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G O V E R N O R ' S C O N F E R E N C E

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I N D I A N A F F A I R S

Hotel Adams
Phoenix, Arizona
September 24, 1951

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GOVERNOR PYLE: * * * * * Now let's talk just exactly about welfare as such. First, we have established the fact here that in our feeling you are still wards of the government. We share your feeling to the very heart that the quicker we can get you out of that status the better it will be, but it is dangerous to attempt to move you out of that status until the bill, the great, tremendous expense for rehabilitating you sensibly and on a well planned program has been shared by the Federal Government where the greater revenue and the greater resources are available. That is our first problem. The welfare funds in Arizona were established by what we call the Sales Tax Act of 1934. When it began to be evident that we were going to have to have a welfare program in Arizona where we would provide matching funds for the Federal Government for aid to the old and aid to dependent children and aid to the blind and aid to the crippled children, then we established what we called the Sales Tax Act of 1934, passed for the purpose of obtaining money for public assistance. The Indians do not pay the sales tax. Consequently, we are in the position where the question is one class of taxpayer putting up money and another class that is not contributing to that particular fund sharing in the payment of that money. That is the economic, the dollars and cents reason why we have been reluctant to move into what the government describes, and to what you sometimes refer, as our just share of the welfare load. Now I am going to say something here that you will not appreciate, but because it is a part of this very

formula, in my personal opinion the state of Arizona made a great error when they signed the Santa Fe agreement and assumed 10% of the responsibility for the welfare load for aid to the aged, for aid to dependent children, and for aid to the blind, because, you see what happens, just the minute that the state breaks down and reaches in and assumes a part of the responsibility, because the Federal Government is trying to push this load off on us, just as quick as we accept 10% of it, the next thing they want us to do is accept 20% of it, the next thing they want us to do is accept 30% of it, and related loads on both sides, and the state simply cannot do it. Let me point out something here to you, which I am sure the Navajo recognized at Window Rock recently, Arizona is in somewhat the same position that you are in. We are not a complete state. We do not have what you would call and what you dream of as independence. Almost 75% of the total land area of the state of Arizona is just like the reservation, under the control of the Federal Government. What we are living on, what we are working with as taxable wealth, is only one-fourth of our total land area. If this state were wealthy enough, as the state of Texas is, and lucky enough, as the state of Texas is, to control all of its land area and all of its resources except, as in the case of Texas, for 1% - that is all the control the Federal Government has in the state of Texas. That means that all the oil, all the range lands, all of the mineral resources, everything that belongs to Texas belongs to Texas. It means that all of this property is on the

tax rolls. It means that the wealth of the state of Texas is the end product of the total resources and the total development of the state of Texas. Here in Arizona we are trying to maintain government services, we are trying to build roads - in the fifth largest state in the Union - we are trying to establish public health, we are trying to support public education, we are trying to do all of the things that a state must do with one-fourth of the taxable wealth as to area of the state of Texas and many of the other states of the Union, and yet in Arizona we have the largest single Indian problem, with the possible exception of the state of New Mexico, of any other state in the Union. Perhaps some other states have more Indians, but the status of those Indians is somewhat different because of the local economic situation. It isn't that we don't love you. It isn't that we don't feel for you as we feel for ourselves in relation to this federal domination. It is just simply that you reach the point where it is very difficult for you to reach out and accept new burdens financially, because we just don't have the basic fundamental wealth and we cannot risk the possibility of being moved into a serious situation by a continued acceptance of the broad Indian load.

Now let's talk for just a little bit about aid to crippled children. I know that is a sore spot with all of you, and it is a sore spot with us, too, but for a slightly different reason. We loathe the fact that the Federal Government is so short sighted in its appreciation of what our position is. We were asked not too many months ago, you all

know when, to take, on an equal status, the crippled children of your Indian villages and your Indian reservations. To assume responsibility for the Indian crippled children as the Federal Government presently conceives that we should or as the Federal Government presently plans that we should would involve approximately 1,000 Indian children overnight, all of them with what we call or describe as gross deformities. Now, gross deformities means that hospitalization, extended care of from three months to two and three years would be necessary in order to accommodate these particular children. We estimate that it would increase the state's cost per year approximately \$200,000. We are presently putting approximately \$265,000 into the care of our own children, that is to say those who are off the reservation, and that includes the Mexican and the Negro and the other racial groups likewise. We are putting \$265,000 into that which, added to the \$200,000 which would be anticipated under the program which the Federal Government would like us to take on, would make a total of almost another half a million dollars loaded onto our tax load here in the state. There is one other chapter to that, too. The Federal Government wanted us almost immediately to allot 15% of the available, and by that I mean the total, hospital beds for crippled children to the Indian crippled children program. It so happens that the 15% of which they speak is presently in use in our program. Our program is carrying a maximum load at the moment. We have no extra bed space. Because most of the cases that are presently hospitalized are in the middle of a year to two to

5 three years of careful hospitalization where you can't relieve them, you can't take them out of those beds without interrupting the care that they are getting, we simply had no place to put these people, and as a result we haven't 15% of our hospital space available for the 1,000 children that you speak of and that would be involved. What space is available, ladies and gentlemen, wouldn't begin to take care of the 1,000 cases that would almost immediately be entitled to quick aid.

Now, then, what are we doing that we would like to point to? Any Indian child brought into our clinics in Tucson and Phoenix by its parents will receive immediately a free clinical diagnosis of its exact problem, of its exact condition. If it is a tubercular spine, if it is a tubercular leg, if it is a question of deformity, the club foot or whatever type of thing might be considered as the problem at hand, that case will be diagnosed and the treatment prescribed free. Then it is our feeling that the Indian Bureau should take the child, hospitalize the child, and begin the program of rehabilitation which is indicated by the diagnosis. Now, that outlines for you very briefly our position in relation to this thing.

Now, then, as if this is all not enough, we now come to a fourth program under the federal so-called relief program, and that program concerns itself with the disabled person - with the disabled person - who neither has the age requirements or any of the other requirements that go with this problem of being able to sustain themselves. This program

6 is a tremendous thing. We have already refused at the state level to accept the disabled program as set up by the Federal Government. We are presently taking care of the so-called disabled dependent person in Arizona through what we call a direct relief fund, which is a part of our appropriated funds at the state level. I don't know exactly what it is costing us at the present time, but we have refused to accept federal aid in this particular category so far for the simple reason that the desperate case we can take care of and pay all of the bill ourselves. If we go into the federal program, every person who makes application for that program becomes entitled to it. We have no control over it at all any more than you have over the sale of your livestock or the choice of your attorney or anything of the kind, so we are in a position that we don't like to get into and we are doing our desperate best to keep ourselves out from under the control and the domination of these federal agencies. Your position in that connection is almost like ours. We are simply trying to avoid getting hooked for something that we simply cannot support in the final analysis.

Now, what does all this amount to, and I don't want to bore you at great length with this discussion, but I do want you to realize that our position is twofold. Number one, we believe that the Federal Government is still responsible for your rehabilitation. We know you don't like it. We don't like it either, but most of you people, I think, will agree that the situation at the present moment as far as your rehabilitation and your ultimate independence is concerned

is dependent upon some pretty tremendous appropriations of funds - to build roads for you, to open up the reservations, to provide education, to provide hospitalization, to provide all of the things that are presently not provided and all of the things that must be provided if your children are going to be employed to the extent that they can finally, many of them, get off the reservation and make their own way. Ultimately, of course, it is envisioned that the lands will be turned over to the tribal councils and you will be in business on your own. When that day comes, in all probability the lands will be placed on the tax rolls of the state. You will become in the truest sense of the word taxpaying citizen of the state of Arizona and entitled to every single solitary advantage that we can administer. That is point number one. Point number two is that the financial status of the state of Arizona is such that we cannot assume to the extent that it must be assumed the responsibility for financing rehabilitation to the tune of \$100,000,000, as in the case of the Hopi-Navajo arrangement, nor to the tune of \$23,000,000, which is the case of the Papago, and we still feel that the responsibility of the Federal Government is to set a date, to make up a program, to make a plan to work toward a specific day when you people can be released from your present status and placed in a position where you are fundamentally free.

I am going to stop right here and now and allow for questions. I think you will be interested to know that our State Health Department has just advised that the

Indian Bureau has expressed a willingness to contract with the state for preventive medical services for the reservation Indian. We are making some satisfactory progress. I believe the mood of the government today is to work toward this end, but what I am afraid of is that this thing will not be so identified and so planned that there will be a day when you can expect a complete fulfilment of your dreams and that all of the planning that is done between now and then will lead up to that day, that you will work toward that day, you will make your plans toward that day, and when you arrive at that day we will have completed the necessary expenditures on the reservation to bring you up to that point. It would be assumed that at that time title to your lands would probably pass first of all to the councils; subsequently, as you are able to identify a formula for making these lands available to individual members of the tribe, then, at the wish of the councils, that can be worked out ultimately. I know you all realize what a problem it is going to be when we get around to the point of trying to deed these lands to individual Navajos, to individual Hopis, to individual Papagos, because there are many members of your tribes who have left the reservations but who still claim some inherited right in those lands. It is going to be very difficult to work out a formula where you are going to be able to deed specific parcels or specific acreages to individuals. It seems that between now and that time it is going to be absolutely necessary that once the land is deeded to you, it will be deeded to the tribes, and that the councils will supervise

the handling of that land until such time as there is a way to work out individual ownership for the Indian. The tribal councils could be taxed ultimately, yes, but not right away, not until you are able to assume this ownership, not until you are able to be a working, producing entity on your reservations.

Now, I hope I haven't left out anything. I feel very keenly that the first responsibility of these people in this room today, particularly those of you who represent the tribal councils, is that you should get together at once and form what we might easily call a Southwest Inter-tribal Council, a sort of a master council with a master constitution and set of by-laws, and start moving as one people. When 75,000 people begin to move in behalf of something, not 40,000 as in the case of the Navajo, not 7,300, perhaps, as in the case of the Pima, all of you working separately and without the strength of unity, you will begin to get the things done that you want done. The \$90,000,000 to \$100,000,000 that was set aside for Navajo-Hopi rehabilitation is coming in in piddling quantities, not enough to do what you want it to do. There are so many things that need to be done, that need to be headed up by a unified movement from the state of Arizona, and I suspect that Mr. Simpson here, representing the peoples of New Mexico, might easily go home with the message that it would be hoped by the Indian tribes of the state of Arizona that those of New Mexico would likewise form behind a master council in an effort that the Indian peoples of these two states where the greatest job is yet

to be done could unify, with the support of the states both from the standpoint of leadership and other means, and go directly to Washington to begin to work out these things that we need. I am honest and earnest when I say to you I think it can be done, but it will require a unified program of support on your part, and without it I am afraid that it will be an impossible thing. It is not for me personally as governor of this state to go to Washington and make this proposition. It is for the Indian peoples themselves, helped by us in any way that we can be helpful, because the problem is yours. We share it, we are willing to work along with you on it, but I do believe that the hour must come when you will move in your own behalf with such force and with such determination and with such power that you will get the things that you need and that in due course of time you will know the independence that you would like to know.

That in a nutshell, as we say, is about the essence of the reason for calling you here to talk to you. I would like now to make this an open meeting and suggest that any of you who wish, necessarily those who are official delegates and those with them, would make any comment. I would like to know what you think. I would like to know if you oppose. I would like to know if you object. I would like to know if you have other suggestions. I would like to know what you want to do that we can help you with. If you have criticisms to make, feel free to make them. This is an open meeting in the most democratic way, and I want you to feel free to state your minds, because you represent the Indian peoples of the

state of Arizona. If we go out of this meeting without a complete understanding among ourselves, then it is not going to be simple for us to work out anything very successful. I don't mean necessarily that this meeting should decide anything finally while you are here, but I would like to have you go back to your respective councils with a pretty well thought-out idea of what the other councils would like to do so that at another time we can meet again, if necessary, or by an exchange of correspondence work out the things that we think we would like to do.

Now, who will be the first to speak, and please don't hesitate? I would like to hear from each of you from each of the councils. We can stay all afternoon if necessary to give you that opportunity. Who would like to talk first? We would appreciate it when you stand if you will please identify your name and your council so that we can have it on the record here, because soon you are going to be getting a copy of this and you would like to have it so stated in the copy. One moment, let's stop here for a second.

(Thereupon a brief off-the-record discussion ensued, after which proceedings were resumed as follows:)

GOVERNOR PYLE: You know, there is one thing about this whole thing that is very ironical, and that is a word we use when it is really silly, that is that the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, with which most of you are familiar, was fundamentally the Indian Reorganization Bill and it actually made the 170 tribes that were involved in this thing more or less autonomous as to the management of their tribal affairs.

The interpretations that have been placed on that thing since it was enacted in 1934, you would have to be a magician to figure out how they got it all figured out that way, but the truth of the matter was that when Congress enacted that legislation they intended that you should become autonomous in the management of your local affairs, the expenditure of your funds and all the other ways in which it is rather urgent that you be freed from this business of having to run and ask somebody every time whether you can sell your cattle, whether you can do this, whether you can do that, and so forth. We like the fact that you are asking, for example, for cattle inspection on your areas. We like the fact that you are asking us for help in the question of police enforcement. We like all of the ways in which you are trying to get the state to move in and help you, and we are going to do everything in the world that we possibly can at this level, but we must hold the Federal Government in a position of responsibility, financially and otherwise, until we have passed some of the rougher spots in this program, before we can hope to be able to walk on alone by ourselves, you and us.

Now, who is going to be the first to stand up and make some comment? Let's all have something to say about this thing, those of you who are here as official delegates. Sam, would you speak first, please? Sam is from the Navajo nation, as you know. This is Sam Akeah, who is Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council. Sam, if you would stand right up here and speak to these people, I would appreciate it.

MR. AKEAH: Honorable Mr. Governor, fellow tribesmen, ladies and gentlemen, friends, I am pleased to come before you - you, the people of Arizona. I am formerly from New Mexico, born and raised there, and just now I have my home at Window Rock, Arizona, since I became the Navajo Tribal Council Chairman. Before I became a member of the Council, I worked for the National Park Service of Colorado, and one time a ranger up there asked me, and he was pretty much serious, too, he said, "Just how is it to be an Indian?" I said two words, I said, "Very tough." Since then in my business I find it so, and this thing of owning everything in common I don't just like it. Maybe some of you do. Like owning equal the land in our area where we might be assigned a farm, we use it or live there so long as we can cultivate, and the minute we fail to cultivate that farm it is taken away and assigned to another Navajo. We couldn't build what we would like to be a permanent home so the heir would get it, and I don't think anybody would like that idea. At least, I don't. Lots of ways we wouldn't be able to develop, improve what we do have, since everything belongs to some other person just as equally as we do. With the Navajos, it has been rather hard, because most of the tribe are not able to speak and write English, and it is probably the one tribe that was about the last in mingling with the outside or the white people. Then, too, as the Governor here so stated, in our treaty the government promised a schoolhouse for every 30 children, which has never been carried out. Also, the Governor has spoken of rehabilitation program, a

bill which authorizes around \$88,000,000 for a ten-year program. When it was being discussed, I believe we make about four trips to Washington, and it was no easy job to get it, because a Congressman wants to know about everything, every angle, reasons why we need it, and I asked the Senate that any amount we get under the long-range program that I would like \$50,000,000 to be allotted for education, schools, but they cut it in half and then turn around and tell us that the \$88,000,000 won't be enough money to put all our children in school that are school age now. Then the first year we tried to get all the money we could to build maybe in three years' time all the schools, hospital, and realize the benefit of that in seven years. But the first appropriation, when it was signed by the President, when it went to the Budget Bureau they cut about \$4,500,000 right there and then, and then when the President called the emergency we got another \$3,000,000 cut, so if you are thinking about asking for money on the rehabilitation, I think you had better not think on that. We don't know whether we will get any money next year with the way the country is and all the trouble in Europe. So if they keep on cutting from year to year, we figure maybe we might realize \$50,000,000 or less. Then, too, this last appropriation of '52-'53, the Congress appropriated the money and then said that this money on construction shall be used in the contract. Well, that means a contract goes to the lowest bidder. Well, some company gets a contract and brings in their employees - where will the Navajo come in? This means that the Navajo workmen will

be taken out of the picture in the building of the schools. So then it means, too, that the tribe will be blaming probably the chairman of the tribal council, but they don't stop to think that it is Congress that is doing it. So in the first place, we asked that on the long-range appropriation there be a separate administrator, that the administrator be down here, but nobody listened to us. We all along felt that the money on long-range program should be separate appropriation, not mixed with the regular appropriation of the government. If they had done it, it probably would have been better. So as it is, we have not much to say, although in the bill it says that we do have some say.

Also, the Congress appointed a watchdog committee, but up to now the committee have been trying to meet sometime with the watchdog committee. Either they come down or we go to Washington and talk on the money question, the ways and means how we think the money should be spent. There is a superintendents' meeting in Washington. The superintendent from our area wanted me to go along, too, but I didn't go for the reason I like to be down here today to meet with you people and the Governor here on our problem. I believe the Navajos over in Arizona have very difficult problem, and the superintendent will try and get the watchdog committee down here for us to meet with them, or maybe they are too busy to come, or arrangements could be made whereby I would take the advisory committee to Washington. It seems serious enough that the advisory committee should try to do something

about the way the money would be spent this year.

The Governor here met with the tribal council the last session, and the Governor would like to build a school close to Window Rock or Fort Defiance, so we set aside about 80 acres. I think the representative probably is now in Washington to ask for the money. Because the Indian schools' system of education we feel is not up to the state standard of education, we tried to tell them that that is the way we wanted it, but, on the other hand, if we look into it, we will find that the teachers in the Indian Service are not qualified to teach in the state schools. This system has been going on so long that the system is where it places us Indians all by ourselves. They should create some kind of pattern to work us. Even in education they don't recognize something better for us, so I think it is up to us to ask for a better system of education. That is the reason that when the Governor suggested we give him land that right away we want to do that. I think if I am not mistaken the California Indians are all taken care of by the state in the way of education and the government still pays tuition for the Indian into the state treasury and the state administers the education. It seems that that would be a better system maybe with Arizona Indians. When our younger generation goes through high school, they will be eligible to enter any college. As it is, they have to have two or three more years' training before they enter college under the Indian Service school. So we don't feel that is exactly right that we should be held separate from other people.

I think if the state school, when it is built and run for two or three years, I believe that the Navajos will like it so well that they would altogether ask for the system of education. So we are very hopeful that the school that the Governor is trying to build will be built in the very near future, because a lot of our children that are at school age now are not provided with any kind of school. The mission and the government schools are filled up now. A few years ago the Senator from Utah came down to Window Rock and told us about the deserted hospital up in Utah and said that if we would want that hospital, the army hospital, he would try and get it for us through Congress. So right away I said that we would like that school, so I took the committee up there and we looked over the housing and it was about 78 units, two-story buildings. We liked it so well that we told the Senator that we would like it to be given to the Navajos for school and asked that there be a separate appropriation for that school, not use the appropriations which are being made for us down here up there. It turned out that way, and last year we had about 750 children up there and this year there are about 2,150 up there, and yet we find a lot of the children are not in school on the reservation proper. So we are trying to get all the school we could. We got the school away from the Indians down in California, I mean the Sherman School, and that was supposed to be some Indian property they would like to have up there. Yet we are using the most economical children down there, and while we don't feel just right about it, on the other

hand we feel that if those Indians want to take the land or the buildings, at least they should be friendly enough to point out some other place where we could put our kids to school, as the kids, we feel, should have a chance, and if they were taken off there, where would they go? That would be another problem set down for us if that happens, and we have a lot of problems. The Navajo Tribal Council also set aside some tribal money to lend to the young boys and girls who wish to get a higher education, and so far we have quite a few loans out and quite a few are away getting a higher education. We need well-trained personnel in the tribal employees, such as technical men in sawmill business and farming and stock raising and the forests, and we need some lawyers and teachers, doctors. So far I don't think we have any. So just now I think the people are getting to realize how important it is to try to encourage the younger people to get higher education. We are working toward that end, and just the last council meeting we have a big problem on police forces. We have been trying to get the government to appropriate more money for police force, and this year we got about \$53,600. The police force brought before us a request for \$25,000 so as to add at least ten more policemen to the force. The tribal council discussed the problem, took a full day. Finally they was rather divided and they said that there were a lot of areas without police service, being around about 70,000 Navajos and only 13 policemen, so the council appropriated \$45,600, which means that they match the government's \$53,600. Eight

thousand dollars went for the judges, so we are going to pay our judges out of the tribal money. This is the second year where we worked out our budget. The first year the Indian Office thought we came through pretty well working out the budget, and this year it took the council two sessions to work out the budget and, believe me, it is quite a headache. It is no easy job where you have to work on the budget. The council requested that these tribal policemen be fully equipped so as to be able to carry on the service, the duty, which means they will be in uniform and they are furnished a car and radio in the car. We have quite a problem with bootleggers and all the time somebody bringing whiskey into the reservation, and there is somebody being arrested all the time whenever there is a ceremony, so we do have a problem where we feel that the government is not going their full responsibility.

So when I was invited down here to the meeting here, I hope that the Governor of the state of Arizona really intends to help us, for we Navajo people need help in a big way. We also had a meeting with the Governor of New Mexico. This was on the problem of off-reservation Navajos. The Navajos that are off reservation had a problem where they didn't have no police service because nobody knows who got the jurisdiction in the area. About a year ago there was a murder take place out at Lupman when a young member of the Navajos killed a trader's son. Then the state arrested the man and our lawyer, we've got a lawyer, claimed that on the allotment the government had jurisdiction there since the

government had let the Navajo on the land. So the question arose as to the jurisdiction on the allotted land, and the man being charged with first degree murder hasn't been tried today just because of that controversy. I took my lawyer to release the man last summer pending trial, but the District Attorney O.K.'d it and the assistant objected with the judge. Then we appealed the case to the federal court and the federal judge said that a similar case was being tried in Oklahoma, so he postponed the trial about two weeks or more in which time he said that on the courtesy existing between the two courts he would refer us back to the state court and try us. Well, by that time I took my lawyer back and demanded a release, which then they brought the man down just about to turn the man over to us and here came the FBI demanding that they are going to rearrest the man on the federal charge. My lawyer said, "The man is right there. If you want to arrest him without a warrant, I guess it is up to you." The judge got sore. He says he acted under the capacity of the federal court giving the authority, and if they are going to thrust the authority out of his hands he probably has to see somebody, so they argued for about three hours, the lawyers argued there. Finally, in the three hours they said for us to take the man. The man will be tried in the federal court the 27th of this month. The question arose between the lawyers as to who has the jurisdiction. We have the tribal attorney. The tribal attorney and district attorney's opinion was that the Federal Government and the tribal council has absolutely no jurisdiction

on the off-reservation. They said that the Indian land, then known as the Indian land, was abolished when it was put under the public domain and the only full authority that the government has on the land was the District of Columbia and all other land, all other state, the state has got first jurisdiction, so that on the allotted land the state and the county have all the jurisdiction. The federal judge and the lawyer at Window Rock in the Service, their opinion was that the land was always Indian land and that it still is Indian land, and since the Indians are under the government the government has got jurisdiction on the allotted lands, but the tribal council has got no jurisdiction. They said that any court ruling is not a law, it is just a matter of opinion and that the state and the county and the tribal council and the Indian Service might get an opinion on the case and yet it won't be a law and this opinion might go along a long ways and finally end up in the Supreme Court, and up until the Congress enacts a new law then that would be the law. So outside of any jurisdiction where Indian is concerned, the case of Indian helping Indian, if the state so advised, then the tribal council might lend maybe four policemen to that area while this other question is being settled.

When we start in to establish the tribal enterprises, we have been getting into a lot of matters which pertain to the legal ground, and up to that time we never think that any such law exists in every kind of business. By creating the tribal enterprises, tribal business of different

businesses, we have been running up against the legal grounds where we need a lawyer and we do get a lawyer to get straightened up on these matters, and that is the reason why I said that we should encourage our young people, some of them, to study law, become a lawyer. I don't know whether you people have the same problems as we have, but we certainly do have very difficult problems, so I am very much interested to hear from some of you members of the other tribes of Arizona. I thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you, Sam. I don't think there is very much doubt in anybody's mind here but that we have all kinds of trouble. I mean it affects so many phases of our living and our working and our planning. The question is, what are we going to do about it, and I think it is going to have to require some very definite planning and some very definite thinking. I feel that it has to stem from a unified feeling of all of the councils within the state or we will never get anywhere. The first thing you know another 50 years is going to go by and another Mr. Beecher is going to say we didn't do anything in that 50, either, and that is what I am disturbed about. Sam has cited one thing here which I probably didn't emphasize as much as I should. The ideal way to have this whole thing worked out, as I explained up at the Navajo Tribal Council meeting, would be for the state to move in on the educational and the public health field on the entire administrative program and, with the use of federal funds, help you. That is the role that the state can play, help you with the

administrative problem at the state level where we know what is going on, where we don't have to travel from Washington to Peach Springs to find out whether a thing is so or isn't. If we are doing it locally here, it is simple and much less complicated. I would like to hear from you, Tom. Could you give your reactions to this? This is Tom Segundo, of the Papagos.

MR. SEGUNDO: Governor Pyle, I believe you raised a few points on which I myself and my colleague, Vice Chairman Harvey, thought perhaps we might get some elaboration. First there was the mention of the Indian not paying a sales tax. It has been our experience down on Papago that in expending tribal funds for vehicles, tribal vehicles, we have always had to pay the state sales tax. When we go to buy gasoline we have had to pay sales tax. We have bought most of our equipment with which to equip our offices, our grounds, and all of our facilities through Tucson or other firms. We haven't been exempted from the state sales tax when we go to the stores. Last year, of our approximately 7,500 Papagos, 4,500 of them spent most of their income from wage work off the reservation in the stores off the reservation. They were not exempted from the state sales tax, nor were the Papagos on the reservation who had to go to the stores on the reservation or to the stores in Ajo, Tucson, Casa Grande, and around. For that reason, I can see that we have been exempted from the real property tax, but the Papago tribe has not even been exempted altogether from that, for with passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Papago, of course, was

sacrificed in that the Arizona delegation threatened to block passage of the bill unless Papago was left wide open for exploration and entry to our minerals. Therefore, it is wide open. Year after year we have seen the filing of mining claims, patenting of the same claims, so that we have at the present time thousands of acres which are in patented status and thousands of acres which are in the form of mining claims. Once a piece of land is alienated from the Papago Reservation, it is forever alienated unless the Papago tribe is financially able to purchase back some of the land. In 1946 the Papago Council was able to make a small purchase. They were able to set aside a few thousand dollars through taxing their own people. With the money, they bought back at tax sales some of the lands, and the Papago tribe every year pays taxes on these lands within the exterior boundaries of the Papago Reservation. Therefore, I wanted some elaboration on that statement, Governor.

There was another point. This has to do with the statement which has been repeated here with respect to the 50-year period during which time nothing appreciable has been accomplished, or that was the sense, I believe, brought out here. The Indian Bureau, as we all know, has been studying the Indian situation for a century now. We down on Papago have always stated that the trouble has been, and is at the present time, that there was no comprehensive program of any kind worked out. But if we were to sit around and wait for somebody to start the ball rolling, then it would be another century. So some of us, I think the Navajos

were forerunners in the long range program work. The Papagos had their own rehabilitation program or their long range program, which was started during the war years, the work finally culminating in 1948 with the passage or adoption and approval of the Papago rehabilitation program, which is entitled the Papago Development Program, in which program we made a good honest attempt to analyze our situation. We exerted every effort and every resource of the Papago Council and the Papago tribe into a study and got what we believed to be as accurate a report as was available within our reach. It meant long hours, weeks, and months, and years of study by the Papagos of their own situation, of their own lands with which no one else is as familiar as the Papagos - of the destitute conditions, of the whole situation, the over-all situation. We came out with our report which we believe to be as accurate as can be gotten. We didn't stop at that. We went farther. We submitted also our proposed solutions, our recommendations as to how some of the solutions might be arrived at. We did not forget the state of Arizona or its respective counties or the Federal Government. It was our proposal that the state of Arizona, the Federal Government, and the Papago tribe go hand in hand in working out this program. We felt it was the best we could do, but when we went before Congress, first in 1948 - three different times we appeared before Congressional groups - each time the statements came up that maybe we had better wait, maybe we had better appropriate thousands and thousands of dollars more so the Indian Bureau, the Department of Interior,

might better study the whole situation, the over-all situation. Maybe we can enact legislation which will be general legislation with respect to the rehabilitation of the various tribes, not in the state of Arizona alone, but in the whole country. Governor, I can't understand how you are going to get general legislation enacted which is going to be a solving factor when you take into consideration the diversity, the variety of the problems, and the situations of the various Indians in the United States. We have many things in common, but there are other things which are different. We have always felt that we knew our situation, knew best our lands, felt that we must be a definite factor in the rehabilitation of the Papago tribe, and yet they tell us in Congress when we go to present and justify our program that our legislation must be held up pending a further study of the Indian situation. To me it appears that unless we can get Congress to act, there will be another 50 years go by before anything is done, if anything is done then.

There was another point I wanted to comment on. There was one other thing which the Governor pointed out here - - well, there were many things, but I feel that perhaps many of the other delegates here would like to comment on maybe some of the same things, and I would not want to dominate too much time, so I shall yield to my distinguished colleagues here.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Why don't you clear this one point you have in mind here first?

MR. SEGUNDO: This has to do with this controversy in

which we have been involved time and again on the social security issue. Is it not true, Governor, that when the federal allotments are made, the so-called matching funds or the allotment from the Federal Security Administration are made to the state of Arizona that they are made on the basis of population count and that the Indian population - I believe you mentioned an approximate figure of something like 75,000 in the state of Arizona - that this figure is included in Arizona's justification for such allocation or allotment to the state of Arizona? I would like to hear, also, perhaps some statement on that. Thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much, Tom. You don't have to listen to a fellow like Tom very long until you realize that there are among the peoples who are Indians in all of our states some very, very intelligent minds worthy of every consideration and every aid in the world.

Going directly to your question in the latter point you made here, I am inclined to think that the allotments under the welfare program are assigned to us to match the case load specifically, individual cases. In other words, today we have 100 cases. We make certification to the Federal Government to compensate us for those 100 cases according to the formula that they use, 40% from this and 10% from that and 5% from something else. That is the way it is done. If we have an increase in it - - I mean, we have to anticipate this as we go along. Next month we have 200 cases, so we certify 200 cases. I don't think the over-all population figure of 700,000 or 800,000 has any bearing whatsoever upon what is actually assigned to us from the standpoint of the

welfare fund. We certify every so often, every month or so, that our budget is going to call for a certain figure. We anticipate the case load, and it is all predicated upon the anticipated case load. One of the things that has prompted us to be in the position that we have been in in connection with the federal program is that, speaking of the generalities, Tom, that you spoke of a minute ago, generalized legislation, and so forth and so on, at the federal level, it gets pretty big. I mean, it says a lot of big things, but it doesn't deal in specifics, so we have undertaken and anticipated undertaking other singular programs on our own without federal aid, because we don't like the general rules that the federal government applies to some of these things. In other words, we can take \$100,000 and at the state level, dealing with our rules and our regulations, make that \$100,000 figuratively go twice as far as we can make \$100,000 go if we work it by their rules. I think I make myself clear. Because what they will allow to come into the picture and what we feel is practical at this level to come into the picture are birds of two different kinds of sizes and colors. We feel that in Arizona we know, by the same token as you on the Papago Reservation know what your needs are, what Arizona's needs are, and we don't like to have somebody in Washington dreaming in generalities to figure out a formula for us to work on, because it just doesn't work and we don't like to pay the bill according to that formula. It just doesn't work out for us. It is like it used to be when I was in

the advertising business. You know, in advertising we have a thing called an advertising agency. A big company like Studebaker decides they are going to do some advertising in Arizona, so they hire a New York advertising agency to decide what they are going to do to sell Studebaker automobiles in Arizona. Well, now, what might be done in New York to sell Studebaker automobiles is one thing, and what you do in Arizona, where it gets hotter than a blister one minute and ice cold the next, is something else again. In other words, the advertising that comes out into Arizona is fine for New York State, but it isn't worth a darn out here, and that is the way it is with this whole program. That is why we continue to say, "For us, this is the formula," like you are trying to say, "For the Papago, for the Navajo, for the Hopi, this is the formula." That is why we say that if Arizona could take over the administration of federal funds at the school level, the hospital level, and these other levels, this Navajo rehabilitation fund, this Navajo-Hopi fund, if we could take the administration of that thing over here and apply it right on the ground, I still think we could get an extra 25¢ or 30¢ per dollar value out of the administration of the program than you can the way it is now. Does that clear the point?

MR. SEGUNDO: Yes, I think it does.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much. The elaboration on the sales tax thing, I wanted to ask you a question. To say nothing of Tom and the Papagos, have any of you ever asked for exemption from the sales tax? Do you ever ask for

exemption, or is that just one of those things you don't bother with?

(Chorus of noes.)

MR. CHING: It is one of those things just taken for granted, is all. We like to be law abiding, and we take it for granted. That is a law, so we have to comply with the law.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Well, of course, the law is you are exempt from sales taxes in Arizona and you should be able to go state and get it automatically granted to you, because you are not supposed to pay sales taxes on anything.

MR. FLOOD: It is on any retail sales, including purchase of automobiles, and that sort of thing.

GOVERNOR PYLE: I don't see any reason why not. Has anybody ever made a test of it, Tom? Have you, Tom?

MR. SEGUNDO: Not so long ago, we asked for an opinion from the Attorney General of the state of Arizona, Mr. Wilson, as to whether vehicles sold on the Papago Reservation would be exempt from the state sales tax. We got an opinion from Mr. Wilson stating that they would be on the reservation if sold on the reservation, but if sold off the reservation, no. Now, then, not having the money or nobody being interested in setting up an agency on the reservation, of course, the Papagos still have to pay sales tax when they go off the reservation. There might be scattered instances of where individuals may have questioned it, I don't know.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Have any of the others of you ever questioned it?

MR. BRADLEY: As far as we know, the Navajos, I guess, have got to sue the State of Arizona for taxing our gasoline taxes for our enterprises on the reservation.

GOVERNOR PYLE: How far along are you with the case?

MR. BRADLEY: Well, we just passed a resolution here the last tribal meeting last week. It will probably come for a little test, I imagine, in the state of Arizona. That is only for our enterprises. We have been paying it for the last 27 years.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Of course, I am not a lawyer, so it is not for me to hand out an opinion, but I still think that as far as the premise that we are operating on here now, and that is that you don't pay it, I will tell you who gave me the information that I just now handed to you on that subject, was Perry Ling, in the Attorney General's Office. They don't pay sales tax. Well, now, that is another one of those generalities where you just assume that they don't pay sales tax, and the truth of the matter is they do. I am glad to have that brought out here. That is one of the things we want to talk about today to find out just where we are going, what the situation is. Thank you, Tom, for bringing it up.

Who else now would like to make a statement? Come right up here, will you, sir? These are the things we have to talk about and find out about before we can begin to do things about what we are troubled with.

MR. FISHER: George Fisher is my name, and I am Chairman of the Colorado River Reservation. Mr. Governor and members

of the various tribal councils of various reservations, I think it is a pleasure to be here today, to be among men and women who represent the reservations of the various tribes. I know it has been quite an obstacle for each and every member of my tribe, members of the Mohave tribe, and the other tribes that are represented here. It has been very hard for them to work on the basis of trying to get the thing that they are trying to accomplish. It has been one of the things that has been awfully hard to throw over and make something or else make a real thing of the thing that we are trying to do. In stating so, I have felt deep down in my heart through the work that I have been doing as far as chairman of my own reservation, I think we are in a place now when we actually have to do something that is really worthwhile. I want to commend Mr. Thomas Segundo on his statements where he stated that we are paying sales taxes. I know that was in my mind and I was going to bring that up myself, and he brought that up so you know just what you are all doing. Whether you are on a reservation or elsewhere in the state of Arizona, you are paying taxes.

On welfare, it has been one of the things that has been very, very hard. We are all recognizing the needs of various Indians who may not be eligible for state or other relief and welfare grants because they can't meet the requirements and are probably not residents of the public domain or probably due to they are not old enough anyway. We recognize that many Indians are in need of such. We know that they need this, and we all do feel very, very sorry that they

can't get what they actually are entitled to. That has been very hard for them since they are being deducted from the money they are supposed to get. I know on my own reservation there are a few that are getting old age pensions, but what did they do - they deducted them. I don't know whether the Federal Government did that or whether it was the state that did that. They took them down to practically nothing. As far as my reservation is concerned, the commodities or the stuff that we have to buy is very, very high, and it hasn't been meeting with the payments that the old folks can make a good living.

To the opinion of an Indian on the Social Security Act, in the beginning, I presume it was January 1, 1937, up to date, you know yourself many, many Indians have worked on various jobs excepting, you might say, in the reservation, but on other construction work, railroad work and other contract work within the state of Arizona, have paid enough to the Social Security Act to where I think they should be entitled to it. I can take it, as I say, in 1937 when this act started many of the Indians were railroad men. They paid into it. I know myself that each and every one of you within this room here have at one time or another paid into the Social Security Act, and I am quite sure that you are entitled to it. If they feel as though we are not entitled to it, well, I don't know what could be done. I think that each and every man or woman could be entitled to it, and they have gone as far as some of them have lost out on their deal and some of them are going to get probably some of that

Social Security Act money. But I can't see in my mind where this whole thing is holding back and who is holding that money. Where is that money that I paid into the Social Security Act, probably amounting to about \$400 or \$500 that I have paid into it? If I am not going to be entitled to it when I get to be 65 years old, there is something wrong some place. Something is hidden somewhere. It is hidden somewhere, and it is being played around more or less in a political manner and not democratic. There is something wrong. Now, you can see just a few days ago where Mr. Ling, I am pretty sure that is his name, stated that they were stage a test of the power of the federal agency. I think that is a little bit rough. I think you have paid into it. Why do they have to go through and give it a test to see whether the Federal Government pays that or not? I think you have paid some into it. I think that is one of the things that we really should work for.

Going further into our way of thinking and the way we feel, being that we are Indians today, I think the allotment that is being given the Indians should range on about the same level as it has been, and I think that would work out fine. Our Governor stated that he actually has a tremendous job ahead of him. We all have a tremendous job ahead of us. We are going to take it from everything that is coming along. It is going to require work among our own people on our own reservations, the cooperation of our own people and the cooperation of the so-called white man, the cooperation of the tribal councils, the cooperation of the chairmen, and,

furthermore, as I say, the cooperation of our Governor and the Federal Government. This program which is being brought up will take many years. I have always stated and I have always had it in mind that it will take, not only on the part of the tribal councils and all, but our progress and prosperity which has become figured to come 25 years from now is based from the beginning of our children. The children must be brought up to standard. Our children must be brought up just like the farmer goes out there and processes his plant and watches it grow until maturity. The farmer does it in one year. He does it in one year, and he gets it done. But our children are going to take many years, which will actually be hard for them to do. I might say they have got three stepping stones to get into. The first stepping stone is - I might call it the milestone. When they first get to that is their graduation from elementary school. Their second one, I should judge, would be the high school. Then your third one is your college education. From that standpoint, 25 years from now as we figure, as the Governor figures might be the most logical time to accomplish this matter in, it might be done, but the thing rests on all of us. It rests on each and every one of your shoulders. The thing that is going to promote and diagnose this whole thing is the thing that will actually bring prosperity to ourselves, and then probably by then we will be ready to tell the government we are ready to go and we will say, "Mr. Pyle, we are ready for you to tax us." We will be ready for that. I am just thinking of the ideas. We might

be ready and we may not. But I think to my opinion the whole thing rests on us and it really needs a lot of attention. In going back to the state's work as far as the program is concerned, the program which I see will be a wonderful thing. It might develop one of the things that we have been looking for for the last 100 years. But, first of all, the state must play ball and we must play on the same team. They must be ready to do the things that will confront both the Indian and the state and the federal government, you might say. They have got to work up a program that will actually work in all phases. Now, the Governor stated that they couldn't handle the crippled children, they couldn't handle the polio cases, they can't handle the welfare aid and aid to the blind, and such. Well, those are the things that the state and the Governor must work out and put us on the same ball team - put us on the same ball team and let us work with them. If we work with them, if they play with us we will play and treat them and be treated in the right way. Do away with all this jabberty. Do away with all this discriminated feeling, the discriminated feeling that is between not only the state - I wouldn't say the state, but among our own Indians and the outside. If and when that happens, then we are willing to sit down and compromise. It has been one of those things that has been hit and it has hurt the Indian to a certain extent. My people on the reservation are down there, I presume they are working, and they would like to cooperate. Being that they are right on the border just right across the river

there, the state of California is actually working with its own people within its own area, and the Indians of my own reservation feel that this state should do the same thing or they should do likewise. Those are the main factors that I have thought of. I am glad that I have a chance to be before you councilmen or chairmen of various reservations, and it has been a pleasure to know that you are interested. When you are interested, then you are ready to carry the whole burden, and I am quite sure that you will carry on as you have always been doing in the last few years, or carry on a little bit heavier and stronger than in the last few years.

I can't go any further, because I am losing out. I think I am just going back and saying things over and over, so I will leave it up to the Governor here to pick on any of you fellows here.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you, Mr. Fisher. That is very good. I am sure you all realize that the money that you pay into social security as your so-called social security premium - - you see, we have two programs here, let's not overlook that. We have what we call an interim relief program, which stems from this period until the social security insurance program goes into effect. The relief program, which includes aid to the aged, aid to the blind, aid to the dependent children, et cetera, is predicated on there having been no previously existent social security insurance program where you and your employer, sharing the premium cost together, paid in against the day when you

would be able to retire at 65 and draw on that insurance program. That is the same type of thing as if you were to go down to an insurance agent and buy an insurance policy and pay a premium until you reach a certain age and then, because of the terms of the agreement, be in a position to get a check every month. That is called the social security insurance program, and the \$400 or \$500 to which you refer has been applied to that. Now, welfare as we know it now is money that is being expended or invested by the state and the federal government as an interim thing between now and the time your insurance takes over. Of course, the whole present welfare program envisions that some day when the social security insurance program, which was begun, I believe, in 1937 or '36, actually takes over, all of the people who have worked all these years and paid the premium, the assumption is that the welfare program as it exists today will get less and less and less and less and less, because everybody will have bought the social security insurance program and as a result there won't be any need for the so-called welfare program. You have made some good points there, Mr. Fisher, and I appreciate it very much.

All right, who will volunteer now? How about our Hopi representative? Which one of you wants to speak? We will be glad to hear from you. Would you come up front, please? You are Homer - -

MR. HOMEWYTEWA: Homer Homewytewa.

GOVERNOR PYLE: From the Hopi country.

MR. HOMEWYTEWA: I am speaking from the Hopi tribe.

What you have heard discussed today, some of these are most essential to our tribes, but what I think, we should not all try to get all the weight on this state, but ask for what is most essential to our Indians. They have already commenced on schools, hospitals. We all know that we need education. Our government is not doing a very good job on that, especially on schools and hospitals. So I think we should only discuss what will be most essential to our Indians. Then I believe it will work out very nicely. All what you have said right now, you know, I agree with all what you have already said. On this 25-year program which we are now discussing, to me it would be just like this \$88,000,000 that the government has already put up for the Navajo and Hopi. Some of that money we don't know where it is going. What we need is to work with the state and do away with this area outfit. We don't need that. We need a good man from the state in order to regulate our schools and hospitals. This directing area, you know, to me is just taking all the money that is appropriated for the Indians hiring up more employees, you know, to pay up on their salaries, because they are getting a great big salary. So I would like to see our government schools and hospitals turned over to the state. That is the two only things that I am really for, so I am not going to say very much. This is about all I could say.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you, Homer. I tell you, that is coming right to the point, which is very, very good. Let's see, we have heard from George and Tom, and we have heard

from Homer.

MR. WESLEY: I want to save you time, Governor.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Oh, fine, good. A man is going to volunteer to have a word. That is wonderful. State your name, and so forth.

MR. WESLEY: My name is Clarence Wesley, Chairman of the San Carlos Apache Tribal Council. I would like to concur on this telegraph that was sent by Mr. Beecher. Of course, all of us - well, different conditions and problems exist among different tribes of Indians and different reservations. Some of you people perhaps feel that this 25-year plan proposed by the Governor should be enacted. Maybe you have got reasons for feeling that way. But then again the United States Government, the Federal Government, has been our great white father. It was he that placed us in reservations and has appropriated money time and again for our needs, for our various needs. All of us got people back on our reservations to think about. Our population is about 3,600, and according to the program that was brought out, the statistic program that was brought out by Frank T. Bow, Honorable Frank T. Bow, Congressman in the House of Representatives, he has got all the statistics listed here of various tribes of Indians throughout the United States, and education is the main thing that all of us Indians should strive for because I say it is the only solution to the Indian problem. I am opposed to this 25-year plan by the Governor, because in the various towns of Arizona, like Safford and Globe and Winslow, Flagstaff, Holbrook, where

the people are anti-Indian, how can we say, with those feelings from the general public, that we can accept this 25-year program. All of us should strive for adjustment from our claims. The Governor is very energetic. He is striving to help Indians, and through his Congressional delegation in Congress and he himself and the state people, they ought to back up these Indian tribes and see that they get the proper adjustment for the land that was taken away from the white man. This is not the beginning. Time and again the people in the state of Arizona will talk, will write to their State Legislature, to their Congressional delegation, urging that Indian Bureau be abolished, that they do away with Indians. There is something fishy about this. I am used to sticking out my neck, and my neck is not very long. The Governor has stressed inter-tribal organization, which we have tried to do for years and years, but we never have got together for reasons I do not know. I am very much interested, because I've got children. They are coming behind, and I don't want them to have to face the same attitude, the same feeling that I met from other class of people. We are known as first American, and first American should be free from taxation. They should be extended all the public services. They are trying to deny that to us now. This land was ours, it belongs to the Indians, and I think it is high time the Governor himself and the people in Arizona start paying those Indians for the land that they took away from them. By organizing together, we can fight united. We can kick the governors

out the next election if we have to. By united effort we can cast our votes for the Republican party, for the Democratic party. Governor Pyle has pledged equal treatment to Indians. I personally was responsible for leading my people. They registered Democrat, but I was personally responsible for sending questionnaires out to various candidates of Arizona, and he has pledged that he will try to do away with all that is discriminatory that has been placed upon the so-called first Americans. I would like to call all of you to the meeting at 124 North Second Avenue in the Chamber of Commerce Building tomorrow at nine o'clock to get organized. There is a strength in unity, you all know that, and I want to urge every one of you to get there tomorrow and lay down our plans. Today is not the time to adopt this 25-year plan. Some people are for it and some are against it. I think when we lay down our constitution and our by-laws as inter-tribal group when we are united, we can then come to the Governor and tell him, "This is what we want." Thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much, Clarence. Now, who else? Sterling Mahone, Chairman of the Hualapai Tribal Council.

MR. MAHONE: I would like to say a few words. Before I go any further, I would like to say I am glad to be here and I am glad that the Governor called this meeting for the various problems we have confronting us. In the statements of the Governor, he has stated that the state and the Indian tribes of the various tribes in the state of Arizona

have practically the same problems, so therefore we must consider these problems seriously, because there are a lot of things that us Indians in the state of Arizona do not know, at least, I do not know myself. Just like he stated here a while ago, the Governor himself stated that the Indian is exempt from the sales tax. Last year we bought a 1950 Chevvie sedan, two-door, from the tribal funds. At the same instance, our business manager secured a credit card for that car, a government service credit card. Yes, we were exempted, but later, when the reports came into the Motor Vehicle Division, a letter was sent out to my office saying that us Indians were not exempted. Therefore, I would like to have a clear definition on that law from the Attorney General's Office through the State Capitol of the Governor. We must definitely understand those things. I do not wish to take much of the time, but there is another statement stated by the Governor here that 75% of the state of Arizona is controlled by the Federal Government. The state is confronted with that problem to itself. That is the very reason why the Governor has brought out the problems, too, and I am wondering - I would like to ask the Governor, does that include our reservations in the state of Arizona?

GOVERNOR PYLE: Yes.

MR. MAHONE: I would like to go into the relief assistance to Indians. Before we left Peach Springs, an old lady, a Hualapai Indian, came before me with a report to be filled out by her. In fact, a couple months ago she received \$83. The letter stated that she was decreased to

\$30 a month, and yet this old lady was blind and disabled and got no home. How can she live with \$30 a month when the prices have gone up? That is a question I would like to have answered by the Governor, because this is my second term in office and I don't very well know many of the things, the state law or the federal law. That is just one of the questions that I brought up.

The Governor also stated that the Sales Tax Act passed for the purpose of assisting public welfare. The speakers before me have stated that we have paid sale tax and we are qualified in the social security. I don't want to say I think or it should be, but we are qualified, as George and the rest of them stated here. The Governor also stated that if it could be approved by the various tribes in the state of Arizona that the state could take over the supervision of expending money to various reservations on education, health, and so on. I believe that is a good idea, because from my own knowledge and opinion of what has happened on the reservation. Our reservation is right along Colorado River and we have deep canyons. About 65% of it is grazing land and the rest of it is nothing but deep canyons where you can't very well have a cattle industry going on to benefit the people there. The Federal Government appropriated certain amount of money some years ago to develop water on our reservation, on our deep wells. In fact, they went out there and figured that they could strike the water at 50 feet. Well, they went over there and spent all that money. We went to 50 feet here and there and there.

Well, we got dry holes all over the reservation today. Now, what did the government do for our reservation? They just simply threw out the money; no improvement whatever. Last year we set up enough money and went down there and sunk a hole 500 feet deep and we got some water with our own money. We weren't financially able, but we had to dig it out somewhere to do that. So I feel the idea of the state taking the proposition of trying to make improvements on our reservations for the Indians in the state of Arizona. I would like to state we have a very strong problem on the reservation - I know the rest of you have, too - in our health problem. We have to go 56 miles for medical attention which is not very reasonable. Now that our contracts are changed with doctors, we have to take our patients 38 miles east of Peach Springs to a doctor, and then we have to get a recommendation from that doctor and return back another 38 miles, an additional 56 miles. What if serious patient was on that road, what would happen? We are not treated right. It must be borne in mind that we have to get together and unite and work this thing out, just like the other speakers have stated. I feel this is the time and this is the day that we have the chance. We just might as well get down and work the problems out. Thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much, Sterling. I am going to avoid making comments about each of these until we have gotten around to everyone who wants to talk, and then we will have a little summary on the end. Nelson, would you like to say a few words?

MR. LUPE: No comment, Governor. I think things are pretty well covered by the others.

THE GOVERNOR: Thank you, Nelson. How about you, Juan? If you want to talk, this is a good time to do it.

MR. CHING: I will take this time for a few minutes, Mr. Governor.

GOVERNOR PYLE: This is Mr. Ching, from the Hopi.

MR. CHING: Honorable Governor and tribal members of the various tribes, friends within this room, when we received the invitation the other day, there was no specific agenda as to what topics will be at this meeting today, so therefore I know that most of you haven't consulted your tribal members, that is, your tribal men. We haven't, and the only thing we can do at this meeting today is to just talk from our own opinion. I am sure that most of you have the same thing in mind, because there was nothing done in consulting our people. The primary occasion of this meeting today is to talk among ourselves and exchange our opinions whereby we might be able to bring out points of understanding that we may begin to work, and I hope that when this meeting is called by the Governor it is not one of those excess steam blow-offs or as I have attended many meetings. Last March I was down here in Phoenix on invitation from a woman in Tucson who was very anxious to organize the southwest tribal organization. I know many of those have been held. One time I believe there was a meeting held in Salt River called up by Billman Hayes. At that time our former tribal chairman was down here, Mr. Johnson. Last March I came to attend this

meeting and everybody was so excited about it. Some of your most prominent lawyers within the city of Phoenix were there. We expected the Governor to be there, but he wasn't present at the meeting. At that meeting it was specifically stated that there must and should be an organization formed in the state of Arizona of all the different tribes within the state, and they said that it was going to be done. Out of that meeting, nothing materialized. At that meeting even the committee was elected. Mr. Thomas Segundo was elected as chairman and I was selected as one of the committeemen. All this time I have waited. Nothing came out of that one. So I hope that this meeting will not end up like that one. It seems to me that it is just excess steam in the boiler that you have to blow off in order to make the Indian people feel good. I know that a lot of us have experienced a lot of things like that before. A lot of times our white brothers propose a plan to do something for us, but it is just right here on the lip and nothing comes out of it.

I like what Brother Wesley has said, from the Apaches. He said that we have to think about somebody else. It is true. We have a lot of uneducated people back home on our reservations. We have to think about those people. Most of us are progressive right here in this room; that is, we have enough education to understand. I am sure that most of you are leaders who have been working for your tribe. I have been the secretary of the tribal council of the Hopis since 1937, and have been in there trying to do whatever I

could for my people, but it is a great job. A lot of obstacles you have to go against. All the time that I have been working with my people I find out that education is one of the most essential things. You remember in the former times when the first white men set their foot upon the American continent, New York was lost for a pint of whiskey. Why? Because the Indians didn't know any better, didn't have no education. The Oklahoma oil lands were given away because of inadequate education of those people. The white man has a law put down for his own comfort. He understands it. Up to this day, we realize that. We realize that we are going to have to be on the defensive side all the time to protect ourselves. The white man comes along and says, "Here, you sign on the dotted line right here." We don't understand. We go ahead and do it. So that has been the fault and the first thing that must be done for all, not one specific tribe but all the Indians in the United States, is to be able to give us a good education. Now, most of us are not going to be able to endure to the end. It is our children that have to come along. We have to work for the security of our children, because those of us who have responsibility and looking out for the future, if we make one misstep our children will suffer for that. Therefore, it is us. If we have education and know what we are doing, then those of us who profess to be leaders among the tribe will take responsibility. Responsibility is one of the greatest things, to my mind. You have got to be able to take responsibility regardless of what the odds

have to be against you. In that sense, I favor some change of administrative action toward the better education of the Indians. Whether or not the state is sincere in doing those things is yet to be seen. That is why I say that we always have to be on the defensive as well as offensive side. Since our Governor said that we are not getting the full benefits of what we have rights to because being wards of the government now, we don't want to make that change on the same basis. We don't want to be changing over being the wards of the government into the wardship of the state. If that is in his mind of doing, we don't want it. We want to be able to understand so that when we are changed into the state we will have the full rights as any citizen of the state of Arizona, not to change over and just relinquish our rights under the United States Government as being a ward and then go into the state and be just under the same standards of being just a ward to the state without any rights or anything to say for ourselves. We want to understand that before we can make a forward step. I know that at this meeting today there won't be anything specifically meted out, but that is something to think about.

Another thing is that he complains about the 75% that the state has no hand on, and if there was any change made, then, of course, that would have to be taxed. Now, a lot of us know that the best lands in Arizona are occupied by the white people. Indians are pushed back where - into the rock piles, very limited potential farming land, very limited grazing land. If at the present time this land would be

allotted to individuals among our tribes, a lot of them would receive just nothing but worthless land and still be taxed for it. I wonder if the State Governor has in mind all out for the Indian, would they be willing, when the state came along, because we as Indians feel like this was our country at one time, to allot those Indians that would have insufficient land - would he be willing to give the best lands that are laying idle in the state of Arizona to the Indians, because the point is now, as I see it, the assimilation of the Indian tribes. They are figuring that we should go out and live among our white people, among our white brothers. Now, the state would be able to take some of these Indians and put him out here and give him land, like in Prescott, or some place where it is worthwhile, and say, "Now, here it is, there is your land. You go ahead and pay tax on it." That would be worth something, wouldn't it, because the way it is on our reservations, like I say, it is limited potential farming land and grazing land. It would be worthless. That is not advancing the Indians at all. Some of us are just beginning to get on our feet. I know my tribe are. We have been working very hard. Recently, one of the greatest things that the tribal council has accomplished was hiring a tribal attorney under two conditions, as a claims attorney and a general counsel. One reason why we did that is because we don't understand the legal angle of the problems that we have to carry upon ourselves. Therefore, we have to rely on someone that knows the law, know that we are not being cheated out.

Just like I have said, the law is written down for the white men only to understand. We Indians with limited education do not understand those things. Therefore, we deprive ourselves of the rights that we may have if we knew what we were doing.

In the line of education, I will go back to that, the government had been doing a lot of education work for the Indians, and I want to stress at this time that they have spent a lot of money and a lot of good education has come out of that all right as far as the Government has been administering it. But in recent years under progressive education it has fallen down and a lot of that responsibility is lying upon our shoulders. That is, we are at fault partly, because we don't apply ourselves. A lot of us send our children to school until up until about the fourth grade and then we take them home and leave them home instead of encouraging them to go on. Now, that has been the Indians' fault. If we need anything bad enough, we will get it. It is there for us. I want to say this to you gentlemen at this time because I know that education is very essential. One of the principal things for the advancement of the Indian tribes is to acquire better education so that we can understand and we can take responsibility and we can be able to make a forward movement.

Talking about the subject of welfare, it is a good thing and yet it is a bad thing. We Hopis have some objection to the welfare program among our people, because that is not the firm foundation for any group of people. We don't want

to make the Indians beggars. The program is all right wherever it is supposed to be applied in the way of old people, blind, crippled, those that are disabled to take care of themselves, but extending it to the younger people who are able, who could acquire jobs or other means, I think that is where it hurts us. I don't think it is a good thing and that is not going to better the Indian conditions, because it is not going to last all through our lives. But it seems like that is the thing that the government and the state is trying to push under our nose. It is all right wherever there is a place for it, but we Hopi people object to those things. Instead of giving us the welfare, I think they should have given us something better in its place.

Coming back to the organization of the southwest Indian group, I think it is a good thing. Talking about responsibility again, in the past years we as Indian groups have relied upon the white men again for everything we do. I think it is time that we should take responsibility upon our own shoulders. If we really need it bad enough and if we feel that unity is the thing that we want, I think we should go ahead and organize ourselves. As I have said, I have attended meetings on a similar thing and there has been no fruit come out of different meetings that have been staged, so now it is up to us as Indian groups, without prejudice but looking upon ourselves as Indian groups, regardless of what tribe you belong to. I think it is a good thing. We favor it very much, and the Hopi people have been looking

forward to that since last March when the meeting was held here in Phoenix. If we really intend to organize, let us get together on that matter and work out a proposed plan where we can, when we leave to go home, present the matter back to our people and not stop at that but continue to go on until it is organized. I think that is one of the best things that we can do at this time, because we as individual tribes cannot secure power enough to protect our welfare, our rights within the state. That way we can come to a common understanding. We can be able to go to the Governor or any of his representatives that may have to work with the problems of the Indian groups within the state of Arizona and present it like one of our brothers here has said, there it is and it is up to them if they want to act on it. If they don't want to act on it, then it is another thing. Another thing that we have to do that might be beneficial out of that organization is that when the time comes when we be assimilated among our white people in order that we may retain our rights we should be given under the same privileges the security of our lands where we reside and be able to have the same privileges to send representatives into the State Legislature. Then we know that we have a right. We know that there has something been done for us.

I hope that there will be something that will come out of this meeting, and I hope this is not just a meeting to work up a political environment among the people so that next election we can vote for the Governor here again.

GOVERNOR PYLE: I hope that all of you realize that at this juncture it would have been much simpler if I had left you all at home. Those of you who have known me for a long, long, long, long time know that I have spent many an hour working with the Indian people, and I have a great feel for you that is born of days long before I became the Governor of this state and will last long after I am no longer Governor. So there is nothing political about this, Mr. Ching. If I am not reelected next time, I will live longer and have a lot more friends and have a lot more money. So I am here, as was said here a minute ago by Clarence, with my neck stuck clear out to there (indicating), and my neck is a little longer than yours, Clarence, so I don't want any of you to get the notion that this meeting was called simply for the purpose of strengthening my spleen, or yours either. We have some problems here. They are tough. I went all the way up to the Navajo Tribal Council meeting to talk about these problems. They can be solved. As I said in my letter to each and every one of you, together we can fix these things, but we must have confidence in each other and we must do our dead level best to avoid the damage of prejudice and all of the other things that sometimes separate us from the solutions to our problems.

We have five other groups that haven't been heard from yet. We have Norris, of the Maricopas; Jackson, of the Gila River Pimas; Mr. Hayes, of the Salt River Pimas; and Clark Jack, of the Havasupai people. It is now four o'clock. Some of you may be going home tonight. I don't know that you

are. I hope you will all remain for the meeting tomorrow that has been announced by Wesley in order that you may perfect this organization if you possibly can. I am perfectly willing to stay here all night, but I did want all of you to know that we have these five more. I would like to hear from as many of them as would care to talk. Some of them may feel, as Nelson did, that they don't care to comment. Let's start with Mr. Norris. Do you have something you would like to say or do you just want to second the motion?

MR. LEWIS: Well, I will take the place of Norris, I guess.

GOVERNOR PYLE: All right. State your name, will you, and your tribe?

MR. LEWIS: My name is George Lewis, and I am a representative of the Papago. Mr. Governor, members of the different tribes, this meeting here that we were invited to is kind of new to us, because we weren't elected to look after those Indians up there until around about July. This is the first time that we are called to this meeting, so it is kind of new to us. We are very glad to be here to find out about different things that these different representatives have brought out. The one problem, I guess, that we all have in the different villages is about the hospital. On our reservation, we were really under Sells, but it was too far for Sells to kind of look after us, so we came in under Sacaton, which is about 23 miles. Just last February there was a man came to me and told me to take his sick wife to the hospital. It was around about 11:30, I think it was,

so I took her up there and took her right into the hospital. The doctor came over and examined her and he said it was O.K., nothing wrong with her, so go take her back home. I asked the doctor, "Can she stay? Is she running a temperature?" "Oh, no, she's O.K." So I took the lady back and the following day she passed out. She was an awfully sick lady, you know. That is the way we have our troubles around that village. Of course, we have quite a ways to go even if they are real sick, you know. I am the one to carry them over.

About the education, a lot of these councilmen have brought out, we have the problem on that. I guess all of the tribes here have the same trouble about that education. We were a village of something like about 30 families, and we were the smallest inhabitants in the whole Arizona, I think it is, and, of course, there are about 30 families. It is not more than 150, but we've got quite a bit of land there and we leased about 10,000 acres. From that lease we get so much money and we make a living off that by putting the Indians to work and pay them so much so they could get something to eat. A lot of times they come to us and always ask us if we've got anything to do so they can get some grub. I always have to take them down to the grocery store and have them stand good on their credit.

I haven't got much to say because, as I say, this is all new to us and this is our first time. That is all I have to say. I thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much. Glad to have you.

How about Alfred Jackson? Would you like to say a few words?

MR. JACKSON: Yes, sir, a very few.

GOVERNOR PYLE: About everything has been said, hasn't it?

MR. JACKSON: That's right. I am Alfred Jackson, Chairman of the Gila River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, Sacaton. I feel greatly honored, Mr. Governor, to be your guest with my colleagues who represent the many different tribes in our great state of Arizona. I feel that this group of Indian people represent one of the greatest and the noblest races on the face of the earth, the Indian race. I am proud to be a member of this race, and I know that our problems are many. Out on Pima, we have our problems similar to the problems that have been discussed here by various members of your tribal leaders. I am saying this because I have worked among my people quite some time. I have worked with them, and I know that our problems cannot be solved today nor tomorrow, but it will take many years to solve some of these problems that exist among our people. I want to urge all of you people here today that as you go back to your different tribal councils, your different communities, that you would impress upon your people that we need to unify ourselves. We need to organize our Indian people if they are going to go forward, if they are going to keep abreast with the progress of our times. You all realize that we are going through some of the toughest years that this old world has ever experienced. We are passing through changes that are taking place on every hand that are

going to revolutionize the economic as well as other phases of our American way of living. But let us stand as one. Let us stand for those principles, those traditions which our forefathers stood for. We have inherited many of these inheritances that are sacred to us. Let us hold fast to these sacred inheritances that we got from our forefathers who fought and who lived perhaps in the same place that we are living today. They have passed on to us, the coming generation, these things that are sacred. Let us hold fast to them. Let us go forward. We still have far to climb. There are members of our Indian people who have risen above commonplace mediocrity, but we still have far to climb. The heights are beyond. Let us focus our sight. Let us set our goal way up on the summit of that hill that stands before us, and let us march forward with grim determination. Let us face the future with courage and with fortitude. When we march as one, when we stand together as one, there is nothing under the sun that is going to keep our Indian people from moving forward. We cannot help but progress. We cannot help but achieve what we have set before us to attain. So, my Indian friends, these are the words that I want to leave with you. As we march along, as we go forward, difficulties confront us, yes, but we must not let these grievances overshadow our opportunities. Let us march shoulder to shoulder and we cannot help but succeed, and in time which is not so far distant we will be able to stand beside our white brother and with those peoples who represent the culture and the civilization of the world. I thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Alfred, we should elect you Governor. All right, Billman, would you like to talk a minute?

MR. HAYES: I will say a few words.

GOVERNOR PYLE: That was a good speech, by George.

MR. HAYES: Your Excellency, members of the tribes, and the press, it has been indeed a great pleasure to be here today. A lot of the things that I have heard today have enlightened me a great deal. I must say, though, that my neck is a lot longer than either of these gentlemen that have spoken before me, so I dare not stick it out too far. As I sat there and listened to the different problems of the Indian people, it brought to my mind the very things that we of the Salt River people had to go through. We are a little reservation, and we didn't have too much administration to start with. The agency under which we were trying to operate was such that we couldn't do very much under it. So the only thing to do was to try to help ourselves. You all know or all heard the story of the patient Pima, how the patient Pima had waited 20 long years for his water to come through. Twenty long years he sat back and waited, and this became a joke among our neighbors. So that probably taught us a lesson. That probably taught us that if we wanted to get ahead in anything, if we wanted to help our people out, we have got to help ourselves. With that idea in mind, we suggested or we proposed among our own small group a five-year program that we were to follow. In other words, we were trying to operate without too much help from the Indian Service. As we went along, of course, you all

know what obstacles we had to go through, what we had to put up against, but then, as Mr. Jackson just got through saying, we had something that we thought we were pulling for, and that was the only reason, the only way, I believe, that we were able to assume some of the things, or assume some of the responsibilities that we have today. Now, as I say, we are a small group, and when I sit here and look among these representatives of larger groups of Indians, we have felt small. We felt like we were too insignificant to try to tell these people what to do. So all I can say is that if the Indian is ever going to meet his problems and overcome them or solve them, he first has to help himself. There is no way that I can see, and I know most of you do, too, except only by what Mr. Wesley has proposed, that we get together and put this thing through once and for all and see what can be done. I have talked to several people before I came here, and I don't mean the Indian people. I have talked to some white people inquiring, oh, just wanting to know what kind of a man Mr. Pyle was, the Governor of the state of Arizona. I know these people were not affiliated with any of the offices of the state. I knew that they were not connected in any way with any official business of the state. So they told me that they believed that Mr. Pyle was a very sincere man and that whatever he was to say here at this meeting, they said they know it was from the bottom of his heart. Now, these are people that are from out of state and have not lived here very long, but in that short length of time they seem to have learned that Mr. Pyle was a very sincere

man and the background that he had was something that we would all be proud to have right now. So I believe that rather than look in the past about things that have happened, I know we have all gone through those things, the thing to do, I believe, is to look to the future, as it has been so aptly emphasized in this meeting, that we should look in the future, see what we can do, and know we can do it. There must be some way, and the only thing to do right now is to get together. By doing that, I think we can begin to see a light through which we can go and probably arrive at what is being suggested now. Twenty-five years is a long time. The Governor here seems to have been kidding a lot about being the Governor, but then how do we know he is going to live that long, or any of us, as far as that goes. We shouldn't look too far ahead that way. In the meantime, I think if we just take this thing to our people and show them - now, it is the business of the tribal chairmen, the representatives, to take this to our people and tell them what is being said here. If you can interest your people and get their backing for some of these things, it will be a lot easier job to be done. I thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: This time thing goes by faster than you think. I remember here not long ago it seems like I was a struggling young married man and it suddenly became possible for us to build a house with a little federal help, and it was supposed to pay off in 20 years. I remember before I dug the first shovelful of dirt for the foundation I walked around over this lot and I said, "Imagine me being here for

another 20 years just to pay this off." Well, I only have about five or six more years to go. Time has gone by. I haven't missed the money and I am soon going to own a house. So the time does go by and 25 years sounds like a long time, but it will be sooner than you think. We have, I believe, only two more. Mr. Dogka, would you like to talk for a minute?

MR. DOGKA: No, I don't have any statement to make.

GOVERNOR PYLE: No comment.

MRS. QUAIL: I will speak.

GOVERNOR PYLE: All right, here is a lovely lady who says she will talk. Will you come up? Nellie Quail. She represents the Mohave Apaches, is that right?

MRS. QUAIL: Yes. I am glad to be here in the meeting with you, Governor, and the press. I haven't got much to say, but my people expected me to say something when they sent me here. If I don't, they might scalp me when I get home. Well, my people oppose everything. They don't want to be taxed even if they become under the State of Arizona. Many of them have died, the old people. We have nothing, not only the clothes on, and yet they have paid every year thousands of dollars and they think that is for the Indians, but never - the employees only. I am an old woman and I know how they treat Indians. I am employed in the Indian Service and I know how they treat the children or the reservation Indians. I oppose everything being under the government, but what can I do? I have talked for many years, but it doesn't do any good. I am the only one. But now I

have heard many of these young Indians speak and think wonderfully. It seems to me that you could go along and do the things that you think are best for our people. You don't really need the government nor to come under the Arizona state. You have learned enough. I don't like that word "problem." What is a problem? We Indians have been called problem for many years. They don't say that to the colored people nor the Mexican, do they? They don't say that to the white men. When he gets on the desert out here, he stays there for three years and then that is his own, or five years and then that is his own land. What about us Indians? We are North American Indians. This is ours. We lived here always. Why they say, "You are a problem?" "We can't let you have land and free you." I remember one time when I was living in Clarkdale - of course, we always have trouble, too, among ourselves - somebody had reported that I tried to make uprising, or something like that, and three officers came and said for me to get out of that place, go back where I came from, and that made me angry, see. "Go back?" I said, "What do you mean?" "You go back where you came from." I said, "I belong here." "I am American Indian." They said, "We are going to tear up the house if you don't go." I said, "All right, if you want shame this Christian nice nation," I said, "you go ahead," I said, "Tear up the house." I don't only have trouble with the white people, but our Indians, you know, they talk about some other white people take their land away, as you have heard. Why they believe what they say?

I am going to say the same thing to you young people. Our Governor said that he is in the same boat with us, didn't he? If he is in the same boat with us, how can they help us? They have been saying that for many years. The government, our great father in Washington, will say. They never do a thing for us. They are worse than ever today. They are fighting. Their mind is on that fighting. What can they do for us? I am not ungrateful to you for sympathizing with us, it isn't that, but we have been treated not fair for many years, all my life. So I feel like it isn't safe yet for us Indians to become citizen or to be under the state of Arizona. If they don't want pay the Indians or help the Indians, well, what can they do? Last summer I am supposed to be pensioned. They paid me \$3 a month. Then what would they do to me after I became under the state? No, I am not discouraging you, but you have got to think about all these things. That's all.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much.

MR. BULLIS: Governor, may I speak a few minutes?

GOVERNOR PYLE: Yes, you may, sir.

MR. BULLIS: I am Clarence Bullis, of the San Carlos Council. I am not a very good speaker and I have not a very long neck, but I want to stick it out a little bit. The reason why I am not an educated man today is the government. In my days the government paid our fare to and from school when we went out to the non-reservation school. Now, for a lack of \$37 I did not go back to school. My parents were poor. We had nothing. That is why I say I blame the federal

government for not being an educated man today. We Indians know that we need an education. If we are to meet our problems, we must be educated. So let us each and every one of us take this home to our people, to our children, the need of education. Let's urge them on. Thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: Thank you very much. Now we have Clark Jack here. He hasn't spoken for the Havasus yet, and he came a long way, as a lot of the rest of you did.

MR. JACK: Some of you already brought up this subject, and I have a few things to say about it. I am representing the Havasupai Tribe as the Chairman, and I am going to speak a few things. I thought I would make the trip back tonight, but some of you people say you want inter-tribal meeting tomorrow, so that keeps me here for tomorrow's discussion. This subject what I am hearing about is just see how far we come. The younger guys in this room right now should realize, like some of you spoke as want to help the tribe to climb up to the standard point, and I agree on that. I have spoken to my tribe for two years trying to bring up for the betterment of the reservation. Our reservation lies in the bottom of the Grand Canyon about 52 miles west of Grand Canyon, and we have to travel 8 to 14 miles by trail, then about 50 to 60 miles by bad road. I think we should improve. Under the government, we have been trying to bring some kind of improvement in our territory, but there wasn't anything being done. As some of you have spoken, it is like Mr. Howard wanted to turn it over to the state the various reservations in the state of Arizona, and I thought

that might be a good idea, and yet some of you spoke 25 years is a little too short, but if we approach to that, it depends on each group of us to push along at that time. The schooling is essential today, and I think that would be mighty good thing to have and improve our ways of living and some day we will meet to the standard point. Thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: I am going to try to get you out of here now at five o'clock. That is just 25 minutes - if you will give me that much more time. We have two more people who would like to say a word, and then we are going to conclude. I would like to recognize Mrs. Wauneka. She is the lady member of the Navajo Tribal Council, and I rather suspect she might have something worthwhile to comment on.

MRS. WAUNEKA: Governor and members of the different tribes, I am a Navajo, the only woman member of the Navajo Tribal Council. I am from Ganado, Arizona. This is my first year representing the tribal council, and I have found out it is a difficult job to deal with. As some of the members spoke that their neck isn't very long, I know mine isn't very long, but I will stick it out a little bit, too. If we stick out many of them, maybe we can do the job. Our reservation is a large country, the Navajo reservation. With the New Mexico, together there are about 70,000 Navajos at the present time. We have overpopulated our reservation, with no improvement whatsoever. When the Navajos were released from Paso Redondo, the government gave two sheep to each Navajo and made the Navajos a stock raiser and did a wonderful job in raising sheep in 1920 to 1934. Even the

government encouraged the Navajos to raise better and more sheep, which they did. The government forgot to furnish a teacher for every 30 children. That is why 75% of the Navajos are uneducated today. If the government kept his word when the Navajos were released, I believe the Navajos should have been better off today. What we need on the reservation is more roads in order to meet our economy. If we are to have better schools, hospitals, we have got to have our roads built first. We need state credit schools, and I don't believe we need any more progressive education. My people are government dependent people. They do not care what is being done for them, because they neglect improvement from the government. They just waste their time drinking, bootlegging, and even using peyote. That is because of lack of education. The biggest headache for the Navajos today is grazing regulations, which the tribal council is supposed to have ready for them this fall, and that is the only livelihood they have got and used since their return from captives. I have understood from the Governor that the welfare from the government is put on the Arizona state's shoulder, and he says it is one of the biggest problems that he has to solve with the people of Arizona, the white people, in order to meet those problems of my people. Of course, we are the largest Indians in the United States, as I understand, and today and tomorrow we will be faced with the same thing on our part in the Navajos. The Interior Department from Washington has asked the Navajos, those that at least have some livestock, which we are limited - the

highest sheep unit is 350 sheep unit and the lowest is 5 sheep unit, and we have to abide by that regulation. The Department of Interior has asked these stock owners to pay grazing fees in order to pay the non-stock owners or the people that need it some sort of welfare. I believe those two are going to meet from the state and from the Navajos paying their own grazing fees to take care of the poor Navajos, and the Indian Bureau has asked us to take care of our own poor people. So I was sitting there thinking that among my people they are going to get two payments, one from Arizona and one from the tribe, the stock owners, and for my part and what I consider for my own people about this grazing regulation, who would make a living out of 350 sheep? I don't think any white man would be able to meet the standards of living if he is ordered to make a living on 350 sheep with a permit. We Navajos got to stick by that. We cannot stick our necks out. If we make 400, we have to sell the rest of the 50 and stick by 350. So it is one of the tough jobs we have to deal with. Some Navajos have only 5 sheep unit, and that means 5 sheep. If they have 5 lambs, they have got to sell 5 lambs and keep the 5 ewes. That is the way we are on the Navajo reservation. So that is a problem we are facing for our people right now, is grazing regulation. I don't know how in the world we are going to satisfy our people, the 70,000. Maybe there is about 50,000 in Arizona and there are about 1,000 Navajos that got a permit for 350 sheep units and the rest of it is just thrown on our shoulders, too. So I would like for the Governor to

consider that. I will say that we cannot do it, because I am one of the 350 sheep owners and I don't know but what I am going to give it to the next fellow, because I have other outside expense to do. So I don't know how in the world we are going to meet that, too. I believe that Washington or the Indian Bureau got to give a rise to those people in order to give a nickel to the next person. I thank you.

GOVERNOR PYLE: You are welcome. Now will you use a minute for whatever you have in mind? We are going to have to hurry if I get you out of here by five. Give your name, please.

MR. FRENCH: Burns French is my name. I am the Secretary to the Salt River Tribal Council. In very few words, I would like to say that some of the things that Mr. Hayes said we anticipated such a thing as this happening years ago and at that time we were a very small reservation and our resources were very limited. At that time we sat down and worked out a program wherein it would take in such a move as is happening today. Knowing the feelings of our older people who didn't want to get out away from the government because of the bugaboo of taxes, which is coming - we know that is going to happen some day - we proposed to the Senate a program what we called a five-year program, and under this five-year program we proposed that every five years we will take over some function of the government, maybe the secretaryship of the tribal council, maybe next time it would be the law and order, and so forth. Well, the program was ignored. They

wrote us very nice letters about it and then said, "Well, we would like to help you, and if you will meet with us we will discuss these things," but those things never happened. After we sat back and waited for them to do something about it, they didn't do anything. In the meantime, we had a tribal enterprise started, a farm project, and on this farm project we tried to borrow some money from the government and we were supposed to pay it back at the rate of \$5,000 a year. In the meantime, while the government had this in operation, they couldn't meet their payment. Realizing that we had certain rights and certain privileges under the Reorganization Act, we practically took people by the horns and said, "Well, under the Reorganization Act it says we can do this and we can do that," and so we took the tribal farms over and we hired a man to operate this. We hired Mr. Flood, who is an accountant, to set up our books and set up a new system. He had to disregard the Indian Service bookkeeping system altogether, and we set up a commercial bookkeeping system. Under that, we were able to pay our loan and under that we began to spread out and do more things. In the meantime, the government wasn't very pleased with what we had done, because even the Reorganization Act, which gives us Indians a lot of power, it tells us that we can do a lot of things, but a lot of us Indians who are not lawyers don't know how to interpret those things, and we were fortunate enough to hire lawyers right at the very beginning of this thing and they kept us posted on what we could do and what we couldn't do. Of course, naturally, the

government hollered their heads off about what we were doing. Now, here last week we were informed that the superintendent is going to be released. I don't know whether it has been released to the public or not, but by the 15th of October he will be out and the government isn't replacing him, so there we are. Three or four tribal groups, the Gila River, Salt River, the McDowell, and I believe the people who are under Sacaton, are left without a superintendent. We are left without government control and we are to do the things that the government has been doing for us. We think that the Salt River is one of the very few groups who is able, because of the plan that we proposed years ago and studied in the meantime, to take over anything that they ask us to do. Right now the only obstacle is financing. We are taking these things over and we are not asking the state to come in and do these things for us. We believe that we have certain rights as citizens of this United States, and those rights should be protected. The only way that we can protect them is by doing those things for ourselves. Recently, we came here and asked the state to come in and help us on our fishing and hunting regulations, but we didn't come in and say to the state, "You come over and do this for us; you spend your money on our reservation and take care of that." Instead, we said, "We will set up our own fishing regulations and we will set up our own men, we will hire our own men to take care of that, and all we ask the state to do is to deputize those people so that they will have the authority to inspect licenses and to enforce

the state game on the reservation the same as anywhere else." Now, those are plans that can be worked out. Our plan may not operate on some of the other reservations, because every reservation is different. Your property, for instance. Now, with us, we have bought tribal land and allotments. Those allotments are people who own this land and we can't tell them what to do. It is their land and their rights have to be protected, but we can control our tribal lands. We hope that as time goes on, as these years go by, that we will have enough money to protect all of that land. It was proposed in our plan that the first thing we would do would be to develop our resources and set up enough funds in our tribal treasury so that when this day did come, which is here now, that we will be able to buy back, if necessary, any of the lands that are taken away from us. That is the main thing that we have kept in mind, the protection of that land. How we are going to do it, I think those are problems that we will all have to work out together. That is a program that I thought we would like to leave with you to think about, and maybe as we meet tomorrow we will be able to elaborate a little bit more on these things.

MR. SEGUNDO: I would like to ask a question just very briefly. How might you interpret the action of the Indian Bureau in eliminating these particular agents? Is that a movement toward centralization, for example?

MR. FRENCH: That is the idea. See, they eliminated the agency and now they have asked us if we were willing to organize our tribal government right to the point where we

are doing everything that the agency was doing and work directly with the area office.

GOVERNOR PYLE: I think the inclination is to cut out some of these superintendencies and centralize the control, which will probably mean you will have less control because there won't be the agents around. I know there are two or three people here, or maybe more, who would like to ask a few things. My good neighbor on the left would like to, and a man there would like to, and that gentleman would like to, but it is almost five o'clock now and I feel very keenly that none of you will resent it if I terminate the general discussion at this point, because I feel that we have had a wonderful opportunity to exchange ideas. Some of you have been a little tough on me, but I will show you that I can be a good sport. I called you here and asked you to speak frankly, and the fact that you have some of you been rather critical doesn't change my feeling in the matter in the least. I want to work with you and I want to do everything in the world I can to assist in any way that I can. I can't speak for the State Legislature. I can't speak for all of the people of Arizona in the sense that I can obligate them to do specific things, but I will promise you this, insofar as leadership can go, I will provide that leadership to whatever extent it is possible with my other assignments and my other jobs.

By way of conclusion, if I could just have two minutes, I think we can wrap it up here in a very neat way. I think it is almost unanimous among the people in this room that

the next step is a unified organization on the part of the various councils of the state. What you call it, I don't care, but you must come together under a common leadership in order to develop a unified approach to our problems, and most of your problems have a great similarity to them. We have them, too. We have all kinds of them. I might just say here and now, you people have talked at great length about the things that are very personal and intimate to you. This whole wide world in this particular date in history is in trouble. Every nation on the face of the earth today is battling for some sort of existence and some sort of security. So in the heart of Navajo Land, in the heart of Apache country, in the heart of every other council area represented here, your problems are actually the grass roots version of problems that extend to the absolute limits of the world. Today Mr. Truman in Washington is fighting the battle of a lifetime. Today in every country in the world leadership is struggling to find peace for the world, struggling to find security for the world, studying to find ways to stop the inclination to destroy ourselves by the various things that prey upon us in these days. So as you have problems in your homes, as you have problems individually, as you have problems as tribes, as we have problems in our state and county and city governments, in our national and international affairs, I think there was a Biblical character once upon a time by the name of Job who said man is born of trouble. That is one of the things he said. He went down in Biblical history. Man is born of trouble, and you

and I will never see the day when we don't have some kind of grief. It may not be education, it may not be hospitalization, it may not be 350 or 5 sheep, but we are always going to have troubles. It is never going to be any other way as long as we live in this life, and when we go to the happy hunting ground let's hope it is different. But, in any case, let's not let these troubles discourage us. I suspect that even now our lot is perhaps better than some of those who went before us who struggled in a trying and turbulent period in American history to try to live through the rigorous chapters of history to which you belong and to which we belong. Our troubles are not the worst troubles that people have ever encountered, I am sure, nor will they be the worst that people will encounter in years to come, but they are our troubles now, and whether we are White or Indian or Mexican or Negro, or whatever we may be, we must find a way to work together, and I am offering you any cooperation in any way that I can supply it. Those of you who know me or know of me know that I will not fail to work along with you as we go. We won't always be successful, but I hope it will never be said that we stopped working together, that we stopped trying to do these things that we know need to be done. I hope you will not lose sight of the fact that yours are not the only difficulties, nor are mine the only difficulties, nor are Arizona's the only difficulties, but we occupy a state, and I hope that the time will come when we will be proud of our citizenship here as the aftermath of our working together slowly but

surely toward a better day. It is my sincere hope that you will conclude your trip to Phoenix by a successful meeting tomorrow at nine o'clock in the Chamber of Commerce Building here at 124 North Second Avenue and that out of that will come an organization, a unified council, so that you can appoint committees to come and see me, to come and work with our Interim Legislative Committee. If welfare is your problem, appoint a committee of two or three people who can sit down and talk, persons like Tom and others, Fisher, and the rest of you who are here. You are perfectly capable of it, and we want to sit down and discuss it with you. Even if we don't get together, we must understand each other, because in our misunderstanding of each other we expand misunderstandings to the point where there is bitterness, there is prejudice, there is failure to make any effort whatsoever to meet our common needs. So the next chapter is to organize yourselves as one council, then organize within that council committees to work on these projects that are most troublesome to you, your educational program, the welfare program, and the other aspects of your unified difficulty, and when you write to me or ask me for opportunities to counsel, to sit down and study, as we have today, all of these things, then we will work on these individual things one at a time as you provide the men and the will to do it, and sometime, some day, maybe not too far, we will have lots better feeling between each other and lots better understanding and a much better way of life for all of you. Some of these things we are never going to get fixed, but

let's don't ever quit trying, with a hopeful attitude, without prejudice, without malice, without bitterness, but always constructively and always progressively. If we will do that, we will solve a lot of these difficulties, and some of the others that we don't solve maybe will be less important to us as the days go by.

I want to thank you from the bottom of my heart for your being here. You have been wonderfully patient, wonderfully courteous, to everyone who has spoken. It has been a long and perhaps for some a tiresome afternoon. I personally feel tremendously well informed as the result of our talking here. Many of these things you knew before, but I know better now, because I have heard from the lips of Nellie here and others of you just how deeply you feel about some of these things, and that inspires me to try to do the kind of thing that I think you would like to have me do as your Governor and as one who represents perhaps the other side of the question from where you stand. I have been asked to remind you not to forget the group meeting tomorrow morning at nine o'clock at 124 North Second Avenue, Chamber of Commerce Building. To those of you who were guests more or less today, we are glad to have had you. Mr. Simpson, we are very happy to have had you. We appreciate the indulgence of the press, particularly our typist here, who has been taking down all the details. I would like to say that I will either supply you an absolutely true text of what has taken place here today or a reasonable facsimile of it, so that when you go before your tribal councils when

you get home you will have something to which you can refer as material that was passed along here by some of you, or all of you, and by me.

I would like to have, for a special radio broadcast, three or four of you to sort of help me summarize for the benefit of the local radio station exactly what took place here. If I may, with your permission, name one or two or three or four here to work with me, it will be very helpful. Tom, would you stay just long enough to do this? It won't take but about ten minutes. Sam, would you wait a moment? Clarence, we would like to have you if you would spend just a minute with us. George, maybe you would like to visit with us a little bit. If you will just meet up in this corner, I will have the stuff set up immediately. I will handle the interview, because I know what has taken place this afternoon, and we will just sort of briefly summarize the whole thing.

I hope everybody is happy and that we go out of here glad we came and hopeful that the next time we come we will be that much nearer the solutions to our problems. Thank you very much for being here today.