE COMMAND OF
THE PRINTED WORD HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A RENAISSANCE IN
INDIAN THOUGHT AND PHILOSOPHY.

WHO CANNOT BE PROUD TO IDENTIFY WITH THE FRANK DEGNANS
OF ALASKA UPON WHOSE QUIET DIGNITY AND UNASSUMING
RESOLVE WAS BUILT THE SUCCESSFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE
ALASKA NATIVE CLAIMS.

IT IS UPON THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF PEOPLE SUCH AS
THESE AND THE LEADERSHIP GATHERED HERE TODAY THAT THE
RESTORATION OF INDIAN PRIDE AND DIGNITY DEPEND.