

Anti-Indian Movement on the Tribal Frontier Right-wing Extremism Reaching for the Mainstream

By Rudolph C. Rýser

Occasional Paper #16 Special Issue

April 1991

Copyright 1991 Center for World Indigenous Studies
OCCASIONAL PAPERS are published from time-to-time by the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Views expressed in each monograph are those of the individual author. Unsolicited manuscripts for publication as OCCASIONAL PAPERS are welcomed. Address all correspondence to the Chairman of the Center for World Indigenous Studies. Each OCCASIONAL PAPER is available for a single copy price of \$2.50 plus handling and postage of \$1.50 inside the U.S. (Except for "Special Issues") Outside the U.S., single copies may be acquired at the regular \$2.50 cost plus \$2.00 to cover handling and postage (Except for "Special Issues"). All prices are in U.S. currency. For information, address inquiries to CENTER FOR WORLD INDIGENOUS STUDIES, P.O. BOX 82038, Kenmore, Washington, 98028, U.S.A.

All rights reserved. Printed in the United States of America. Permission to use this material for purposes of scholarship or education will be cheerfully granted on request.

CONTENTS

ABOUT THE STUDY	1
OVERVIEW: Anti-Indian Movement on the Tribal Frontier	3
Competing for the Land	9
Forming the Anti-Indian Circle (ICERR)	15
"We Are Not Racists"	19
Momentum? Create more Organizations (S/SPAWN)	22
Confrontation and Consolidation (PARR)	27
From Property to the Constitution (CERA)	36
The Right-Wing Connection	44
EPILOGUE	52
REFERENCES & SOURCES	53

Back Issues

- #1 Inside and Outside the Indian Resistance in Nicaragua, by Dr. Bernard Nietschmann (April 1984)
- #2 Fourth World Wars: Indigenous Nations and the New International Political Order, by Rudolph C. Rýser (May 1984)
- #3 An Indian Struggle For Aid and Justice in Nicaragua, by Hank Adams (May 1985)
- #4 The Horrors of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, by Dr. Ramendu Shekhar Dewan (August 1985)
- #5 The Rules of War and Fourth World Nations, by Rudolph C. Rýser (September 1985)
- #6 Whose Law in This Land? Indian national governments and Washington State government in Northwest United States of America, by Rudolph C. Rýser (October 1986)
- #7 Transcultural Tapeworm Trafficking, The Indonesian introduction of biological warfare in West Papua, by David C. Hyndman (November 1986)
- #8 A Treaty for Genocide, Jakarta and Port Moresby Agree to dismantle Melanesian Independence, by Kupamal Markai and Bernard Q. Nietschmann (November 1986)
- #9 Session V of the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations, A Letter from Genève, by Rudolph C. Rýser (December 1987)

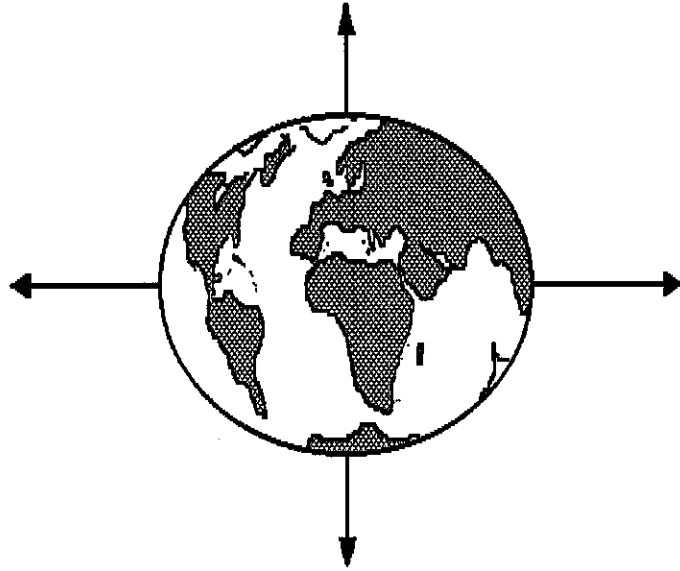
Continued on back-inside-panel

Serial 28416

Back Issues

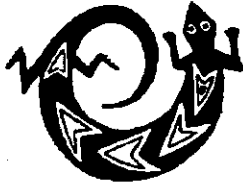
Continued from front panel

- #10 **The World Bank's Indigenous Policy**, by Rudolph C. Rýser (February 1988)
- #11 **Government to Government Issue Paper: A Rational for U.S. & American Indian Governmental Communications, Consultation & Co-Existence**, prepared for the National Congress of American Indians by Rudolph C. Rýser, Victoria Santana and Joe Tallakson
- #12 **Fourth World Governance**, by Wilson Manyfingers (February 1989)
- #13 **Europe's Fourth World Nations in a "Common European Home"** by Rudolph C. Rýser (June 1990)
- #14 **Self-Government and Overcoming Political Obstacles**, by Jewell Praying Wolf James (September 1990)
- #15 **Fourth World Nations' Realities in Canada**, by Rosalee Tizya (November 1990)



A Publication of the
Center for World Indigenous Studies
April 1991

Printed on Recycled Paper



About the Study

Toward new methods for conflict resolution

In 1984, the Center for World Indigenous Studies began an intensive study of organized anti-Indian activities on and near Indian reservations in the United States and Canada. This project was intended to collate primary and secondary source data tracking activities of a network of organizations dedicated to the abrogation of treaties between Indian nations and the United States of America and with Great Britain (Canada).

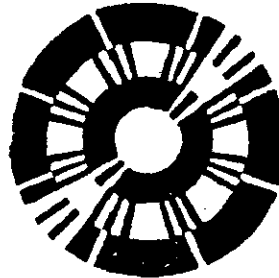
Our hypothesis for this study was that organized opposition to Indian tribes, or a distinctly Anti-Indian Movement, developed from a clash between Tribal governments and rapidly increasing numbers of non-Indian landowners on three Indian Reservations in the northwest part of the United States. Furthermore, the Movement grew. It became politically more sophisticated, and then stabilized. Now the Anti-Indian Movement constitutes a serious threat to the peace and stability of Indian nations generally. Several Indian nations in the states of Wisconsin, Montana, Minnesota and Washington are particularly at risk.

Some suggest that organized opposition to Indian tribes is actually an effort to eliminate treaties between the United States and Indian Tribes. This was essentially the conclusion of a special study of the problem by C. Montgomery Johnson in 1985 entitled *First, Our Land Now Our Treaties*. The present study is, in part, designed to determine whether opposition is aimed at overturning treaties, or if it is also a more generalized opposition motivated in part by bigotry. Whether the Move-

ment is intended to go farther to remove Indian people from their reserved territories was the more direct issue.

Before Johnson's study very little research had been done to quantify the magnitude of anti-treaty activity in the United States. Virtually no similar research had been done in Canada. After two years of the present study, it became apparent that there was much more to the emergence of organized anti-Indian treaty activities than surface examination indicated. A broader, more intensive study was called for.

By 1986, we broadened the scope



of study and named it the **RWAIN Project** (*Right-wing Extremism and Anti-Indian Network Project*). In January 1988, the RWAIN Project published its preliminary findings in *Competing Sovereignties In North America and the Right-Wing and Anti-Indian Movement* (January 13, 1988). In that analysis, we said:

The struggle between Indian nations, states and the federal governments has its origins in European colonization, and the subsequent formation of the United States of America and Canada. Un-

settling as this long-term dispute between nations and states has been to Indian peoples, it now seems to have spawned a reactionary movement among non-Indians against Indians. Incipient racism, economic hard-times and honest fear have combined to form the basis for an organized Anti-Indian Movement that threatens the destabilization of Indian governments and the break-up of Indian nations. (*Competing Sovereignties ... Preliminary Findings, 1988:1*)

Our preliminary review revealed the apparently concealed involvement of right-wing extremists. It also showed the intimate participation of non-tribal Indians in anti-Indian activities. These two new elements required that we adjust some of our working assumptions. Our research emphasis was broadened to take these two new elements into account.

It also became clear that we were collecting much more data from the United States than Canada. We had originally intended to conduct a "continent-wide study," but our shortage of resources prevented such a comprehensive study. We decided to continue to gather information across the continent, but our first publication would necessarily have to focus on the United States of America. A report of findings in Canada will be published separately.

After six years of study, we are now able to explain how the Anti-Indian Movement began. We now know what the Anti-Indian movement is, and the

extent that it has grown. This study improves our understanding of the degree to which right-wing extremists influenced and came to control the Movement. As a result of the present study, it is now more possible to make credible predictions about what future directions the movement is likely to take.

During the course of the RWAIN Project we collected data from primary and secondary sources. We used three data instruments to record information about individual activists, incidents and organizations. By cross-referencing our data, it became possible to connect these three elements of the Anti-Indian Movement. Where connections were firmly established and supported by documentation, we were able to draw conclusions from the data about which persons were involved in which incidents or had connections with a particular organization associated with anti-Indian or bigoted activities. Where explicit data corroborated implicit or circumstantial information, it was included in a series of "activist" or "organizational" diagrams which illustrated relationships between individuals and organizations. Where relationships were established, incidents were added to a diagram to establish connections with certainty. Based on this process, we conducted a thorough analysis, and drew conclusions.

This study would not have been possible without the voluntary help of hundreds of informants across the United States, and a few journalists willing to report incidents, and share their information with the RWAIN Project. With too many names to mention here, we express our deepest gratitude to them all. Of course, none of the work in this study would have been possible without the loving support of my wife, Nancy who through many discussions helped me clarify connec-

tions between details of this project. I wish to express a special thanks to **Carol Minugh** for her encouragement and help during most of the term of RWAIN and to **Joe Tallakson** who consistently helped fill in some blanks. I extend special thanks to the **Northwest Indian Fish Commission** for its continuing interest in this project. For their encouragement and endorsements I also thank the **Puget Sound Task Force on Human Rights** in Seattle, Washington and the support and substantive contributions by the **Center for Democratic Renewal** in Atlanta, Georgia.

While I am wholly responsible for the content and interpretations in the analysis to follow, I must acknowledge the help given by several students from Evergreen State College who gave their time to fill in hundreds of "document report instruments" that contributed to the RWAIN database. And of course, this work could not have been done without the persistence and willingness to receive small pay by two research assistants, **Tina L. Benshoof** and **Molly Gray**. Thank you both for your excellent work.

This study is divided into essentially three parts: About the Study (this section), Study Overview (pages 3-8) and the Study Analysis (beginning at page 9). The Overview is intended to serve as a kind of executive summary - an abbreviated form of the Study Analysis.



Owing to the sensitivity of this study and the ease with which the analysis may be misunderstood, I offer the following notes of clarification as to the use of some terms. In various parts of the study, I use the terms con-

servative, right-wing (sometimes modified with the word extreme or extremist) and Far Right. Like many descriptive political terms, these are at best inexact. They are terms used in a wide range of political literature and their meaning is often in flux. By the use of the term *conservative*, I intend to apply its normative meaning: *Of or pertaining to a political philosophy stressing tradition and social stability, minimal interference of governmental institutions in private economic activities, but a strong influence of governmental or religious institutions in the control of individual morality and social behaviour.* In the case of *right-wing*, I intend perhaps a non-normative meaning: *The more intellectually rigid, uncompromising and sometimes intolerant division of conservative political thought expressed in political parties or as movements opposed to socialism and communism, dogmatically committed to narrow interpretations of American political history, proponent of or at least sympathetic with ideas of social darwinism and intent on radically altering social, economic and political institutions to reflect these views achieved through forced change or political change.* Finally, I mean by *Far Right*: *The avowedly violent white supremacist movement as well as the subtler forms of bigotry practiced by so-called Christian Patriots and Christian Identity who may or may not use violence to achieve their goals.*

Publication of what we have found will hopefully contribute to a new measure of understanding between Indians and non-Indians. Perhaps too, our findings will help prevent a recurrence of past Indian/non-Indian conflicts. With the knowledge of what is hidden, perhaps a peaceful conclusion to the present conflicts can be found in a way that increases our collective respect for one another and our commitment to democratic resolution of conflicts. ☉



Extremism Reaching for the Mainstream

OVERVIEW

The large-scale movement of non-Indians onto Indian reservations began with the U.S. government's 19th century General Allotment Act (1887). The U.S. government intended to destroy tribal governments and break up Indian reservations under, what was then considered, the progressive **Manifest Destiny Doctrine** - the historical inevitability of Anglo-Saxon domination of North America from sea to sea. By moving non-Indians onto Indian reservations as the new reservation land-owners and locating individual Indians on parcels of reservation land or off the reservation completely, the United States government hoped to eliminate Indian nations once and for all. Under the **Indian Reorganization Act** of 1934, the U.S. Congress only partially repudiated the Allotment law for its destructive impact on tribal peoples.

In the late 1960s, it had become clear that the U.S. government's 19th century policy succeeded in creating a "checkerboard land ownership" pattern on every "allotted reservation." Not only did the land ownership pattern put non-Indian and Indian landowners living next to each other, but it also complicated an increasingly difficult jurisdictional mess for tribal, federal and state governments. Though Indian nations originally reserved full jurisdictional authority to their own governments inside reservation boundaries, the United States government and the various states began to undermine that jurisdiction by imposing federal or state laws on reservations where non-Indians owned property. This complicated and confused civil and criminal law and justice responsibilities on Indian re-

servations.

By the 1980's more than 500,000 non-Indians claimed land on Indian reservations. More than half of many tribes' populations were forced to live outside reservations. They no longer had the ability to fully enjoy the benefits of territories reserved to them as distinct peoples under treaties and agreements with the United States of America. Non-Indian landowners competed with tribal

**Indian
Country**

peoples for limited resources and land inside reservation boundaries. The majority of the displaced Indians now live in areas and communities near their reservation, while still many thousands of Indians were forced under a 1950's U.S. policy of relocation to move to major cities like Los Angeles, Denver, Seattle, Chicago, New York and Baltimore.

The non-Indian landowners included people seeking inexpensive summer retreats, retirement homes, and commercial businesses. At first they received help and encouragement from the United States government. Now they are also receiving help, encour-

agement and money from right-wing elements too. influence ranging from Sun Myun Moon's Unification Church to followers of neo-nazi groups and white supremacists dovetailed with a movement that began as a legitimate political dispute.

Under the guise of "mainstream non-profit research and education organizations" and the deceptively attractive "equal rights for everyone" slogan, an Anti-Indian Movement emerged in the last third of this century. With its right-wing extremist technical help, the Movement seeks and receives support and money from unsuspecting "reservation non-Indians" and off-reservation non-Indians.

With their own agenda, the Anti-Indian Movement's reactionaries and extremists employ tactics and slogans calculated to exploit Indian and non-Indian fears of each other. Using the non-Indians' fear of Indians to build a power-base in mainstream politics, right-wing extremists took advantage of fear with bigotry.

by Rudolph C. Rýser

While many transplanted non-Indians now live as residents on Indian reservations, large numbers are absentee landowners - they don't live on the reservation. Despite their absentee landowner status, the "reservation non-Indian" in the late 1960s became a new and powerful challenge to the peace and stability of Indian nations. Indian people had often heard the refrain, "Why don't you go back to your reservation?" when Indian and non-Indian conflicts arose outside the reservation. It was a wrenching experience to have conflicts inside the reservation and hear that "Indians should become a part of the greater society and have equal rights with everyone."

Larger numbers of non-Indian landowners rejected tribal governmental authority inside the reservation; and

they called upon the state to exercise its powers there. Non-Indian rejection of "alien tribal governments" built pressures leading to legal confrontations between tribal and state governments over a widening range of jurisdictional subjects. Increasing numbers of "reservation non-Indians" supplied state governments with the wedge needed to expand state powers into Indian reservations - *de facto annexation of tribal lands*. Tribes and states intensified their mutual antagonism and suspicion.

Since the General Allotment Act in 1887, limitations on reservation resources forced more and more Indians to fish and hunt for their food in ceded areas near reservations. Indians asserted that treaties with the United States guaranteed continuing tribal access to some off-reservation resources.

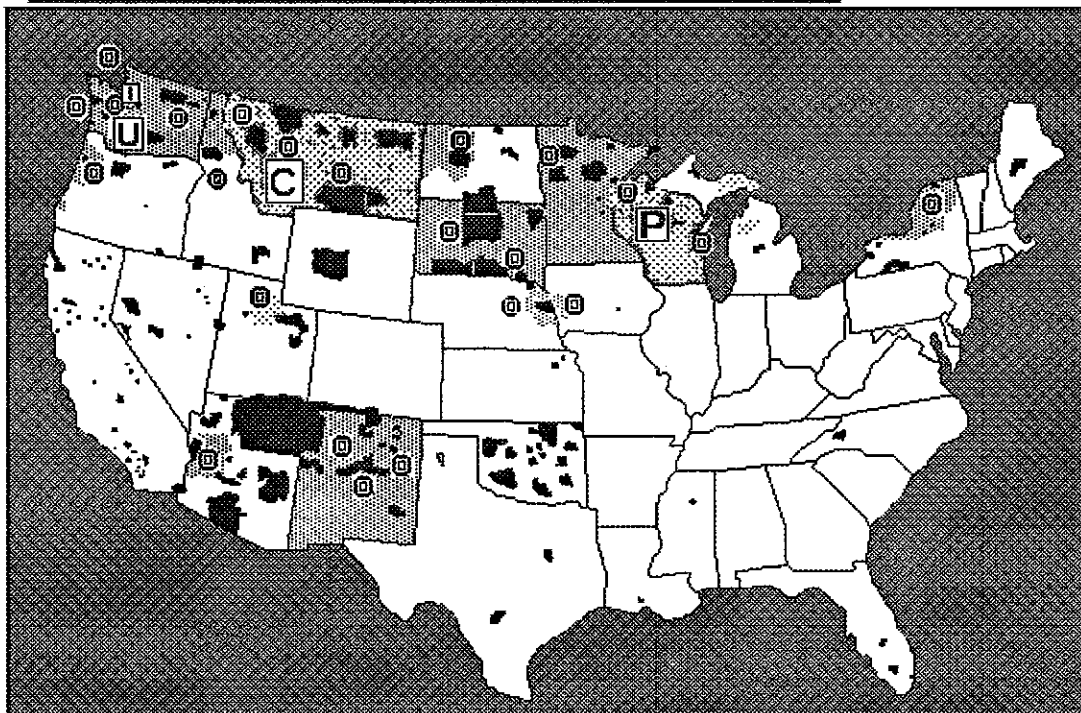
Not until tribes and states began to battle over control of natural resources outside reservation boundaries did there arise an organized Anti-Indian Movement in the 20th century. "Reservation non-Indians" became the core organizers of what became a highly structured Anti-Indian Movement. By 1991, the activists responsible for starting the Movement in 1976 headed four key organizations in the states of Washington, Montana, and Wisconsin. (Figure 1)

The United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW) and Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR) in Wisconsin are the main "constituent organizations."

In the present study, we examined the origins, development, goals and future directions of the Anti-Indian Movement. Over the twenty-three years fol-

lowing 1968, we found that the U.S.-based anti-Indian movement grew from a half dozen non-Indian property owner groups in two states to more than fifty organizations in 1991. The first organized anti-Indian network formed in 1976 under the umbrella of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR). The ICERR linked on-reservation non-Indian landowner opposition to tribal governments with off-reservation non-Indian sport and commercial fishermen opposed to tribal treaty protected fishing rights. The mix-

Anti-Indian Movement 1991 (Figure 1)



U.P.O.W. CERA PARR I.C.E.R.R. C.W.I.S. 1991

⊙ Group: Property Owners
Concerned Citizens

■ Indian Reservation
▨ Organized Anti-Indian Activity

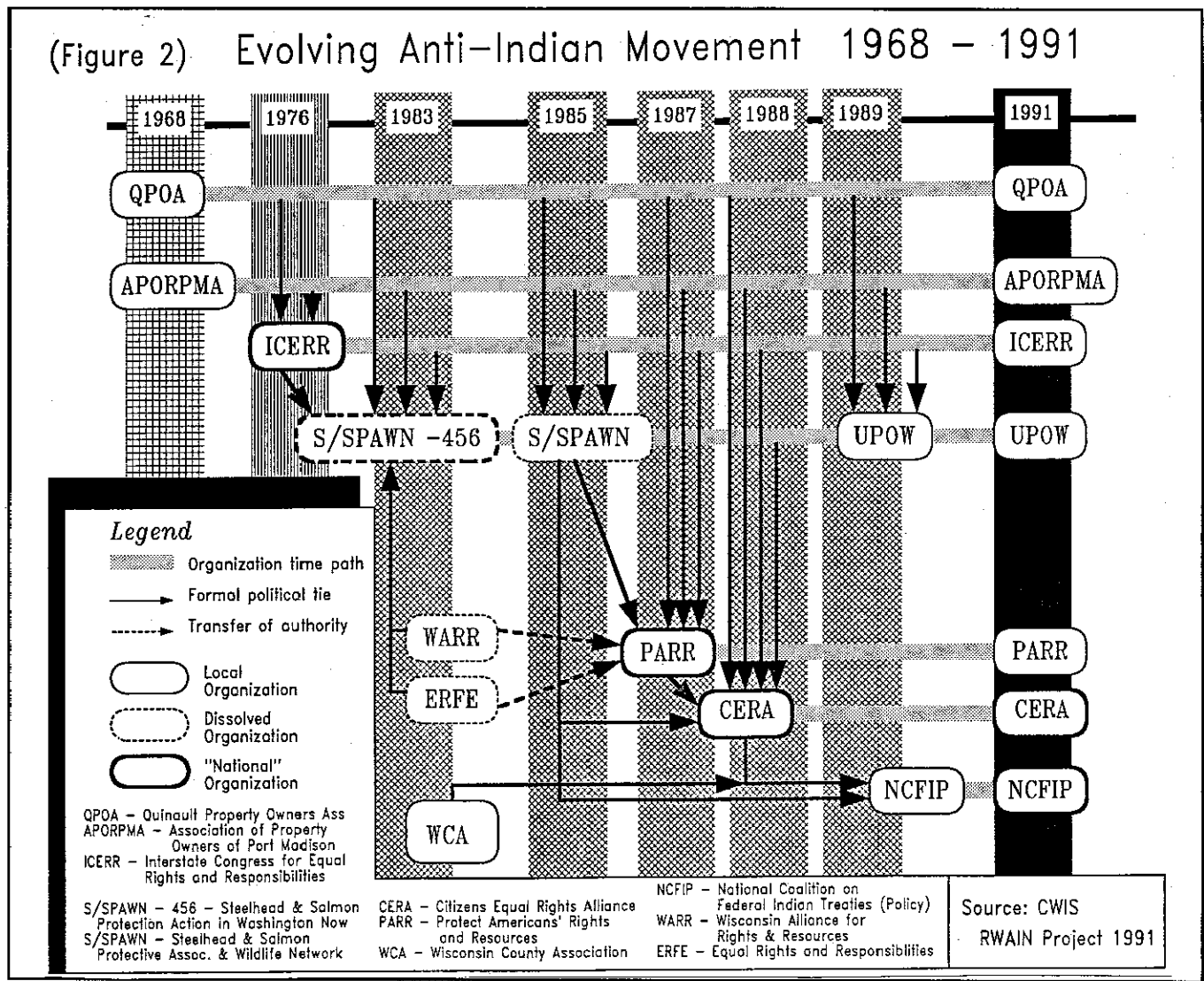
ture of on-reservation and off-reservation conflicts produced a sometimes confused, often distorted, attack on tribal governments, the federal government - especially the judiciary - and often bitter attacks on individual Indian people. ICERR formed the Anti-Indian Movement's populist and frequently racist ideology that attracted legitimately distressed non-Indians as well as bigoted activists.

During the ten years after emerging, the Movement shifted from incipient forms of racism and populism to a more virulent form of reactionary-racism with subtle contours and techni-

cal refinements. Right-wing extremists began in 1983 to assume a strong influence in the Anti-Indian Movement through the Washington State based **Steelhead & Salmon Protection Action in Washington Now (S/SPAWN)** organization.

In the years that followed, right-wing and militantly bigoted activists gravitated to the Wisconsin-based **Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (PARR)**. Still later, right-wing personalities assumed positions within the **Citizen's Equal Rights Alliance (CERA)** and **United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW)** organizations.

The Movement evolved into its present structure from two property owners' associations and a single umbrella organization (ICERR) in 1976 (Figure 2). Today, the Movement boasts two "national organizations," five "coordinating local organizations" and a consistent network of twenty-three "local organizations" or "local contacts" and a claimed constituency of 450,000 people. Though the Movement frequently targets the Quinault Indian Nation, Suquamish Tribe and Lummi Indian Nation (in the state of Washington), Blackfoot, Salish & Kootenai and the Crow in Montana receive strong em-



phasis too. Politically active Indian tribes in Alaska, Arizona, Idaho, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin have felt the affects of the network.

In fifteen years the organizational and tactical focus of the Movement moved from the state of Washington to Wisconsin and then to Montana, and back to Washington again. Despite maintaining contacts in several states, the Movement actually conducted major activities in only the three tactical states.

Though the organizational focus shifted from one state to another, the ideological influence, tactics and strategy flowed from Washington State based personalities and organizations. The diagram on page 5 (Figure 2) illustrates an important and revealing constant which helps understand the Anti-Indian Movement: Consistent key organizers, and consistent organizational base. Three groups (Quinault Property Owners Association (QPOA - Quinault Reservation), Association of Property Owners and Residents in Port Madison Area (APORPMA - Suquamish Reservation), and the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR) are politically linked to each of the Movement's organizational efforts. While the organizational strategy of the Anti-Indian Movement was to create a new organization for each political or legal challenge to Indian rights, all of the organizations have essentially the same supporting organizations. In other words, though the number of "national or coordinating organizations increased in number, the number of organizers and activists remained virtually the same - all had the same members.

Four individuals have been involved in the organization of every coordinat-

ing or national organization in the Anti-Indian Movement since 1968: **George Garland (QPOA), Pierce and May Davis (APORPMA) and Betty Morris (ICERR, and QPOA).** All come from the state of Washington. Garland and Morris are mainly concerned with the Quinault Indian Reservation. The Davises are mainly concerned with the Suquamish Indian Reservation. After 1983, these main anti-Indian activists were joined by more sophisticated organizers from the right-wing elements of American politics. State Senator Jack Metcalf, fundraiser Allan Got-



lieb, political organizer Barbara Lindsay, lawyer David L. Yamashita and National Wildlife Federation activists Carol and Tom Lewis (all from Washington) joined the Movement.

After organizing the Movement for twenty-three years, its leaders can claim several successes:

«» **Adoption by a slim majority in the state of Washington Initiative 456 intended to create the public impression that Washington's voters opposed Indian rights and the continuation of Indian treaties. - 1984**

«» **U.S. Supreme Court decided a County government could exercise zoning powers inside a reservation where non-Indians make up a substantial portion of the reservation population - 1989.**

«» **The total number of consis-**

tent anti-Indian activists country-wide is between 80 and 90 persons in sixteen states by 1991.

«» **The number of persons participating in anti-Indian activities (including meetings, protests, conferences and letter-writing is an estimated 10,850 persons country-wide by 1991.**

«» **The number of persons who contribute funds or letters of support to anti-Indian groups is an estimated 34,150 by 1991.**

«» **A total of 50 local anti-Indian organizations or contacts, five coordinating organizations and two national organizations have been created by the Movement mainly in the states of Washington, Montana, Minnesota, and Wisconsin. (not including organizations with other agendas which closely identify with the Movement) by 1991.**

Though the Anti-Indian Movement is held together with a lot of smoke and mirrors there is enough substance to it to seriously threaten the peace and stability of Indian tribes in the United States.

The Anti-Indian Movement has its roots deep in America's psyche. The bigotry of right-wing and Far Right political extremes is also deeply rooted in America's politics - especially in connection with Indians. The implied or explicit belief in "white superiority" and "native backwardness and inferiority" permeates American history. In the 1880's, U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes, Supreme Court Justice Waite and Civil War icon General John Sherman advocated the *Doctrine of Manifest Destiny*. Senator Dawes of Massachusetts was both an adherent to the Manifest Destiny doctrine and the main sponsor of the *General Allotment Act* of 1887. It was quite normal in the U.S.

Congress to espouse what now would be considered "white supremacist" ideas. In 1899 Senator Albert T. Beveridge rose before the U.S. Senate and announced:

God has not been preparing the English-speaking and Teutonic peoples for a thousand years for nothing but vain and idle self-admiration. No! He has made us the master organizers of the world to establish system where chaos reigns He has made us adepts in government that we may administer government among savages and senile peoples.

Theodore Roosevelt, John Cabot Lodge and John Hay, each in turn, endorsed with a strong sense of certainty the view that the Anglo-Saxon was destined to rule the world. Such views expressed in the 19th century and in the early 20th century continue to ring true in the minds of many non-Indian property owners. The superiority of the "white race" is the foundation on which Anti-Indian Movement organizers and right-wing helpers rest their efforts to dismember Indian tribes.

The RWAIN Project reveals victims on all sides of a developing controversy. Only a small number of people can be said to intentionally provoke conflicts and violence between Indians and non-Indians. Due to these conflicts, victims of Indian and non-Indian conflicts fear one another - the cycle of fear feeds on itself. The small number of people who either gain politically or economically from Indian and non-Indian conflict use bigotry to promote division and fear. Both contribute to the destabilization of tribal communities and undermine tribal values.

When democratic values are crippled, freedom and liberty become the next victims. Authoritarianism,

and terrorized societies replace free societies. The Anti-Indian Movement threatens to produce just such results in Indian Country. It also threatens to intensify rather than relieve conflicts born from historical mistakes, which can be resolved peacefully through mutual government to government negotiations.



Findings:

What are some of the mistakes? From the point of view of many Indian leaders and many non-ideological participants in the Anti-Indian Movement there is agreement on what are some of the mistakes that should be remedied. Our findings in this study are:

The forced division of tribally reserved territories under the 1887 General Allotment Act and the failure of the U.S. government to fully repudiate this disgraceful act.

The United States government violated treaty and other agreements when it unilaterally manipulated the sale of tribally reserved lands to non-Indians without the consent of tribal governments. This mistake was subsequently compounded when states governments and the United States government unlawfully expanded their civil and criminal jurisdiction (following non-Indian reservation residents) into Indian reservations without the consent of tribal governments. Finally, the mistake caused injury to both tribal members and non-Indian land-owners

when Indians were displaced, and impoverished; and non-Indians were not advised that as a practical matter they had consented to place themselves under the jurisdiction of an Indian nation's government.

State governments have mistaken Indian nations as a threat to their sovereignty. States governments and their subordinate governments agreed as a price for statehood that they would not attempt to extend their powers into Indian Country. To do so in fact undercuts the state's legitimacy, thus weakening the state, and encourages citizens to sabotage the rule of law.

As a result of distraction or a mistaken belief in "historical inevitability," the United States and the various states failed to recognize that relations with Indian tribes have always been political in character. And to ensure the healthy cooperation between Indian tribes and the United States, relations must be dynamically adjusted over time through treaties and agreements and not through neglect or brute force. The basic premise of mutual respect and sovereign equality between the United States and Indian nations must be repeatedly incorporated in each agreement.

The failure of governments (tribal, state and federal) to insist on the free and open negotiation of disputes, (always taking into consideration the affect intergovernmental agreements have on tribal members or non-Indians) has contributed to a feeling of "being wronged" among many non-ideological citizens in the United States. These persons may suffer economic or social hardships as a result of these failures. As a result, persons who may live on or near Indian reservations, have become prime candidates for in-

citement to harassment or violence against Indian people by militant bigots and Far Right activists who seek to provoke conflict as a way of advancing their ideas of "white supremacy."



The RWAIN Project reveals victims on all sides of a developing controversy. Only a small number of people can be said to intentionally provoke conflicts and violence between Indians and non-Indians.

Remedies:

Some remedies for these findings are readily apparent:

To resolve the problem of non-Indians who do not wish to live under the authority of tribal governments, the problem must be recognized as having been created by the U.S. government - thus placing the burden of resolution on that government. Non-Indians ought to be given a choice whether they wish to now live under tribal authority. If they do not object, then nothing more need be done except remove (by negotiation) any extensions of state, county or U.S. authority inside the boundaries of a reservation that conflict with tribal authority. If a non-Indian rejects tribal authority, the United States government becomes obligated to purchase non-Indian property and improvements at a fair market value, and provide assistance in relocation.

With those non-Indian persons continuing to remain on the reservation, the tribal government ought to assist them by inviting them to send representatives to an advisory council which can provide continuing advice to tribal authorities. Such a council would serve as a sounding-board for non-Indian

views on tribal government actions which may affect their interests.

To reduce conflicts between tribal and state (plus subsidiary) governments, tribal and state governments ought to negotiate a government accord which defines a framework for dispute resolution. County and municipal governments should be defined within this framework.

Prior to the negotiation of joint natural resource management regimes between tribal and state governments (in ceded areas), every effort ought to be made to ensure careful consideration of "user group" interests. The State is obligated to consider these interests among those persons who are not members of the negotiating tribe. These negotiations can be substantially improved by including elected state and tribal officials on the negotiation teams - officials who take seriously the responsibility for ensuring consideration of "user group" interests.

Where tribal, state, and U.S.

federal conflicts obtain, a tripartite inter-governmental negotiating framework ought to be formed - taking into consideration remedies suggested above.

Tribal governments should institute hate-crime laws permitting the prosecution of those who commit malicious harassment, intimidation, or violence aimed at tribal property, resources or aimed at individual tribal members by racial extremists. The Tribal government ought to sponsor and support the formation and continued operation of a "Human Rights Commission" which includes tribal and non-tribal membership. The Commission ought to document incidents of bigoted harassment, intimidation, property damage, and violence aimed at tribal members and non-tribal members within the territorial jurisdiction of the Tribe. The Commission should be responsible for conducting public meetings to ensure public awareness of human rights norms. The Commission ought to have the capacity to provide assistance to victims of hate-crime, or refer victims to an appropriate tribal agency.



Competing for the Land

Indian Tribes, Borderers and Non-tribal Indians

Land and natural resources attract speculators like no other objects of wealth. Unlike jewels, fancy cars, the finest perfume or the most expensive room at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, land and natural resources can make a poor person wealthy. Land was the magnet that attracted the English, Dutch, and French to form companies and set up colonies on the eastern shores of North America in the early 1600s. The great wealth gained from Spain's Royal Missions into the new world convinced England's and France's royalty that they too would prosper from the establishment of businesses aiming to extract similar wealth from North America.

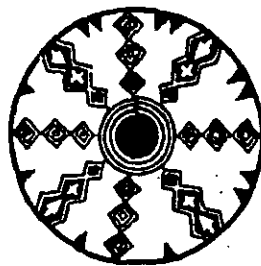
The Royal thirst for land and natural resource wealth placed England, France and Spain in direct competition with the nations of North America. Along the Atlantic Coast, North America's Indian nations faced France in the north, England in the middle Atlantic and Spain in the south.

In the year 1607, the Virginia Company landed its colonial community in North America. Within four years of their landing, colonists of Virginia Company began making plans to expand company operations to include mining and smelting of new metals. John Smith also began efforts to find a waterway leading to the western ocean. These revelations caused Powhatan to decide that the English were not to be trusted - he considered them dangerous to the peace and security of his Confederation of 30 tribes.

For three years, Powhatan's Confederacy warriors fought the colonists at the tribal frontiers and eventually captured Smith, John Rolfe and other leaders of the colonial company. Were Smith not released by Powhatan's warriors, it is unlikely that the Jamestown colony would have been able to continue - England's colonial movement in North America would probably have stalled or stopped altogether.

Non-Indian Landowners in search of Greener Pastures

Three hundred eighty years after England's Virginia Company successfully established a permanent colony at Jamestown, the competition for land and resources with Indians continues. In search of "greener pastures" more



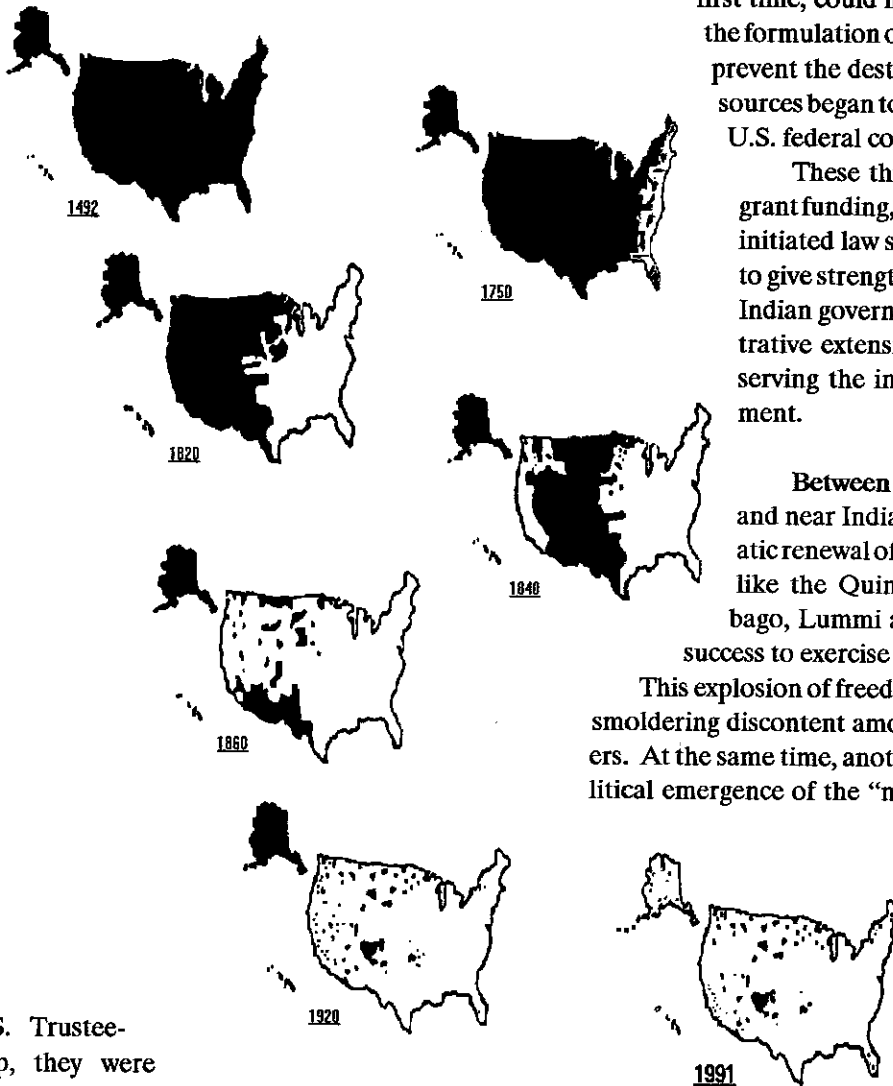
than one-half million non-Indians in the United States have crossed over tribal reservation borders to acquire land and resources. On some Indian reservations the non-Indian population now out numbers the tribal population by as many as 3 to 1. The resultant competition between Indians and non-Indians for limited Indian reser-

vation resources directly contributes to the increased level of fear and bigotry on tribal frontiers.

Defending against the impact of increasing numbers of non-Indian residents and absentee property owners, Indian tribes strengthened the capacity of their governments to regulate the use of reservation land and resources. This too contributes to the increased level of conflict between Indians and non-Indians on the tribal frontiers. The pattern of non-Indian expansion into tribal territories and the consequent border conflicts in the 1990s mirrors territorial annexation practices begun in North America with the arrival of the French and the English in the 16th century.

The issues that gave rise to the first tensions between English settlers and Indian nations more than three hundred years ago give rise to fear and bigotry on the tribal frontiers in the 1990s. Indeed, modern tensions between Indians and non-Indians on the frontiers began in the middle 1960s. With help from President Lyndon Johnson's "War On Poverty" programs, Indian governments in 1964 began to receive the first grants of funds that were not under the control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Though only a few thousand dollars, Tribal officials carefully managed these new resources to undertake badly needed community development projects; and to strengthen tribal governments.

Although Indian governments had been functioning for a long time under



Indian Country 1492 - 1991

U.S. Trusteeship, they were never able to exercise the powers contained in their constitutions. Virtually all of those powers of decision were held by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Johnson's "Great Society" inadvertently became the means for Indian people for the first time since the 19th century to make their own choices. Small grants for community development became the wherewithal necessary to change things for the better in long suffering Indian communities. Without some of

the restraints and controls imposed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian people chose to use the small amount of new found freedom to act in accord with their own laws.

In addition to making improvements in the village or individual houses, perceived and real wrongs committed

against Indian tribes during "the long dark period," became immediate targets for correction. Tribes, for the first time, could hire lawyers to assist tribal officials in the formulation of long delayed tribal laws. Lawsuits to prevent the destruction of certain tribal lands and resources began to pop up and were effectively argued in U.S. federal courts.

These three factors (independent of the BIA grant funding, formulation of tribal laws, and tribally initiated law suits in U.S Federal courts) combined to give strength and potency to Indian governments. Indian government were no longer simply administrative extensions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs serving the interests of the United States government.

Between 1967 and 1977, non-Indians living on and near Indian reservations reacted to the systematic renewal of powers by tribal governments. Tribes like the Quinault, Standing Rock Sioux, Winnebago, Lummi and Blackfeet moved with increasing success to exercise powers which had long lain dormant.

This explosion of freedom on Indian reservations was met by smoldering discontent among non-Indian reservation landowners. At the same time, another phenomenon developed: The political emergence of the "non-tribal Indian" who owned one or more allotments of land inside a reservation.

Resident and absentee non-Indian landowners and businesses objected to the growing exercise of general governmental powers by tribal governments. This was particularly true in the areas of taxation, zoning, construction and land-use ordinances. The non-tribal Indian, regarding his or her self-interest

as more important than broad tribal interests, objected to general governmental powers in tribal governments too. In the case of the non-tribal Indian who owns allotted parcels of land inside a reservation, and who may or may not be a member of the tribe, the growing power of tribal government threatened their unregulated economic activity.

When tribal governments began to exercise the will of tribal members, tribal officials used governmental power to restrain the actions of persons who depended on reservation land and resources for their personal wealth, but were not willing to share with other members of the tribe. Such tribal government policies aroused reactions from:

- Private non-Indian landowners who bought land through the U.S. Department of the Interior on an Indian reservation.
- Private non-tribal Indians owning individual parcels of land inside tribal boundaries as a result of the General Allotment Act of 1887 or as a result of subsequent purchase from another individual allottee.
- Private non-Indian businesses using resources (timber, water, minerals, grazing land, etc.) inside tribal boundaries.
- Private non-Indian businesses providing services (resorts, motels, marinas, etc.) inside tribal boundaries.

What the Bureau of Indian Affairs had failed to do for more than 100 years - protect tribal members' collective social, economic and political interests against private, personal social, economic and political interests - tribal governments in the late 1960s began to do. Organized reactions started on three reservations: Quinault Indian Reservation, Port Madison (Suquamish) Reservation and the Lummi Indian Reservation.

The Rise of Anti-Indian Politics

On the Quinault Indian Reserva-

tion, located on the U.S. Pacific Northwest coast, both non-Indians and non-tribal Indians reacted to the dynamic reemergence of tribal governmental authority. Each established an organization. In 1968, non-Indians led by George Garland of Gig Harbor, Washington and Betty Morris of Kingston, Washington organized the Quinault Property Owners Association with an address in Seattle. (Figure 3) Garland and Morris had the tacit support of perhaps half of the 483 non-Indian property owners (some resident, but most, including Garland and Morris are "absentee landowners") on the Quinault Reservation. Organizers structured the association in such a way that perhaps four or five persons are actually active while the remainder receive mailings and occasionally contribute money.

The non-Tribal Indians led by former Quinault Tribal Council mem-

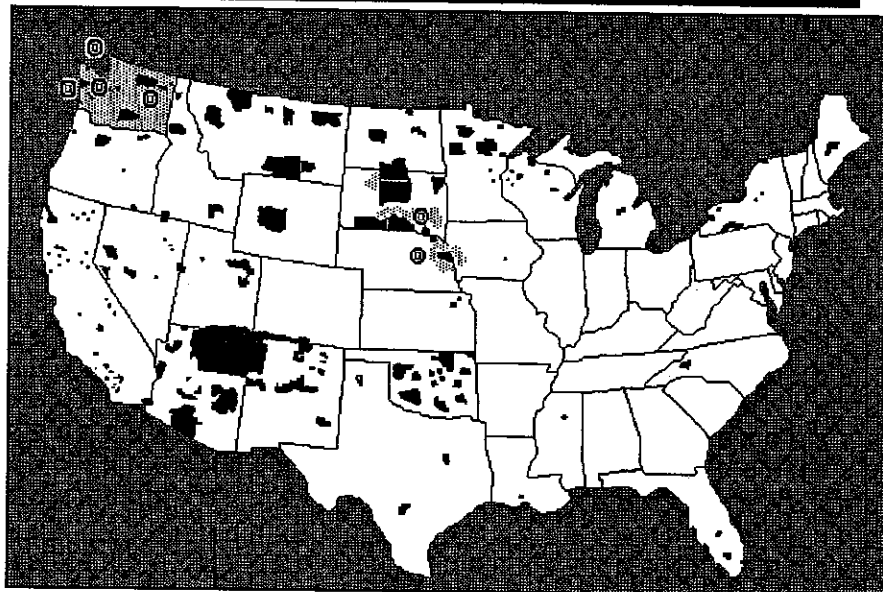
ber Helen Sanders (aka: Helen Mitchell, Helen Kirschling) formed the Quinault Allotees Association with a committee roster of eleven members operating from a Seattle address. Of the organization's eleven member committee, perhaps four (primarily Helen Sanders who was president, later a vice president) actively set priorities and pursue the Association's agenda. The remaining members tended to be names on a list; merely recipients of mailings.

Ms. Sanders runs an extensive Timber-cutting operation and owns allotted land on both the Quinault and Chehalis Reservations. Sanders lives in Oakville, Washington, more than eighty miles to the south of the Quinault Reservation, but near the Chehalis Reservation. Sanders is an absentee landowner.

On the Port Madison (Suquamish) Reservation and the Lummi Indian Reservation, similar non-Indian and non-

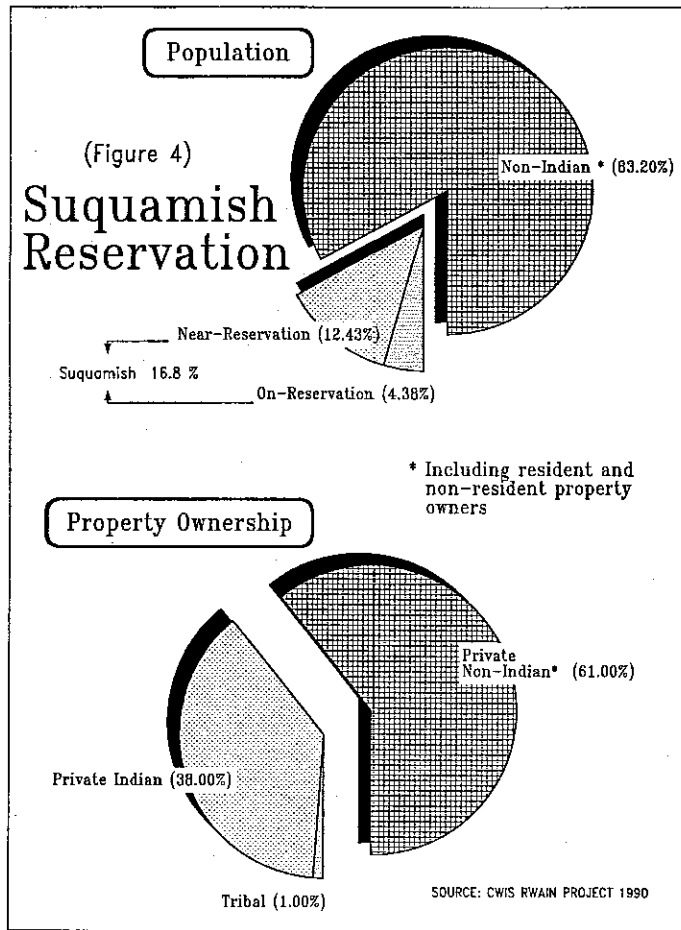
(Figure 3)

Birth of Anti-Indian Movement 1968



- ⊠ Group: Property Owners
 - Indian Reservation
 - ⊙ Organized Non-Indian Activity
- C.W.I.S. 1990

tribal Indian organizational efforts were also underway in 1968. Denouncing tribal governments for "a situation where they are regulated and taxed without representation in the local government," the Association of Property Owners and Residents of Port Madison Area was established with a mail box in Indianola, Washington. Pierce Davis and his wife May became the principal organizers.

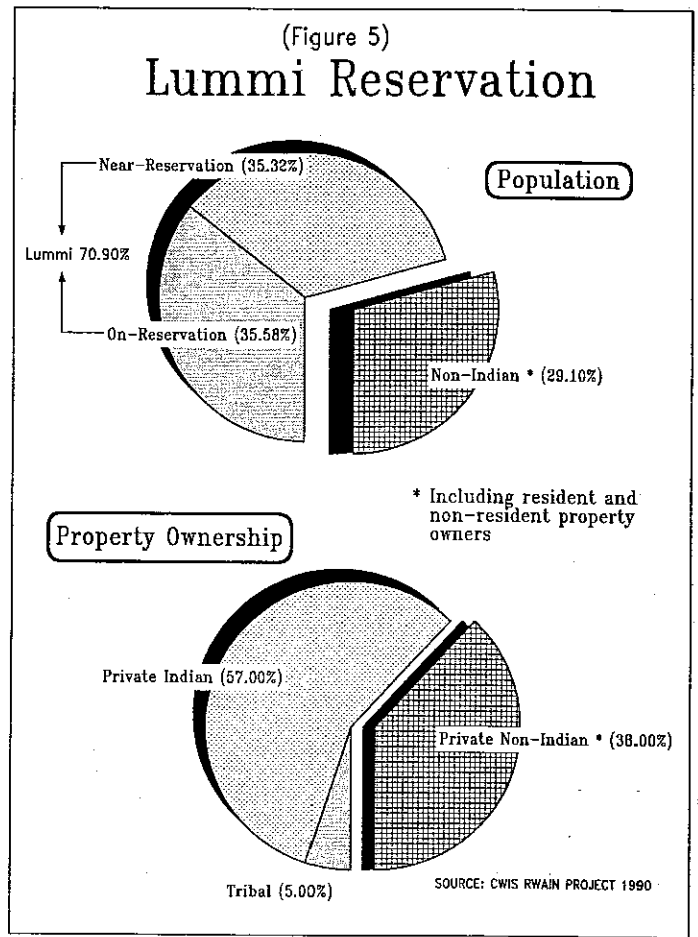


Quinault Property Owners' Association member Betty Morris's residence is near Indianola; and from there she strongly influenced the organization of the Port Madison group. Organized like the Quinault group, perhaps 1,000 resident and absentee landowners are allied with this Association. Eighty-three percent of the reservation using population on the Suquamish is non-Indian. (Figure 4)

The Lummi Property Owner's Association formed with members drawn from non-Indian resident and absentee landowners living on or owning property on the Lummi Indian Reservation. This Association drew its membership from 1,000 reservation landowners. Twenty-nine percent of the reservation-using populations is non-Indian. (Fig-

ure 5)

Though the active membership of all three non-Indian organizations combined never apparently exceeded more than ten individuals, the groups achieved considerable visibility and influence in tribal government chambers. The Quinault Association claimed to represent the nearly five hundred resident and absentee landowners with nearly 61,000 acres (averaging 122 acres per landowner) on the Quinault Reservation. (Figure 6) The Port Madison Association claimed to represent 2,800 landowners with 4,500 acres (averaging 1.6 acres per landowner) on the Suquamish



Reservation. And the Lummi Association claimed to represent 1,000 landowners with 4,700 acres (averaging 4.7 acres per landowner) on the Lummi Indian reservation.

U.S. Policy Promoted Non-Indian Land Purchases

As long as the Bureau of Indian Affairs maintained absolute control over Indian reservations, the numbers of private non-Indian landowners inside reservations grew at

the expense of tribal members. The General Allotment Act of 1887 served as a popular policy to achieve the displacement of Indian people. This U.S. government policy specifically aimed to break up collective tribal ownership of reservation territories and destroy tribal governments.

As the self-designated real estate agent and broker for tribal lands, the U.S. Bureau of Indian Affairs systematically converted collective tribal land into individual allotments for individual Indians. When all Indians seeking private allotments (*in many instances members of a tribe on the reservation to be allotted as well as Indians from other tribes who were landless received land allotments without consideration for their place of residence*) had received land,

large portions of a reservation land often remained unallotted. Bureau of Indian Affairs officials regarded these unassigned reservation lands as “excess to Indian needs.” New owners were sought. The new owners were usually non-Indian citizens of the United States who wanted to purchase cheap land. They found the U.S. government most accommodating.

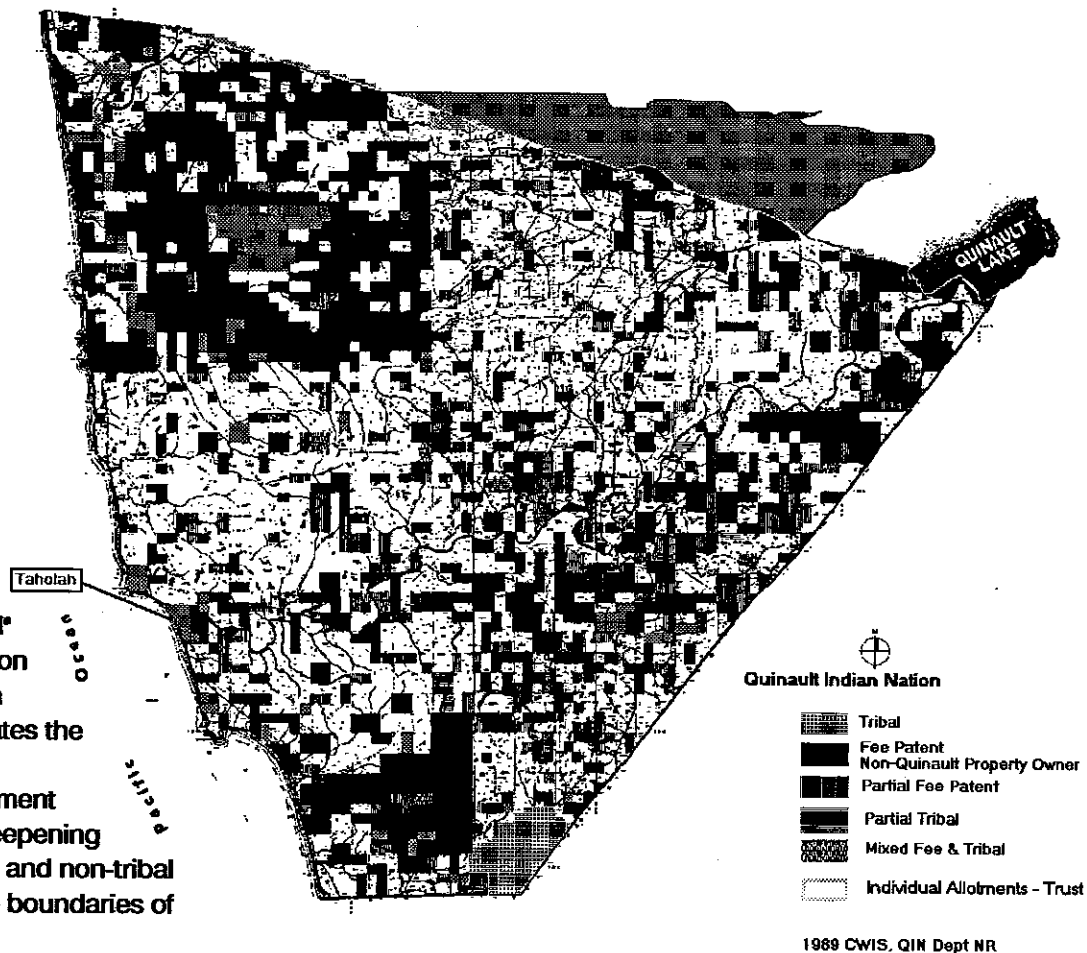
The utter destruction of many tribal societies resulted from the General Allotment Act. It divided tribal territories into individual allotments, undermined existing tribal economies and cast hundreds of thousands of Indian people into poverty. By 1934, so much destruction became so obviously linked to the General Allotment Act that the U.S. Congress called a halt to further

allotments. Though bringing the land break-up process to an end, the Congress never repudiated the policy that brought the process into being. Consequently, the Bureau of Indian Affairs continued to carry out the “break-up the tribal mass” policy in different forms. In the late 1940s and throughout the 1950s this policy took the form of the systematic liquidation of tribal land assets. Known as the “Termination Policy,” the Truman and then the Eisenhower Administration promoted the accelerated transfer of tribal lands inside reservations to non-Indian ownership. Indians were systematically “relocated to training and distribution centers” in seven cities to begin a new life away from the reservation.

When “excess land” was no longer

(Figure 6)

The “checkerboard” land tenor pattern on the Quinault Indian Reservation illustrates the results of the U.S. government’s allotment policies and the deepening complexity of tribal and non-tribal relations inside the boundaries of many reservations.



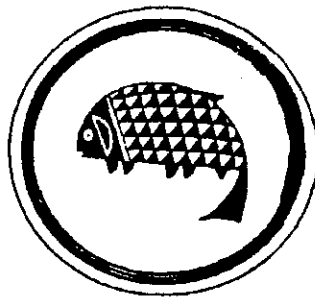
available, the Bureau of Indian Affairs became the agent for individual Indian landowners who wanted or could be compelled to sell their land. Non-Indians and "entrepreneurial non-tribal Indians" became the new owners of private Indian lands. In some instances, individual Indian landowners lost their property to state governments which demanded payment of taxes. (Shipp, *The New York Times*, May 26, 1987) The U.S. government's policies toward reservation lands beginning in the late 19th century, and continuing to the present day, directly contributed to radical transfers of tribal reservation lands to non-Indians and non-tribal Indians. These policies changed reservation demographics from dominant Indian populations to some reservations where non-Indians eventually outnumbered Indian residents.

As long as U.S. policy favored the inflow of non-Indians and non-tribal Indians to reservations resulting in the displacement of tribal members, there was no outcry. As long as resident and absentee landowners felt little governmental regulation, there was no outcry. With the small shift of political power from the United States government to tribal governments begun in the late 1960s, however, non-Indian and non-tribal Indian property owners began to "cry foul play." They turned their growing anger toward tribal government officials and to the United States government. The issue was simple:

Our problems arise because the United States government created a two-headed monster. The problem of the Indian, on and off the reservation, has long been recognized. What has not be recognized is the equally serious problems of the fee patent landowners. * * *
The same government body that allowed the Indian people to sell

their fee patent land allowed us to buy it. We are both victims, but there is one difference. The Indians have never trusted the BIA or the federal government. Unfortunately, we did. * * *
The rip-off of the fee patent land owner in America rivals anything you can dig up about Watergate. (Testimony of Betty Morris at "Northwest Hearing Transcript" at 107-108 quoted in AIPRC, Report on Federal, State and Tribal Jurisdiction, 1976: 118)

In her testimony before the American Indian Policy Review Commission, Betty Morris sounded the alarm she and others felt. Her view was straight



forward: The U.S. government created her problem. Instead of pursuing the argument further to a conclusion where the U.S. government would provide a remedy, Ms. Morris and her associates began to attack Indian people and their government. She attacked, in here own words, the other "victim" to find a remedy.

Extending Tribal Powers and the new reaction

For Indian tribes in the northwest part of the United States and Indian tribes across the country, strengthening tribal government became a central policy. Tribal experience in the late 1960s proved that Indian people could

achieve their social, economic and political goals if they took the initiative. On-reservation tribal initiatives slowly increased as tribes across the country grew more confident. Non-Indian landowners began to react and organized on reservations in Montana, New Mexico, South Dakota, Nebraska and in Arizona.

On the northwest coast, tribal sentiment turned from merely increasing tribal powers on-reservation to remedying longstanding conflicts with the State of Washington that involved issues outside tribal boundaries. Whether the state had the power to regulate tribal fishing of salmon and steelhead in rivers on and near Indian reservations became a dominant issue.

For northwest tribal people, the State of Washington's assertion of power over Indians' rights to fish threatened the very existence of whole peoples. Long before the arrival of settlers in the 19th century, Indian people relied on salmon and steelhead for food and ceremony - the state's arrest of Indians for fishing salmon represented a direct challenge to Indian people.

The Indian's traditional relationship to the natural resources of both land and water has become a matter of long-overdue national concern, as it is challenged by the white man's pursuit of "progress," and sometimes by his laws. For the Indians of Puget Sound, salmon fishing is not a sport, nor is it merely a livelihood. It is an integral part of their way of life, and any tampering with their ancient fishing rights constitutes a threat to their cultural survival that goes far beyond the issue between conservationists and recreationists. (Uncommon Controversy, 1970:Backcover)

While many granted the validity of traditional tribal values, Indian efforts to redress wrongs done to them became a direct challenge to non-Indians living near reservations and those who competed with Indians for the use of salmon and steelhead fisheries. Seeing that they were denied access to salmon and steelhead fisheries by the State of Washington, Indians turned to the U.S. federal courts. Indian tribes brought a law suit against the State of Washington and forced the United States government to join in the case on the tribal side of the salmon and steelhead question.

Now representing the tribes, the United States government sued the State of Washington on August 27, 1973. Fourteen tribes argued that treaties between the United States and several tribes prevented the United States or the state from taking the salmon or steelhead without tribal consent. Furthermore, the tribes asked that the federal court stop the State of Washington from trying to enforce its fishing laws against Indians. The case was

called *United States vs. the State of Washington*.

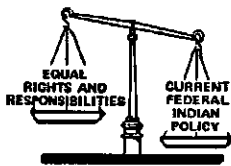
As the case came to final decision in 1974, it became known as the "Boldt Decision" - so called by the public media in the name of the Federal judge who rendered the court decision, senior judge of the Federal District Court in Tacoma, Washington George H. Boldt. The court said:

Conflict between non-Indian culture and the needs of both salmon and Indian created the issue before the court, an issue more than a century old. It grew out of a series of treaties, six in all, that western Washington tribes and the United States government had negotiated in 1854 and 1855. So important did Indians consider salmon ... they ... were determined not to give up their right to continue to harvest fish. * * * The tribes possessed these rights already * * * What the negotiators signed was a guarantee to protect fishing rights; the treaties reserved and secured

those rights for the tribes. (Treaties on Trial 1986: 4-5)

Justice Boldt's conclusion shocked Washington state authorities, and created great consternation among non-Indian recreational and commercial fishermen. The 1974 decision helped create a wider circle of non-Indian opposition to Indian tribal governments. Instead of a dispersed, relatively invisible number of non-Indian and non-tribal Indian property owners, whole new economic and social groups of non-Indians living far from remote Indian reservations began to react to tribal government initiative.

Like the property owners, the first reaction of recreational and commercial fishermen and others associated with them was to attack the U.S. government - most particularly Justice George Boldt. Also like the property owners, fishermen began to organize their opposition to the court decision, and later, they directed their invectives toward the Indian tribes too.



Interstate Congress For Equal Rights And Responsibilities

Forming the Anti-Indian Circle

From the mid-1960s onward, Pacific Northwest Indian tribes made major strides toward regaining many rights and freedoms tribal members had for generations believed were guaranteed under treaties with the United States. For the Indian, renewed exercise of tribal government powers and regaining rights to resources off reservation was nothing more or less than simple justice. For non-Indian resident and absentee

landowners, non-tribal Indian property owners and non-Indian resource competitors, their personal and property rights seemed to shrink. For them, it seemed as though the United States government had entered into a conspiracy to deny them their rights while giving Indians new rights.

To people like Betty Morris, George Garland, and Pierce and May Davis, there were no clear answers to resolve their dilemma. Growing tribal govern-

ment strength inside and, in 1974, outside reservations in Washington state combined to add fuel to an already heated debate.

Howard Gray, a Seattle-based former outdoor writer and photographer long active in the Washington State Sportsmen's Council had both the time and inclination to solve the dilemma. Along with Morris, Garland and the Davises, the retired outdoor writer became a key organizer of a new or-

ganization: **Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (ICERR)**. (Figure 7)

At the founding meeting in Salt Lake City, Utah in February 1976, similarly disgruntled non-Indian property owners, small businesses, and sportsmen met with Howard Gray to set up their ICERR organization. ICERR founders agreed that their new organization should have these goals:

- » All state and local laws shall apply within all reservations;
- » Constitutional rights of all Americans shall supersede treaty rights;
- » Indian reservations shall not be enlarged;
- » Jurisdiction of tribal governments over non-tribal members shall be prohibited;
- » Tribal members should have no right to participate in non-tribal governments unless subject to all laws of non-tribal governments; and
- » The granting of public funds to any people based on race must be prohibited.

(Johnson 1985:577)

The Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities became variously known as a civil-rights organization for non-Indians, a civil-libertarian organization for non-tribal Indians and non-Indians, and an organization intent on limiting or eliminating Indian tribes. Frequent public references to Indian racial attributes by persons associated with the ICERR soon identified the organization with having racist sympathies. Though the new organization claimed to have membership or organizational connections in twenty states, persons and issues from Washington state dominated its leadership and primary operational em-

phasis. The anti-Indian movement's increasing preoccupation with race and racial analysis reflected growing racial tensions in the state of Washington.

Howard Gray became a founding member of the ICERR national board of directors and served as president of the Washington State ICERR Chapter. Betty Morris became the Washington State chapter vice president. ICERR's national president became Rick Reid of Poplar, Montana and Blair Richendifer, a retiree living on the Omaha reservation in Walthill, Nebraska became the organization's national executive director. (As of February 16, 1979, Richendifer was living in Issaquah, Washington a few miles east of Seattle) Ron Erickson, a lawyer from Seattle, Washington became legal counsel for the national organization. (Johnson 1985:4) While the ICERR presented itself as a "national organization," it was in reality a first attempt

by Washington state-based non-Indian and non-tribal Indian landowners to broaden their political base to organize an anti-Indian lobby in Washington, D.C.

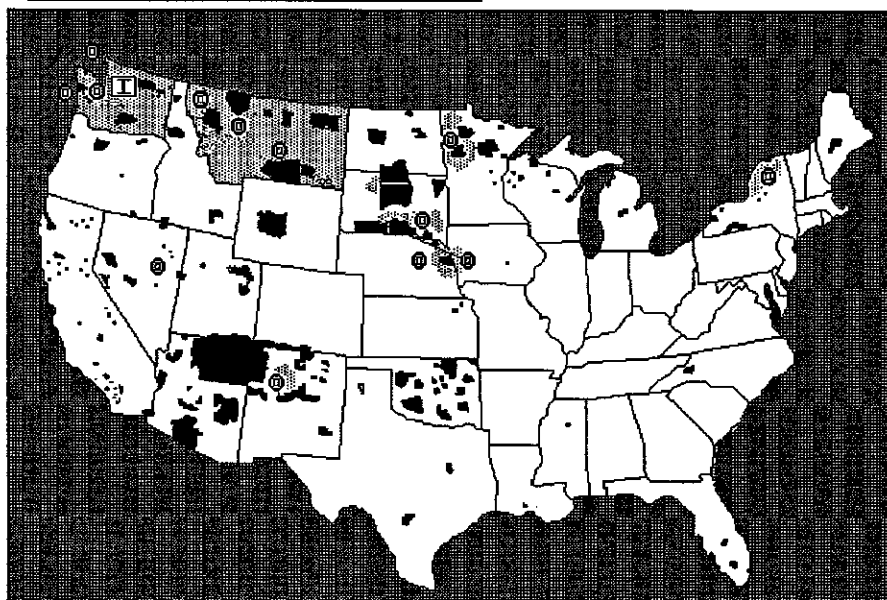
Though the ICERR claimed organizational linkage with **Montanans Opposed to Discrimination** (frequently referred to as the **MOD Squad** by Indian leaders), and concerned citizen's groups in South Dakota, Nebraska, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, the "national ICERR" never quite got off the ground. After a few news conferences, a meeting with the National Congress of American Indians and organizational meetings, ICERR remained a "local phenomena."

Promoting Fear with Bigotry

In December, 1976 Outdoor Empire Publishing, Inc., of Seattle, Washington published **Indian Treaties—Ameri-**

I.C.E.R.R. - 1976

(Figure 7)



I.C.E.R.R. Headquarters

C.W.I.S. 1990

⊗ Group: Property Owners
Concerned Citizens

■ Indian Reservation
▨ Organized Anti-Indian Activity

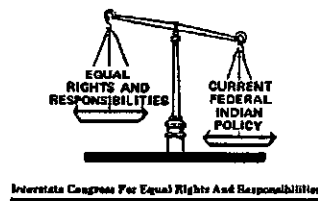
can *Nightmare* by freelance sports writer C. Herb Williams and Walt Neubrech, a former enforcement officer for the Washington State Department of Game. Morris, Garland and the other non-Indian resource competitors now had their answers. In the forward to the 3rd Edition published in February, 1977 National Wildlife Federation Vice-President Thomas L. Kimball wrote:

Indians have been able to accomplish their goals principally because they were backed by public opinion. Perhaps this support was undergirded by a form of guilt complex resulting from accounts of the early ill-treatment of our Indian brothers. An influential member of the U.S. Senate recently observed, however, that public opinion is shifting away. More and more knowledgeable people are outraged, he says, at the irresponsible attitudes, postures, and excesses taken by some militant Indian leaders. And, the rulings of the federal courts in their interpretations of treaties. Thus, in the Senator's opinion, the time has come when the Congress itself must decide what the treaties intended when they were negotiated. This book is explicit in detailing the need for Congress to act. (*Indian Treaties-American Nightmare* quoted in Johnson 1985:484)

Kimball's few words reflected the makings of a new dogma, a wholly formed ideology that justified non-Indian attacks on Indians and their vented wrath against the U.S. Courts. Never mind that "American Nightmare" contained distortions of history, artful interpretations of the U.S. Constitution and outright racial attacks on Indian people. Never mind the fear-mongering contained in "American Nightmare" aimed

at inciting non-Indian anger toward and fear of Indian people. Instead of rational discourse and efforts aimed at cooperative resolution of differences, Harold Gray, Betty Morris, George Garland, the Davises and now like-minded associates in Montana, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Nebraska and New Mexico had a book of fear and bigotry that could guide their efforts to reverse tribal government development and promote private gain.

The Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities formulated an ideology that contained "populist politics" and cast non-Indian resident and absentee landowners, sportsmen, small businesses and non-tribal Indians as underdogs in a struggle for rights. In one scenario outlined to reporters in 1978, ICERR supporter Mitchell



Platt of St. Johns, Arizona portrayed non-Indians having differences with Indian tribes as the underdog.

"It boils down to this," Platt told Newsweek reporters. "The Indians have all the rights and none of the ... responsibilities of the citizen. We can't have people relying on separate nation status and at the same time call them citizens." (*Boeth, Newsweek, April 10, 1978*)

Admitting to racial overtones in ICERR's positions, Newsweek nevertheless took up ICERR's theme:

The organized white protesters-- who call themselves the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities--have a good bit more going for them than simple

racism. For various historical reasons, more non-Indians than Indians live on some U.S. Indian lands today, and many of them have been stung by recent Indian claims backed by the courts. (*Boeth, Newsweek, April 10, 1978*)

The fact that large numbers of non-Indian landowners reside elsewhere (absentee landowners) and not within reservation borders wasn't reported. That large parcels of land inside reservations were owned by regional and multi-national corporations also missed the Newsweek reporter's tablet. These realities remained hidden behind calls for "equal rights and responsibilities" which sounded a populist call for a return to older American values. In reality, this slogan underscored a much more threatening objective described in great detail in the ICERR publication *Are We Giving America Back to the Indians?* Having taken tribal land with the assistance of the U.S. government, non-Indian landowners would now violate Indian treaties and openly demand further reductions in the tribal land-base.

Organizing the Movement

The formation of the Inter-state Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, and publication of Williams' and Neubrech's *American Nightmare*, combined to produce the first phase of an organized anti-Indian movement - the first such movement since the late 19th century. Like its predecessors, the contemporary anti-Indian movement would be made up of non-Indians (like America's colonial borderers in the 1700's) who cross over tribal boundaries to take over tribal land and resources, and then call upon the United States government to squeeze and force Indian tribes to relinquish

general control over those lands and resources. The resulting annexation pushes each tribe into even smaller enclaves and ultimately off the reservation.

Like its 19th century predecessors, the modern anti-Indian movement spawned a new collection of "non-tribal Indians" who would for their own economic and political gain call for the elimination of Indian tribes - the break-up of tribal governments and the communities they serve. As the phrase implies, non-tribal Indians effectively repudiate connections and loyalties to Indian tribes. They unilaterally sever their ties to a tribe. It's equivalent to renouncing one's citizenship.

Verna Lawrence, a Chippewa and a commissioner of the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan is one "non-tribal Indian" who became a very public opponent of tribal rights when a Chippewa band bought 80 acres of land inside Sault Ste. Marie, a town located 20 miles from the Bay Mills reservation. (*Boeth, Newsweek, April 10, 1978*) Lawrence became a widely traveled advocate for the overthrow of Indian governments. "Today, governments are dealing with dilute bloods," Lawrence would say in her stock speeches. "And if there are no longer any full blood Indians, than (sic) the Treaty guarantees NO LONGER APPLY and the Treaties should be abrogated!!" she would tell her audiences. (*Lawrence 1984:2*) Lawrence's self-serving distortions of history provided anti-Indian partisans with an "expert" who would ratify their own distorted interpretations of history and the U.S. Constitution.

Other prominent non-tribal Indians who subscribed to ICERR ideas included **Helen Mitchell-Kirschling-Sanders**, an enrolled member of the Quinault Indian Nation who frequently intoned her objections to the Quinault

government claiming "The Quinault Tribe does not have an approved Constitution." (*Kirschling, Testimony February 13, 1985*) Ms. Kirschling's doubts about the Quinault government's legitimacy had a personal ring as well when she told a Washington State legislative committee, "I have not known this tribal council to be fair with their ... rules of the reservation--what ever that might be." (*Kirschling, Testimony February 13, 1985*) Her highly subjective desire to overthrow the Quinault government, a government in which she had participated, served the anti-Indian movement.

As the phrase implies, non-tribal Indians effectively repudiate connections and loyalties to Indian tribes.

Bernice G. Muskrat, a lawyer who practices in the Jicarilla-Apache courts but, who has lived off the reservation all her adult life also became a prominent exponent of eliminating Indian tribes. (*Darst, Arizona Daily Star, February 8, 1985:8*) Muskrat was also founder of a fifteen member organization called Americans for Native Democracy (AND). Her organization was



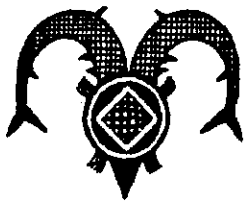
created to "promote economic and social independence for the American Indian." (*Mountain States Legal Foundation News Release Cover February 15, 1985: 2*).

In her efforts to bring down the Jicarilla-Apache government, Muskrat filed a law suit to divide up tribal trust funds. Though a lawyer herself, Muskrat nevertheless felt it was necessary to depend on the ultra conservative

Mountain States Legal Foundation in Denver, Colorado to file her law suit.

"Non-tribal Indians" seemed to share these things in common: Anger about tribal government influence in natural resource and financial matters; personal difficulties with tribal officials; independently well-off financially (usually as a result of using resources and land on reservations) and they tend to express disdain for tribal values. Their alienation from the Indian tribe proved useful to ICERR's leaders. Non-tribal Indians provided the evidence and justifications for the argument that Indians could survive if they became separated from the tribe. This simply allowed for a reformulation of the well worn argument that Indian nations ought to be broken up, dismantled. An essential element for carrying this argument forward is the overthrow or destruction of tribal governments.

The ICERR became an important organization for achieving non-tribal Indians' goals too. ICERR President Howard Gray told the public in 1977, "between 300 and 400 Indian members nationally" belong to the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities. (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*) Though rarely associating themselves publicly with ICERR, the non-tribal Indians soon found that they could receive direct support and reinforcement for their personal aspirations if they "as Indians" would just sound off against tribal governments. The more the non-tribal Indian were quoted in the public press, the less likely detractors could point out ICERR's racist roots. Despite their repudiation of the tribe, non-tribal Indians insist on retaining the benefits of being tribal members. The non-tribal Indian would become an important ingredient in the development of the Anti-Indian Movement.



We Are Not Racists!

Networking against "Super citizens" and promoting Equal Rights for Everyone.

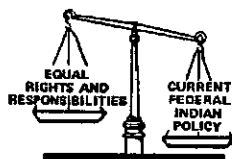
From the day Federal Judge George Boldt issued his land-mark decision in *United States vs. the State of Washington* Senator Jack Metcalf of Washington State wanted it reversed. Though Judge Boldt could not be described as a "flaming liberal" - he was an Eisenhower appointee - Boldt's decision to recognize tribal treaty fishing rights seemed to Metcalf to violate states' rights and demonstrate the heavy hand of federal interference in private rights. The Langley, Whidbey Island Senator was known as a conservative Republican. "Boldt's Fishing Decision" in 1974 seemed contrary to everything he believed.

Metcalf's father, John Metcalf, had been a long-time commercial fisherman and a man who energetically embraced the right-wing extremist views of William D. Pelly in the 1930s. The U.S. government arrested and jailed Pelly before World War II for his militant, anti-semitic Silver Shirts activities. The elder Metcalf told a reporter in 1986 that he "now endorses the beliefs of the Identity Movement," the militant neo-nazi movement led by Christian Identity minister Richard Butler of Hayden Lake, Idaho. (*Duncan, Seattle Times, April 20, 1986:B2*)

Senator Metcalf's active opposition to the "Boldt Decision" would soon bring him into close association with the newly founded anti-Indian movement. The anti-Indian movement would through Senator Metcalf, learn of its kinship with anti-tax, states-rights, Christian Identity, anti-Federal Reserve, and white supremacist ideologies. Met-

calf's experience in Washington state electoral politics would eventually become a major asset to anti-Indian leaders. He would also inject a sizable dose of rightist political sophistication and influence into the anti-Indian movement.

The **Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities**, in the latter 1970's, held forth as a leading exponent of "white civil rights." Though organized in every sense (except on paper) as a State of Washington based or-



Interstate Congress For Equal Rights And Responsibilities

ganization with an agenda almost totally tied to property interests of non-Indians on three Indian reservations and the "Boldt Decision," its leaders worked hard to cast the organization as a country-wide phenomenon with a broad agenda. Not until 1988, twelve years after its founding in Utah in 1976, was it admitted that ICERR was really a Washington State based group. (*"Tribal Jurisdiction" PARR ISSUE Fall/Winter 1988 - Page 14*)

It is now apparent that the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities created the illusion of a country-wide movement in the broadcast and printed media, not the fact of a movement. Isolated conflicts between Indian tribes and non-Indians had long

sputtered unnoticed. What the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities did was give the non-Indian reaction to Indian tribes a unified, country-wide appearance. And, it provided the foundation for what would eventually become a country-wide movement. The roots of the Anti-Indian Movement remained in Washington. Its ideology continued to be shaped by Anti-Indian Movement leaders in Washington state. Illusion prevailed over the hidden realities.

"Supercitizen" as Scapegoat

During the second half of the 1970s, there was much talk about an "anti-Indian backlash" spreading across the country. The National Congress of American Indians called a mass meeting of Indian leaders in Denver, Colorado to organize an Indian defense against "the backlash." Navajo President Peter MacDonald and Mescalero Apache Chairman Wendell Chino called a mass meeting at Windowrock "to sound the war drums." For the broadcast and printed media this was a "classic cowboys and Indians" tale that would garner viewers and readers.

For others, notably Republican Attorney General Slade Gorton of the State of Washington, the increasingly public talk about a "white backlash against Indians" became a political opportunity. Gorton had led the state of Washington in numerous legal battles against Indian tribes before the U.S. Supreme Court throughout the 70's decade and lost virtually every case -

the most important of which was *U.S. vs. Washington*. A patrician by virtue of his New England roots and a strong advocate of free market economy, Attorney General Gorton found a certain appeal in the growing clamor by "whites seeking their civil rights."

The Attorney General's Office had become a target for criticism owing to its failure to win in the courts on Indian issues. And Attorney General Gorton had political ambitions. Gorton's response was to counter politically. He became, for a time, a vocal critic of Indian tribes and the federal government. He argued that the U.S. Constitution did not and could not allow for any of the U.S. citizens to have "more rights than others." Such a situation, Gorton averred, would make Indians "super citizens." Though his comments on the U.S. Constitution and his newly coined phrase, often repeated in the late 1970s, had the ring of "legal doctrine," it was only political prattle aimed at deflecting criticism of his office. No doubt, his statements reflected his own opinion too.

Gorton's increasingly strident condemnations of "super citizens" and "militant Indian attitudes" tended to give legitimacy to calls for "white rights on Indian reservations." In response to calls by tribal officials for "quiet talk," to resolve differences, Attorney General Gorton extended only a stiff upper lip. He would talk, but he would be uncompromising - an attitude shared by his eager partisans in the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities.

While the ICERR had a champion in Attorney General Slade Gorton and an ally in Senator Jack Metcalf, the group still had its problems. The difficulty facing the ICERR was that its leaders (Howard Gray, Betty Morris, George Garland and the others) remained mostly concerned with their

personal interests. The organization had "communications and linkages" with groups like **Montanans Opposing Discrimination (MOD)** near the Flathead Reservation in Montana, the **United Townships Association (UTA)** inside the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, **Concerned Citizens Council** near the Winnebago and Omaha Indian Reservations in Nebraska, and **Landowners Against Negligent Claims Enforcement (LANCE)** in Wagner, South Dakota yet the movement remained "local and limited."

Gorton's increasingly strident condemnations of "super citizens" and "militant Indian attitudes" tended to give legitimacy to calls for "white rights on Indian reservations."

At its annual conference, two hundred "Washington State ICERR Chapter" members gathered at the Seattle Center on November 26, 1977. ICERR's leader Howard Gray told the convinced "serious problems of discrimination are being encountered on reservations, and our organization is striving to equalize the discriminatory situation in Washington caused by fishing controversies, property rights and court decisions." (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*) With an eye to serving Attorney General Gorton's political interests in a small constituency on Indian reservations,

and an eye to the press helping to elevate the property owners' plight to a case of "reverse discrimination" Gray began the effort to create a publicly palatable agenda for ICERR.

For the Washington State Attorney General's Office, "reverse discrimination" was not enough. The problem described by Gray and other ICERR supporters was "greater than Boldt or the Indian treaties." Gorton's Assistant Attorney General Lawrence Coniff spoke before ICERR's November 26 meeting and urged his audience to see a greater devil.

The greatest problem of the 20th century is the growth of federal powers of governments all over the world. Governments are the greatest destroyers of individual liberty and world peace that ever existed. Governments make war, not people. It is the federal government which is creating most of the problems we have. (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*)

Robert R. Bogensberger of the Washington State Political Action Committees further amplified the evil when he told the ICERR audience, "a 'judicial oligarchy' is growing across the U.S., of which Judge Boldt was a part, 'and we might as well kiss our Constitution good-bye.'" (*La Course, Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977*)

A few months after the conference Washington State's Senator Henry M. Jackson was under considerable pressure to lend his support to the non-Indian property owners. Anti-Indian advocates urged the U.S. Senate's powerful Energy and Natural Resources Committee Chairman to give further credibility to anti-federal government sentiments as well. In response to the

growing public controversy, Senator Jackson wrote U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell:

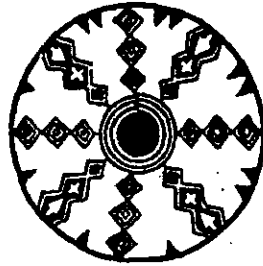
Relations between Indians and non-Indians have become strained in many areas as Indians have begun claiming rights to natural resources and jurisdiction over non-Indians. The Federal government's advocacy of the Indians' claims has seriously contributed to the tension. This is especially so when Indian claims adversely affect the rights or livelihood of non-Indians. (Jackson/Bell, 1978:1)

Senator Jackson's appeal to Attorney General Bell would eventually become a corner stone for arguments in support of U.S. Presidential intervention in the cause of "property-owners verses the super-citizens."

Anti-Indian and Right-Wing Populism: None dare call this racism

Reverse discrimination, governments that destroy individual liberty, the judicial oligarchy and the Constitution seemed to be just the right mixture to broaden anti-Indian organizational appeal. None would dare call this racism. In the late 1970s, with an economic recession coming on that would hit farmers, fishermen, lumberjacks, and work-a-day laborers harder than most, the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities found just the right combination of scapegoats. At the center would be the "super citizen" - people who had more than other citizens, and the government protected them even at the expense of the U.S. Constitution.

Within just a few years, Gorton's characterization of Indian people as "super citizens" was legitimized as one



Detroit Free Press columnist proved when he wrote:

Congress must eventually decide whether Indians are American citizens like everyone else -- or some brand of super-citizens.

So far, federal courts have granted super-citizen status. It is proving unworkable where Indian treaty "rights," as the courts view them, have conflicted with what non-Indians see as basic American equality. More and more people are being drawn into the issue as tribal claims expand.

The argument doesn't equate with the black struggle for civic (sic) rights. Blacks have fought for equality. Indians seek inequality, a status above all other Americans, black or white. (Opre 1984:12D)

The fact that Slade Gorton's "super citizen" was recognizable as having dark skin, black hair and was just different from most non-Indians helped people to see "the Indian" as an acceptable scapegoat for economic and social troubles.

So effective was this "scapegoat strategy" that it continued to carry weight with anti-Indian advocates for years to come. A Renton, Washington newspaper published a letter to the editor where the author made clear his views about who had privilege:

There is a relationship between

The present-day picture of the noble red man is in sharp contrast to the one of the murdering, thieving savage that settlers hated and feared in early times. (Haller, *Daily Record Chronicle*, 1984)

special privilege and the belief in the divine right of succession that relates to the perpetuity of a separate race.

American citizens have been given a full poisonous smear concerning Indian mistreatment, which when thoroughly researched, is entirely different from the version shown by the poison pen arts such as Richard Nixon. People should remember their early day history, when tens of millions of immigrants were willing to risk their lives to own a piece of America, and no power on earth could stop them. The present-day picture of the noble red man is in sharp contrast to the one of the murdering, thieving savage that settlers hated and feared in early times. (Haller, *Daily Record Chronicle*, 1984)

Mr. Haller's denial that Indian peoples were ever victims of mistreatment echoes similar sentiments among those who would deny nazi mass-killings of Jews in the 1930s and 1940s.



Momentum? Create more Organizations

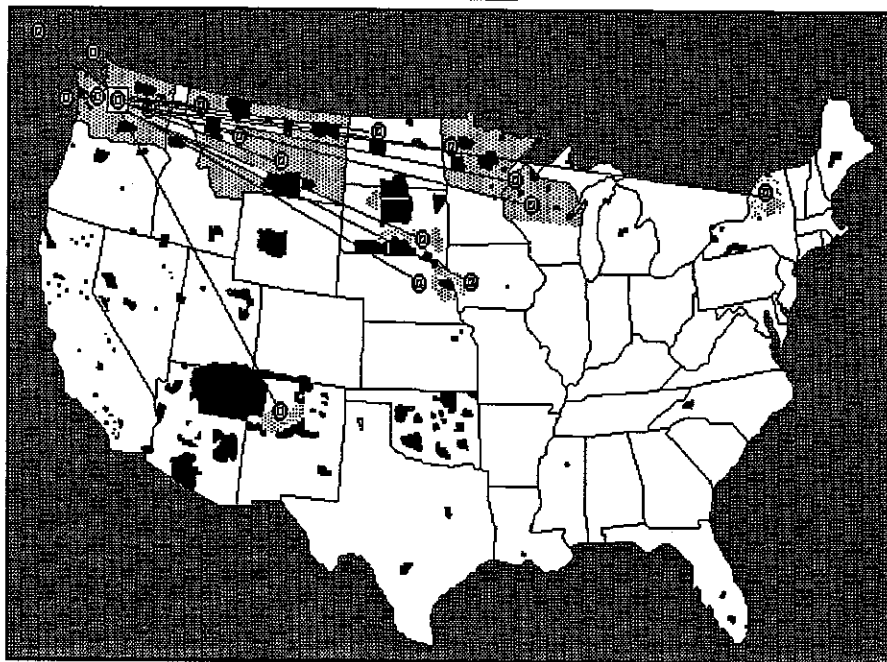
By 1983, it became apparent that the ICERR did not have a broad enough appeal. It suffered from an earned image of being a narrow interest group with remote concerns unconnected with city folk. Solution? Create a new organization that moves the anti-Indian movement into "mainstream politics." Through the combined efforts of Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, Quinault Property Owners Association, Association of Property Owners & Residents of Port Madison Area, the Washington State Sportsmen's Council and Fisheries Resource Action Group (FRAG) of Mt. Vernon, Washington and the Steelhead Trout Club of Washington a new organization was born. This time, the organization would have a special purpose: Promote passage of a public initiative to "protect salmon." Such an agenda would clearly appeal to a broader segment of the population.

Organizers established **Salmon-Steelhead Preservation Action for Washington Now (S/SPAWN)**, as a political campaign organization. To carry out this move to mainstream politics, S/SPAWN relied on the ready-made ICERR network and gave the Anti-Indian Movement a shot-in-the-arm. (Figure 8)

Former Washington State Senator Homer Lundquist (a conservative Republican from Mt. Vernon) assumed the chairmanship of the new organization in early April of 1983. ("Metcalfe Elated by Senate Boldt Vote"

S/SPAWN - 1983

(Figure 8)



C.W.I.S. 1990

- ⊙ Group: Property Owners
- ⊙ Concerned Citizens
- ⊙ S/SPAWN
- Indian Reservation
- ⊙ Organized Anti-Indian Activity

LANGLEY WHIDBEY, Langley, Washington. April 12, 1983.) By late April, S/SPAWN had a new chairman in John Mitcham who announced the formal filing of a public initiative concerning the salmon fishery.

A group headed by a former editor of the Seattle-based Fishing and Hunting News filed an initiative Friday which aims to end the effects of the so-called Boldt deci-

sion on Washington salmon fishing.

The basic problem we're talking about is the problem of the last fish," said John Mitcham, Chairman of a group known as SPAWN." ("Group Files Initiative Challenging Boldt Ruling" *DAILY OLYMPIAN, Olympia, Washington. April 30, 1983.*)

Gig Harbor resident George Gar-

land of Quinault Property Owners' Association joined S/SPAWN as one of the organization's principal leaders. **May Davis** of the Association of Property Owners & Residents of Port Madison Area became S/SPAWN's volunteer coordinator. Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities vice president **Betty Morris** became an active supporter of the new organization.

The same property owners' associations mainly responsible for organizing ICERR as a "national organization" became directly responsible for the organization of another "national organization" called S/SPAWN. Just as non-Indian property owner's associations provided the impetus sufficient to create the ICERR, so the same associations were key to creating S/SPAWN.

S/SPAWN started out with a decidedly "fisherman/property owners" image. Though this image accurately reflected the interests of founding members, it suffered from the same problem as the ICERR: Too limited a scope to attract broad public support.

S/SPAWN organizers wrestled with this problem over six months until October 1983 when Dale Ward, of Everett, Washington and an employee of the Pay 'N Save Corporation was designated the new S/SPAWN chairman. Not only did the "new and improved" S/SPAWN organization come with more of a "business image," it also now included a Republican party organizer in the position of a new Executive Director - **Barbara Lindsay** of Bellevue, Washington.

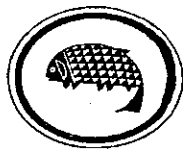
S/SPAWN's October organizational metamorphosis started the anti-Indian movement's leap toward the political right. Elements of the extremist right-wing of American politics quickly moved money and organ-

izational skills in support. Former Washington State Republican Party Chairman C. Montgomery Johnson wrote:

More significantly, the political complexion of its "supporting cast" took a turn further away from "sports fishermen" and into the realm of right-wing conservative politics." (Johnson, *First Our Land*, 1985:460)

Some of the right-wing insurgents who sought control over the Washington state Republican party chaired by Johnson in the 1970s now appeared in the S/SPAWN leadership. Members of right-wing groups sat on its "Honorary Steering Committee," and among endorsers and "Sponsoring Groups & Organizations" listed on S/SPAWN's stationery. Suddenly, the anti-Indian movement of the 1960s and 1970s converged with right-wing and right-wing extremist groups in 1983.

Not only had Senator Metcalf officially linked his name to the Anti-Indian Movement, he actively gave both financial and personal advice to S/SPAWN. The conservative National Farm Bureau and the Bellevue, Washington based **Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms** be-



came sponsoring organizations too. Extreme right-wing conservative Jack Cunningham (*A former one-term Congressman who held sway as a vigorously anti-Indian advocate from Washington's liberal 7th Congressional District.*) and Stuart G. Oles, a similarly conservative Seattle lawyer gave their support by agreeing to sit on the S/SPAWN steer-

ing committee. (See *Rightwing Connections* at page 44)

From the Fringe to Mainstream Politics

S/SPAWN's right-wing connections did not stir strong notice in 1983 or for some years later. Since S/SPAWN's original purpose was to organize and promote a Washington State public vote on a "citizens' initiative," any awareness of these connections was quickly consumed by the "campaign on Initiative 456." Indian nations responded to the 456 Initiative Campaign begun in September 1984 as though it was solely concerned with Indian interests - anti-treaty, anti-Indian racism, and an effort to overturn U.S. laws protecting Indian rights.

While it was all of these things, the campaign was also a test for right-wing extremist organizing and right-wing political populism. It tested the right-wing's ability to control and redirect the organizational efforts of otherwise non-ideological people toward right-wing goals.

In a "Dear S/SPAWN Friend" letter announcing successful placement of Initiative 456 on the November 1984 ballot in Washington state the measure was described as,

a landmark petition aimed squarely at Congress . . . insisting on equality under the law . . . for all U.S. citizens . . . according to the Constitution. . . a yes vote for 456 is a vote for fairness . . . a vote for equal rights . . . a real chance to save our state's natural resource for generations to come. (Emphasis added.) (Dear S/SPAWN Friend in Johnson 1985:67)

The ballot measure was originally authored in the late spring of 1983 by

Senator Jack Metcalf and Mount Vernon attorney David L. Yamashita as *Initiative Measure No. 84*. Since the Washington State legislature had rejected Metcalf's earlier proposed bill to subvert Indian treaties, he simply converted the failed legislation into a public Initiative which boldly proclaimed: "Challenge Special legal Status of Indians."

Metcalf's draft of Initiative 84 plainly stated, "The special legal status of Indians is considered terminated by citizenship." This version of Metcalf's anti-Indian Initiative also contained this populist statement: "Resist Federal Intrusions on State's Right to Manage its Resources."

After nine months seeking signatures in support of the proposed initiative, supporters failed in 1983 to receive the necessary endorsements from Washington state voters to be placed on the ballot. Washington's voters were not willing to underwrite an Initiative that would have the effect of challenging the legal status of Indian people or undermining treaties between the United States and Indian tribes.

S/SPAWN quickly adjusted its approach and Initiative 84 was rewritten with softer, and more obscure language intended "to mislead unsuspecting voters." (*Johnson, 1985:20*) Indeed, S/SPAWN's spokesmen started a new campaign "denying they were anti-Indian and avoiding discussion of changing Indian treaties." (*Johnson, 1985:22*) Initiative 456 changed the tone but not the intention of Initiative 84.

Initiative 456 proclaimed: "Help Save Our Resource for Generations to Come." The ballot title for Initiative 456 "soothingly asked, 'Shall . . . state policies respecting Indian rights and management of natural resource be enacted?'" And it went further to soften its direct attack on Indians with: "Declare, as a Matter of State Law,

That All Citizens, Including Treaty Indians, Shall Have Equal Rights." (*Johnson, 1985:22*)

S/SPAWN turned away from direct public attacks on Indian rights and Indian treaties. Affirmations of state's rights and the deceptive call for "equal rights" in Initiative 456 made the difference to many Washington state petition signers. On November 6, 1984, by a margin of 53.2 percent to 46.8%, Washington state's voters approved Initiative 456 - making it state law. The deception had apparently worked.

"Challenge Special legal Status of Indians." (Initiative 84)

Winning the popular vote on an anti-Indian ballot proved to be hollow, however. State officials said they would ignore the law. And while some said the law would end up in the courts, nothing was done. The winners had won only with the perception of success, not the substance. Even the opponents to Initiative 456 declared the win a hollow victory:

... let no one in the State of Washington or anywhere else in the nation be misled to a conclusion that it was passed with "a big yes vote" or by any mandating margin. This simply was not the case.

According to state officials, Washington State has 3,182,322 adults who are eligible to vote. Fewer than three in ten (28.8 percent) of the adults eligible to vote in the state approved Initiative 456. (*Johnson, 1985:18*)

The campaign organization opposed to Initiative 456 concluded that it would have little immediate impact in the State of Washington. It did reveal the emergence of a country-wide strategy to undo Indian treaties. And, it did show there was some popular sentiment building against Indians because of:

- » concern over 'dwindling' salmon runs,
- » unpopularity of Indians' catching the "whiteman's steel-head" with nets,
- » unpopularity of the 1974 Boldt decision that guaranteed Indians the opportunity to catch 50 percent of salmon runs under their federally protected treaties,
- » resentment of various reservation-based activities, including sale of liquor and fireworks and lucrative bingo parlors, and,
- » the seductively innocent and patriotic-sounding slogan of "guaranteed equal rights for all, including Indians."

The "prize catch" resulting from approval of Initiative 456 had little to do with fish that could be done by state initiative and nothing at all to do with resource conservation or enhancement. The "prize catch" ...the goal... was to impress Congress that most voters want the destruction of Indian Treaties." (*Johnson, 1985: 485*)

Anti-Indian organizing in the United States had achieved an important success in the state of Washington. In sixteen years, the Movement had changed from a few localized Indian/non-Indian conflicts into a populist, and electoral movement. To achieve

this, supporters of the religious right and right-wing extremists proved to be the difference between failure and success.

On their own and separately, the anti-Indian movement and the right-wing extremists failed to marshal sufficient popular support or legitimacy within conventional political circles. Many would describe them as kooks or fringe interests unsuited for consideration, much less acceptance by the mainstream body politic. Together, however, the anti-Indian and right-wing extremists could share their anti-federal government, anti-democracy, white-supremacist, anti-tax and constitutional revisionism behind a veil of popular legitimacy provided by Initiative 456 and the political campaign.

Anti-Indian organizations in Montana and in Wisconsin hailed voter approval of Initiative 456. In the state of Washington, only a few state legislators and Attorney General Eikenberry joined anti-Indian activists in their political success. The time had come to translate the popular political win into a U.S. government-backed effort. To achieve this Anti-Indian Movement



organizers transformed the S/SPAWN campaign organization into a non-profit organization which could solidify political gains. With a simple name change, S/SPAWN became Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Network. The name-change became necessary too in large measure due to S/SPAWN's troubles with Washington State Elections officials. After the Initiative 456 elections, S/SPAWN attempted to raise funds as a non-profit organization instead of a political

campaign. A new organization with S/SPAWN's name familiarity in the Anti-Indian Movement was necessary. This new organization was formally incorporated as a "national, non-profit, tax-exempt (501) (c)(3) scientific, public educational foundation, incorporated in Washington State." (*Your Help is Needed. Join S/SPAWN Today!*" S/SPAWN, Volume 2, Number 2. Summer 1989.)

Campaign for Presidential Validation

As if to affirm its mainstream legitimacy, S/SPAWN turned in 1985 to a new enterprise: Promote the organization and establishment of a **Presidential Commission to Study the Effects of Federal Indian Policies on Non-tribal Indian and non-Indian citizens of the United States**. Claiming popular support from Washington state citizens, S/SPAWN's Executive Director Barbara Lindsay sent the proposal saying:

As a result of the passage of Initiative 456, we are formally requesting that you appoint a nonpartisan Presidential Commission to study the effects of federal Indian policies on non-tribal Indian and non-Indian citizens of the United States, particularly as to how current federal policies impact natural resource—lands, waters, timber, fish, and game, or constitutional rights, property and natural resources of all people. (*S/SPAWN Proposal February 25, 1985:2*)

In S/SPAWN's proposal authors, David L. Yamashita, Senator Jack Metcalf and Barbara Lindsay hoped to advertise their organization's mainstream legitimacy with this clever assertion about support for Initiative 456.

They carefully omitted reference to the anti-Indian and right-wing groups connected to S/SPAWN.

This people's initiative was successfully co-sponsored by the Washington State Republican Party and the S/SPAWN Committee—Steelhead and Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now. (S/SPAWN Proposal February 25, 1985)

S/SPAWN listed the Republican State Committee of Washington as one of thirty-six sponsoring groups and organizations on its September, 1984 stationery. Other groups and organizations Lindsay could have listed along with the Republican Committee might have been:

SALMON FOREVER, a Seattle-based organizational front set up by Dale Ward, an employee of the Pay 'N Save Corporation which funded his organization.

Quinault Property Owner's Association, resident and absentee land-owners with property on the Quinault Indian Reservation dedicated to the overthrow the Quinault government.

Citizens Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms, headed by Alan Gottlieb of Bellevue, Washington. Gottlieb is a member of the Board of Directors of the American Freedom Coalition of Washington (AFC), D.C. The AFC is a major front for Sun Myun Moon (Maclean, Virginia) of the extreme right-wing Unification Church.

Washington State Farm Bureau affiliated with the National Farm Bureau in Washington, D.C. which

lobbied for eroding and termination of Indian treaties in the U.S. Congress.

Equal Rights for Everyone, a Wisconsin-based organization founded in February 1984 by a "guns advocate," Paul Mullaly who was arrested before forming E.R.F.E. for having an uncased gun in his car in violation of Wisconsin law. Mullaly's organization was specifically formed to abrogate treaties between Indians and the federal government.

The Presidential Commission campaign began in January 1985 with a series of communications to Senators and President Ronald Reagan. Coordination between anti-Indian organizations in conjunction with some "key elected officials" was carried out to produce a borage of "support mail" for the Presidential Commission within a ten day period in February 1985. The Wisconsin Association of Counties, Washington State Attorney General Ken Eikenberry (*the Republican replacement for now U.S. Senator Gorton*) and a blur of anti-Indian organizations combined to shower Washington, D.C. with a demonstration of popular support for the Presidential Commission idea. Wisconsin's Equal Rights for Everyone gave one rationale for the Commission:

...E.R.F.E. urges the President of the United States to form a presidential commission to investigate the impact on non-Indians living both on reservations and off as a result of recent court decisions pertaining to Indian treaties. (E.R.F.E. February 15, 1985:2)

Noting that a Presidential Commission on Reservation Economies had

just completed its work, Attorney General Eikenberry wrote to President Ronald Reagan to emphasize the urgent need for the anti-Indian sponsored commission:

I would suggest and urge that you now create another presidential task force which would be charged with the responsibility of examining and reporting recommendations respecting the relationship between Indian tribes, non-tribal Indians, and their claims to natural resources, with special regard for the impact being made on non-Indians. (Eikenberry/Reagan February 21, 1985)

Adding further emphasis, S/ SPAWN's Barbara Lindsay sent the Presidential Commission proposal along with hysterical statements about impending tribal attempts to implement uniform non-Indian relations on many reservations:

Relations between Indians and non-Indians have become severely strained in many areas of our nation as Indians have begun claiming rights to natural resources and jurisdiction over non-Indians. There have been threats of violence and acts of civil disobedience are on the increase. The federal government's advocacy of the Indians' claims has strongly contributed to this growing tension. (S/ SPAWN Proposal February 25, 1985:4)

Lindsay went further to create a sense of crisis on the tribal frontier. She claimed widespread Indian government violations of a whole range of "non-Indian rights:"

...under current Federal Indian

policies: (non-Indians suffer from)

- «» Denial of due process of law
 - «» Denial of equal protection of the law
 - «» Denial of rights of residency
 - «» Denial of full use and protection of property
 - «» Denial of protection from pollution
 - «» Denial of equal job and education opportunities (Indian preference laws and Indian Schools.
 - «» Denial of personal rights
- (S/ SPAWN Proposal February 25, 1985:10)

Just as the anti-Indian Initiative 456 was intended to spur political support for the abrogation of Indian/U.S. treaties, the proposed Presidential Commission had a hidden agenda as well. Attorney General Eikenberry's letter to President Reagan exposed the proposed Commission's actual intent:

... many reservations have substantial non-tribal populations, but a unique attribute of tribal governments is that, unlike national, state or local governments, many citizens who reside within the boundaries of reservations are not entitled to participate in the selection of those who make and enforce tribal laws. Therefore, consideration should be given as to whether and to what extent should a tribe be empowered to regulate conduct of non-tribal members. (original emphasis included) (Eikenberry/Reagan February 21, 1985)

While he may not have intended it, Attorney General Eikenberry provided just the kind of language necessary to hide racist arguments for overthrowing tribal governments. Instead of addressing the basic question of tribal

governmental powers within a territorial jurisdiction, Mr. Eikenberry chose to argue whether tribal governmental power ought to extend over "whites living inside tribal boundaries." This is the underlying question raised by non-Indian property owners, and it is the essential issue of right-wing extremists who believe "the white race is born to rule."

Eikenberry's own desire to extend Washington state powers of government into tribal territories surely motivated his plea to President Reagan. The effect, however, was to provide a legitimizing argument for the annexation of tribal lands based on the view that as "white populations" inside reservation boundaries increase, tribal governmental authority and tribal rights

must correspondingly reduce. Logically extended, this view suggests the ultimate replacement of Indian peoples with a white population in "former Indian territories." Mr. Eikenberry's racial emphasis spoke directly to the underlying premise of the anti-Indian movement.



Confrontation and Consolidation

Taking Matters Into Their Own Hands

After more than two decades of Anti-Indian Movement leadership coming from the state of Washington, organizers opened a new front in Wisconsin in 1987. In March of that year, leaders convened a "national convention" in Wausau, Wisconsin. Sponsored by **Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (P.A.R.R.)** of Wisconsin, organizers attempted to unify groups in the Anti-Indian Movement, and form a new national organization "to push the U.S. Congress to study and change federal Indian policies." This was the public theme of the movement following Washington State's 1984 voter approval of the Initiative 456 now taken up as a country-wide theme. Organizers claimed a conference attendance of more than 475 persons traveling from Wisconsin and twelve other states and Canada. (*National Unity ... PARR ISSUE, Vol. 1, Issue 6, June, 1987:page 1*)

Not since January 1976 in Salt Lake City, Utah when the Interstate

Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (I.C.E.R.R.) was created as a "national organization" had there been a similar gathering. While most of the Convention participants came from Wisconsin, a kind of "national Anti-Indian Movement leadership roster" of seventeen persons from twelve U.S. states and one organization in Canada made the convention "national." While consolidating organizational gains for the Anti-Indian Movement was an important goal of the PARR Convention, creation of the national organization was equally important. It was this new status of becoming a "national organization, that organizers hoped would push PARR into the forefront of the Anti-Indian Movement.

The step considered necessary for achieving the national organization was the adoption of a "Joint Resolution" by 200 of the Convention's remaining participants on the second and final day of the meeting. Signed by the seventeen organizational leaders, the March 1987 Joint Resolution declared soli-

arity between organizations to deal with "Native American claims." (See **Joint Resolution** on page 28)

The Protect Americans' Rights & Resources group had received both organizational and popular endorsement as a "national organization." Conspicuously present as Convention speakers and as signers of the Joint Resolution were Betty Morris (Quinault Property Owners' Association, Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, and S/SPAWN) and Pierce W. Davis (Association of Property Owner's and Residents of Port Madison and his wife May serving as Volunteer Coordinator of S/SPAWN).

Just as they had created the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities in 1976, and the Washington/Wisconsin anti-Indian leaders organized S/SPAWN in 1983, all now collaborated to create yet another national anti-Indian organization. The Joint Resolution gave the appearance of popular "nation-wide" support for a kind of "anti-Indian conservation group."

Joint Resolution

We, the undersigned organizations represented at the Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (P.A.R.R.) National Convention, do hereby agree that conservation and management of North American natural resources - including, but not limited to lands, waters, timber, minerals, fish and game - represent a solemn trust that must be managed in the equal interest of all citizens. Toward that goal, we therefore agree to work together for the purpose of educating our members and the public at large on matters of mutual concern and for the purpose of promoting a fair and equitable resolution to the problems of Native American claims.

Douglas W. Olson, S/SPAWN, Washington
 Pierce W. Davis, Association of Property Owners and Residents of Port Madison Area, Washington
 Betty Morris, Washington State Chapter ICERR, Washington
 Robert Monfore, Land Owners Against Negligent Claims, South Dakota
 William G. Tripp, All Citizens Equal, Montana
 Ralph L. Johnson, East Slope Taxpayers Association, Montana
 Neal Nelson, Concerned Citizens Council, Nebraska
 Jane E. Reish, United Townships Association, Minnesota
 Bob Housha, White Earth Equal Rights, Inc., Minnesota
 Dale Peterson, Committee For Equality, North Dakota
 James Mitchell, Jemez River Basin Water Users, New Mexico
 Harold Pratz, New York State Conservation Council, New York
 Dale Bondurant, Constitutional Legal Defense Fund, Alaska
 Gordon Dahl, Manona County Landowners Association, Iowa
 Dennis L. McDougall, Heritage Northwest, Canada
 Larry Peterson, Protect Americans' Rights and Resources, Wisconsin
 Verna Lawrence, Michigan Protect Americans' Rights & Resources, Michigan
 ("Joint Resolution" PARR ISSUE, Volume 1, issue 6.)

Meant both as a demonstration of Anti-Indian Movement unification and consolidation, and as proof that organizations in the Anti-Indian Movement are neither anti-Indian nor racist, but merely "conservation minded, the *Joint Resolution* accomplished neither in the end. Protect Americans' Rights and Resources had roots deeply imbedded in the previous four-years of racial politics characteristic of Indian and non-Indian conflict in Wisconsin. Assuming the responsibility and vision for a "national movement" seemed appropriate at the time.

In 1984, a local organization called **Totally Equal Americas** (TEA) in Minnesota declared itself a "national organization" relying on the same individuals and groups as had ICERR and S/SPAWN. TEA's declaration was met with a deaf silence. The calls for a national organization to lead the Anti-

Indian Movement continued until the emergence of PARR. Wisconsin's anti-Indian leaders had been organizing for four years, and now they were ready.

WARR and Voigt in Wisconsin came before PARR

The organization that would become PARR was originally organized in 1984 under the name: **Wisconsin Alliance for Rights and Resources** (WARR) in Superior, Wisconsin. Larry Peterson was its leader. WARR began as a reaction by recreational fishing interests to a January 25, 1983 Federal Court decision which affirmed Chippewa hunting, fishing and gathering rights on and off-reservation - in lands ceded under U.S./Chippewa Treaties of 1837 and 1842.

WARR originally presented itself

as an organization which champions states rights. In an "Open Letter" to citizens of Minnesota, Michigan and Wisconsin, WARR was said to be concerned with "an area of Government interference in State rights and ultimately the loss of individual citizens' rights to be treated equally under the law according to our Constitution. ... the questions of Indian Rights vs. those of non-Indians." (*AN OPEN LETTER to the citizens of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, your rights and resources are in jeopardy.* - circa June, 1984) Clearly intending to polarize public opinion between Indians and non-Indians, WARR contributed its share to growing tensions in Wisconsin. The spark that started it all for WARR was the Voigt Case.

The case is popularly referred to by its shorthand title, the *Voigt Decision*. The name refers to a lead defendant, former Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources Secretary Lester P. Voigt, in the suit brought by the Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa Band on behalf of tribal members. Their suit sought to prevent the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources from arresting Chippewas engaging in ice fishing in off-reservation waters. The Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa filed suit against the state of Wisconsin in Western District Federal Court on March 18, 1975.

On January 25, 1983 a three judge panel Court of Appeals decided that the Chippewa did not give up reserved rights when permanent reservations were established through a Treaty with the United States in 1854. The Court explicitly affirmed the treaty reserved rights of Chippewas to hunt, fish and gather in areas of land ceded to the United States. The Court went on to assert that the exercise of these rights was limited to "those portions of ceded land that are not privately owned."

The state of Wisconsin appealed the Court of Appeals decision to the U.S. Supreme Court of Appeals. On October 3, 1983 the Court refused to hear the appeal, thus leaving the decision of January 1983 intact. Since other Chippewa bands were signatory to the treaties of 1837 and 1842, they joined the case with the La Courte Oreilles Band. The final decision affirmed the rights of all of the bands.

Intensifying the Conflict: E.R.F.E. for equal rights

Along with Larry Peterson's WARR, others opposed to the *Voigt Decision* established organizations in 1984. Paul Mullaly of Hayward, Wisconsin claimed that the federal court decision "discriminates against white people in the area and is not the kind of thing that should occur in a democracy." Mullaly founded **Equal Rights for Everyone (ERFE)** (with Larry Peterson as vice president) after he was arrested for having an uncased gun in his car. According to newspaper reports, Mr. Mullaly lives near the Lac Courte Oreilles reservation. He "seethed inwardly as he paid his \$29 fine. An Indian in his car would not have been arrested in the same circumstance, Mullaly said, and that does not constitute equal rights for everyone." ("Arrest led ...," *The Milwaukee Journal, Sunday October 14, 1984*)

While Mr. Mullaly's arrest may have led him to create ERFE, there is also a high degree of probability that his anger toward Indians was also motivated by his bitterness over competition from a Lac Courte Oreilles construction company that successfully underbid his construction company. Protesting what he considered the efforts of government to give Indians superior rights to hunting, fishing, housing, medical and social welfare

programs, Mullaly's ERFE eventually had a claimed mailing list of 4,000 members. (*Stokes, Chicago Tribune, September 27, 1984*)

While Mullaly's membership claims may have been slightly exaggerated, it was clear that he had decided to enter the Anti-Indian leadership sweepstakes by claiming even more. **Equal Rights for Everyone, Inc.** claimed to represent 4,000 members in September 1984, but by February 15, 1985 its leader claimed the organization had more than 31,000 members "including affiliate groups and



organizations both in and out of Wisconsin." (*E.R.F.E. Promotional Letter*) This phenomenal growth proved to be an illusion like so many other claims in the Anti-Indian Movement.

Mullaly's claims came after a single meeting in Mahanomen, Minnesota. Together with the Minnesota-based **National Association for Totally Equal Americans (TEA)**, Mullaly's ERFE attempted to establish a broader based organization at an October 15 - 16, 1984 meeting in Mahanomen. A featured speaker at the meeting was Betty Morris. She delivered a wandering diatribe centering on anecdotes about non-Indian experiences on the Quinault Reservation. As with earlier meetings "to exchange information between groups," this one proclaimed the host organization a "national organization."

A month later, Mullaly's organization was at the center of an intense

controversy over threats against the lives of Chippewas and racism.

Paul Mullaly, president and founder of Equal Rights for Everyone, warned Sunday that continuing to allow Indian Tribes in the United States to govern themselves as sovereign nations could prove dangerous.

We view this as potentially threatening to our nation and see it as becoming a situation like Lebanon where the Hayward businessman said factions within the nation viewed themselves as separate from the whole. (*Jordan, Milwaukee Journal, November 12, 1984*)

As if hearing Mullaly, the Ad Hoc Commission on Racism in Wisconsin released its report on "Indian-White Relations,"

The intimidation, fears and threats to American Indians is real and needs to be addressed by leadership at all levels including political, religious groups, educational institutions, the business sector, social organizations, tribes, as well as levels of government. (*Wisconsin's Educational Imperative - Indian-White Relations, November 1984.*)

So controversial had Mullaly become that his organization became implicated in racial threats against Chippewas. By the Fall of 1984 matters had become so bad that Chippewa officials requested the Federal Bureau of Investigations to investigate threats of violence against Chippewas, and look into the origin of bumper stickers and other literature containing slogans like, "Save a deer, shoot an Indian." (*Jordan, Milwaukee Journal, November 12, 1984*) The political climate in northern Wis-

consin had become so poisoned with threats against Indians that the Federal Bureau of Investigations had to determine whether some resort owners might be implicated in threats to "kill Indians if they came on certain lakes." (*FBI Investigating ...*, *The Milwaukee Journal*, Friday, December 7, 1984)

While engaged in Wisconsin's atmospherics of threats, racism, and hatred, Peterson's WARR and Mullaly's ERFE were quietly working with **Steelhead/Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now (S/SPAWN)**. Both organizations were formally listed as "Sponsoring Groups and Organizations" in the S/SPAWN galaxy of supporters.

Peterson and Mullaly looked to the more experienced Anti-Indian Activists in the state of Washington for political expertise, ideas and tactics. Viewing the 1974 Federal Court ruling in *U.S. v. Washington* as the source of their troubles expressed through the *Voigt Decision*, anti-Indian leaders in Wisconsin naturally looked to ICERR, S/SPAWN and property owner's associations in the state of Washington for their organizational inspiration.

PARR, the responsible organization

The rising tide of criticism from religious groups and the **Adhoc Commission on Racism in Wisconsin** aimed at WARR and ERFE for inciting violence and racism against Indians caused a pause for rethinking in the Wisconsin contingent of the Anti-Indian Movement. In an effort to deflect charges of racism and militant anti-Indian violence, Peterson and his far flung network set out in 1985 to perform an organizational facelift. It was through a slight-of-hand public deception that a new organization was founded with Larry

Peterson at its helm: **Protect Americans' Rights & Resources - P.A.R.R.**

The new organization immediately presented itself to the public with a country-wide scope. New literature said, "PARR's concerns are for the protection of these resources (hunting, fishing, trapping) and the rights of all Americans that have been affected by such decisions (like Voigt) throughout this country." Larry Peterson viewed his newly constructed organization as a responsible influence on public policy. Business people, on-reservation fee land holders, farmers, utilities, business organizations and outdoor recreationists would again and again be spot-



lighted as the "concerned citizens" who make up PARR. The earlier organizational work under WARR and ERFE gave PARR a made-to-order network in Wisconsin. (Figure 9)

The organization began publishing in 1985, *PARR ISSUE*, a tabloid containing Peterson's written views on states-rights and what he considered Indian special privileges. Letters of encouragement from Anti-Indian Movement organizers in Michigan, Minnesota, Washington, Alaska and other states, and reprinted newspaper clippings describing the "horrors on and off Indian reservations" received spirited attention in each *PARR ISSUE*. With contributions and purchased advertizing from small businesses, farmers and outdoor recreationists, *PARR ISSUE* was printed in larger numbers

and distributed outside of Wisconsin.

During its first year, PARR reached the limits of its organizing in Wisconsin and Michigan. Actually, in these early stages, PARR failed to grow much beyond its meager beginnings. What PARR had that ERFE and WARR didn't have, however, was consistent leadership with an ideology. Larry Peterson provided those qualities to PARR. It was on the basis of this kind of leadership that PARR struck out to truly become a "national organization." Preparations began for the organization of the "national convention."

By 1986 and early 1987, the Anti-Indian Movement was not making much headway anywhere in the country. Its forces lacked a focus. Virtually no progress had been made on the S/SPAWN initiated proposal for a Presidential Commission to Study Federal Indian Policies. (*February 25, 1985*) Even less progress had been made in the effort to organize a political repeat of the successful Initiative 456 campaign in other states. A "national convention" seemed just the thing to reform the movement and give it new life. A convention was surely the shot-in-the-arm PARR needed.

Unlike previous "national meetings" of the Anti-Indian Movement, this one at the Howard Johnson's Motel in Wausau, Wisconsin included representatives of virtually all active organizations in the country. This meeting also represented the first time the Anti-Indian Movement formally linked with anti-Indian organizations in Canada: **Northwest Heritage of Ontario, Canada**.

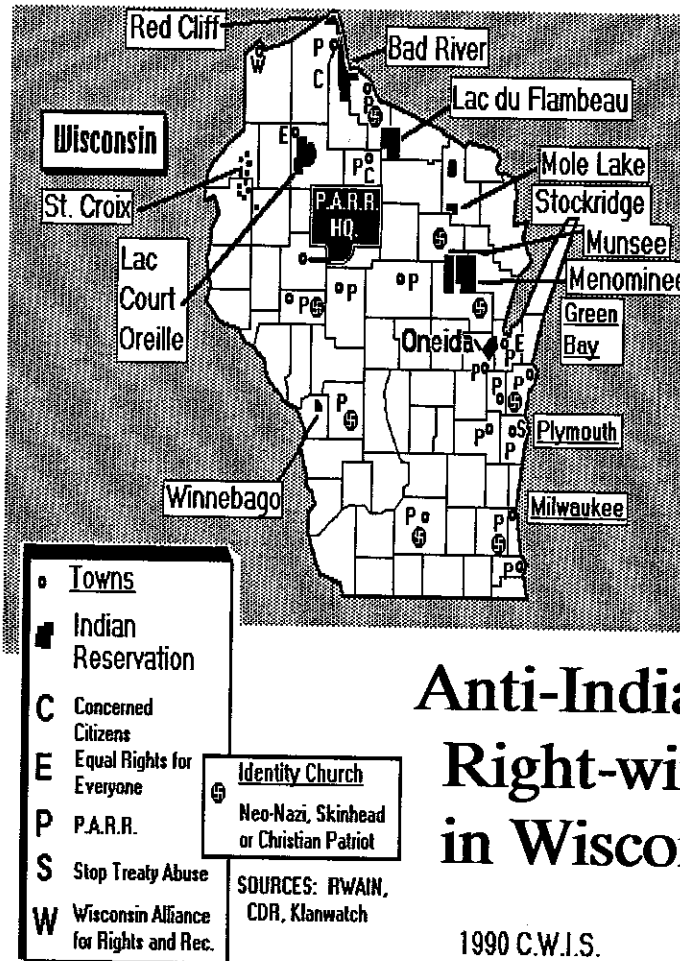
Another difference was the participation of a number of non-tribal Indians who supported, but did not personally associate with the Anti-Indian Movement. Three non-tribal Indians received the most notice by PARR organizers: **Billy Big Springs**, a wealthy

rancher and member of the Blackfeet from East Glacier, Montana; Verna Lawrence, Sault St. Marie, Michigan Commissioner and a Chippewa, and Hiram Valliere, an Oneida and Supervisor of the town of Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin who serves as the Wisconsin County Association representative to the National Association of Counties.

William Tripp of Montana's All Citizens Equal, Betty Morris, Don Olsen of S/SPAWN, Pierce Davis of the Port Madison Property Owners' Association, Dale Peterson of the North Dakota Committee for Equality and others like Stephen Feraca, former employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, stepped up to the PARR podium and delivered rousing condemnations of Indian treaty rights and anecdotes about the special privileges enjoyed by Indian people.

The combined participation of non-tribal Indians with Anti-Indian organization representatives and the unanimous adoption of the "Joint Resolution" declaring solidarity between organizations on March 28 and 29 in 1987 caused organizers to later pronounce the convention a "resounding success!" PARR had seemingly taken the Anti-Indian Movement a large step in the direction of consolidating its efforts and reestablishing its focus. In a sense, the 1987 "national convention" in Wausau, Wisconsin was the "coming out party" for P.A.R.R. - racist organization transformed.

On September 17, 1987 WARR's officers transferred the organizational



(Figure 9)

Anti-Indian & Right-wing Groups in Wisconsin

1990 C.W.I.S.

structure of WARR (with chapters sprinkled around Wisconsin), \$934.63 and a 600 member mailing list to P.A.R.R. - the clean civil rights organization. (PARR ISSUE October 1987, page 4) ERFE closed its doors on April 25, 1987 and handed its mailing list over to PARR as well. (PARR ISSUE June 1987 page 6)

Using WARR's list of chapters, PARR immediately had a dozen chapters in Wisconsin; averaging perhaps a dozen working members each. (Figure 9) Michael Bigelow of Alanson, Michigan founded a new group calling itself **Enough is Enough Concerned Citizens** in 1987. This small group located near Sault St. Marie soon became an *Associate Organization* connected to PARR.

Verna Lawrence, a Chippewa-turned city commissioner for the Michigan town of Sault St. Marie and leading Indian opponent to tribal rights in the Great Lakes, formed a PARR chapter in her town. Consolidation seemed to be fully underway.

Taking his new role as national leader of the Anti-Indian Movement to heart, Larry Peterson undertook a tour of Anti-Indian groups in the state of Washington in the Fall of 1987. Arriving September 14 in Seattle, Washington Peterson was met by George Garland, president of the Quinault Property Owner's Association and now president of the newly reorganized S/SPAWN. Garland served as host during the week-long visit.

Peterson addressed the Tacoma Sportsman's Council and the Tacoma Poggie Club. He met with Ervin Palmer, a property owner on the Colville Indian Reservation who drove the more than three hundred miles to Seattle just to see Peterson. He also met with David L. Yamashita, the attorney "who helped in

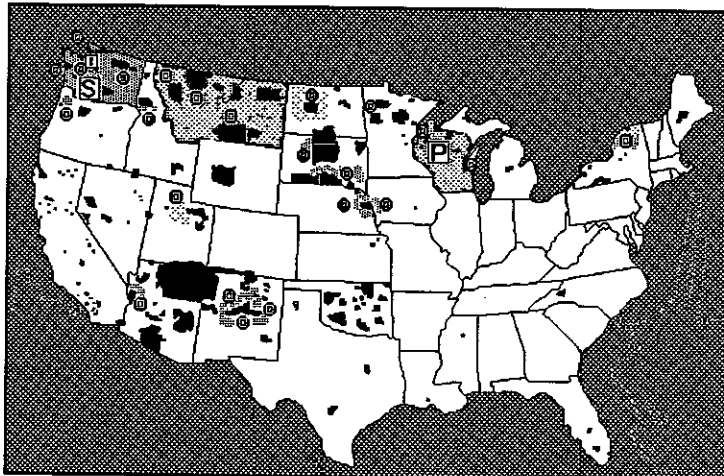
pell fears and charges of violent racism in their ranks, the more disorderly among their membership began to withdraw their support. That support calculated in dollars and numbers of members shifted to Dean Crist's more militant organization called **Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc. (STA)** which operates from Minocqua, Wisconsin. Crist's organization claims 3,000 members and he was quoted to say that the organization intends "to pursue a course of disruption until the various forms of government protect our constitutional rights and state resources for the equal utilization of all citizens." (*Kerr, THE PROGRESSIVE:23*)

Dean Crist and Don Long of Minoqua in eastern Wisconsin (not far from the Oneida Reservation) were members of PARR. "Crist is a member of PARR and has supported PARR since day one," according to Larry Peterson. (*Waukau, MAINAIGAN, August, 1987*) They wanted their opposition to Indian rights to be visible.

Public demonstrations at boat ramps, on lakes where Indians were fishing and in the woods where Indians were hunting were Crist's and Long's idea of visible. The sale of "Treaty Beer" to raise money to eliminate Indian rights was even more visible. Crist and Long created Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc. and began marketing Treaty Beer in June 1987. Despite early charges that Treaty Beer sales promote "abrogation of Indian rights and racist activities," PARR's leadership considered their organization a major financial beneficiary. "... we are going to suggest that our chapters help to get the beer into their areas and into other states," PARR's leader announced. (*Waukau, MAINAIGAN, August, 1987.*) Failing to recognize that their own rhetoric had contributed to the increased racially motivated violence among their members, PARR leaders gave lip serv-

P.A.R.R. 1987

(Figure 10)



□ P.A.R.R. □ S/SPAWN □ I.C.E.R.R. □ C.W.I.S. 1990
 ● Group: Property Owners Concerned Citizens ● Indian Reservation ● Organized Anti-Indian Activity

drawing up the famous 'Initiative 456' and proposed Presidential Commission," and Senator Jack Metcalf, the other person responsible for putting together Anti-Indian organizational policy. Milo Moore, former director of State of Washington Fisheries, and Pierce and May Davis of Port Madison also met with Peterson. Tom and Carol Lewis of the Washington State Sportsman's Council and S/SPAWN; and Doug Olson and Barbara Lindsay of S/SPAWN were also on the list of Peterson visits. On the final day of his visit (September 21) to Puget Sound, Garland took Peterson to visit with Jim Jones and a tour of the Tulalip Indian Reservation north of Seattle. No explanation was given for this visit. (*PARR ISSUE "Peterson visits.. October 1987"*)

PARR and Peterson reached the zenith of their national success with the conclusion of the tour to the "land of Boldt and S/SPAWN." (Figure 10) PARR would be able to claim "about

5,000" members of its very own by the time 1987 came to an end. Thanks to WARR, ERFI and the national convention, yet another Anti-Indian Movement national organization took its place.

PARR Declines while CERA Rises

The day of its "coming out party" in the Spring of 1987 PARR faced charges of racism. No matter how much PARR's leaders claimed that their's "is an organization that truly believes in equality for all people and for the preservation of our rights and resources" Far Right forces tugged and pulled the organization's agenda toward a racist agenda. PARR's declining fortunes, and growing splits within its own ranks magnified as organized non-tribal protests aimed at Chippewa fishing became more violent and loudly racist.

As PARR leaders sought to dis-

ice to non-violent action to reduce public criticism.

PARR's leadership had been facing public charges that their organization was racist for years. Many of the charges came through the public press. To counter the effects of press reports of militant racism within his ranks PARR's newly employed Executive Director, Larry Greschner, accepted an invitation to speak before the Wisconsin United Press International convention.

As a former journalist, Greschner, on May 29 - 30, 1987 in Wisconsin Rapids, called upon his former colleagues to "do your homework" before writing about treaties or the level of assistance given to Indians. In an effort to disassociate PARR's members from people protesting Indian fisheries, Greschner pleaded,

PARR has also been portrayed by some of you to be a racist organization. I'm not going to sit up here and pretend or try to convince you that there are no racists in PARR, we all know better. All groups have their extremists. But, I can assure you that the vast majority of our members are not racists. What some of you saw and reported as being racism was, in reality, something far different - it's protectionism, it's frustration, and it's a very deep concern about the future of tourism in Wisconsin, which is the same as saying a very real concern about ourselves and our ability to continue earning a living in the North and in Wisconsin. ("Greschner airs views on media reports at UPI convention" PARR ISSUE, Vol 1, Issue 6.)

Despite continuing denials of racism and charges of rightist extremism, PARR's troubles continued. As Gresh-

ner said to the UPI conventioners, PARR had its share of racists and militant provocateurs. But, the mere admission of racism and extremism only confirmed what more and more people had already known. Denials of racist and extremist policies only angered some PARR members who believed the organization wasn't militant enough or aggressive enough in its efforts to force the Indians to retreat from fishing, and force the elimination of Indian rights.

PARR's rapid decline from the heights became clearly apparent at its next national convention in Racine, Wisconsin from March 18 through March 20, 1988. Instead of pronouncing its convention a "resounding success" as they had just a year earlier, PARR's convention organizers lamely noted that convention "attendance was well below the number of people expected." (*Convention attendance ...*, "PARR ISSUE. Vol 2, Issue 2.")

The highlight of PARR's second national convention was a keynote address by anti-Indian attorney and Senator Jack Metcalf collaborator David L. Yamashita from Mount Vernon, Washington. Yamashita described himself as an environmentalist - "a real tree hugger," and he said that what he was doing in Washington state was something that many people consider a racist activity: Campaigning against modern reinterpretations of old Indian treaty rights. Relying on his Japanese heritage, Yamashita implied that he couldn't be racist - that his opposition to Indian treaty rights is based on environmental concerns and his view that the federal government isn't being fair toward non-Indians. Political candidates running for Congress, tribal leaders and state Department of Natural Resource officials who had been invited, declined to participate.

Charles Cushman of Sonoma,

California and executive director of the **National Inholders Association** held forth on how his organization works to "protect people's heritage" and ways to prevent "unnecessary governmental regulation, condemnation and bureaucracy." PARR's agenda was clearly dominated by the rightwing politics of

**Nat'l Inholders
Assoc.
Wash. DC**

Yamashita and Cushman. PARR's ideology was taking a strong rightwing turn. But, even this more public display of rightwing rhetoric failed to stem the erosion of supporter confidence.

Longtime Indian rights opponent Larry Peterson chose not to seek the PARR Chairmanship. Instead, he offered himself as a kind of field organizer to shore up the organization's base supporters in Wisconsin. Dick Hannon from Sturtevant, Wisconsin became the new Chairman for PARR - a much reduced organization. The new leadership was left clinging to slender threads of hope that U.S. President Ronald Reagan would appoint a commission to study the affects Indian rights have on the interests of non-tribal Indians and non-Indians on and off reservations. Many still saw this as a near-sure-thing for eliminating Indian rights. Reagan's Administration wasn't interested in such a commission.

By May 1988, PARR's new leadership pleaded with members to understand their unwillingness to follow the path of militant racism and violent protests against Chippewas. To distinguish the PARR of 1988 from militant organizations like Dean Crist's **Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc.** and some of PARR's more activist membership, the new PARR leadership began referring to

themselves and their organization as "pro-equality." They characterized their goal as peaceful change in a lawful manner,

not through protests which can and have resulted in illegal activities, not through shouting, not through racial slurs and the like.

If, in pursuing those goals in a peaceful and lawful manner, PARR and other similar organizations across this nation lose members and supporters, so be it. ("In a peaceful, lawful manner," PARR ISSUE. Vol 2, Issue 2.)

With Larry Peterson declining the PARR Chairmanship and the failure of the PARR Vice Chairman even to turn up at the meeting, the fact that the only accomplishment of the national convention was to establish a "new national alliance" called **Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA)** could not have surprised anyone. The Sunday, March 20 business meeting at which CERA was formed marked the date and place when the Anti-Indian Movement once again shifted its organizational emphasis westward - this time to Montana. The new rising star was to be former U.S. Forestry employee Bill Covey: Leader of All Citizens Equal (ACE),

Montana: Taxes, Water, Fishing and Hunting

The confrontational politics of anti-Indian groups in Wisconsin eventually led to organizational consolidation. During roughly the same period, confrontational tactics by anti-Indian groups in Montana provided the foundation for a similar consolidation.

In the late 1970s, **Montanans Opposed to Discrimination (MOD)**

was an early non-Indian reaction to bold efforts by tribal governments to reassert their powers within reservation boundaries. Stimulated and encouraged by the likes of George Garland and Betty Morris, Montana's "reservation non-Indians" began to organize and soon became an integral part of the **Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities**. By the early 1980's the spirit of **Montanans Opposed to Discrimination** developed into three distinct non-Indian groups opposed to tribal governmental actions that affected non-Indian interests.

On and near the Blackfeet Reservation, Ralph L. Johnson and Lee Jacobson became the leaders and principal spokespersons for the **East Slope Taxpayers Association (ESTA)** in Cutbank, Montana. Predominantly a non-Indian property owner's group set up as a non-profit organization, ESTA's farmer, rancher, business owner and sportsman membership say they are organized mainly to "monitor tax laws and procedures which proves [sic] themselves detrimental to taxpayers" (*PARR ISSUE June 1987, Kavanagh, LeAnne. "Montana ESTA airs Indian Tax Proposal":19*).

Though taxes, particularly Blackfeet tribal taxes, receive strong attention, ESTA's agenda extends into virtually every area of tribal exercise of governmental power. ESTA's intention is either to curb or completely eliminate Blackfeet tribal governmental powers as they may affect non-Indians on and near the Blackfeet reservation.

Though Ralph Johnson is ESTA's President, Lee Jacobsen is the most prominent spokesperson and liaison to other organizations. She served as the ESTA link to PARR. And in 1988 Jacobsen became a Board of Directors member and advisor for S/SPAWN's non-profit variation, **Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Net-**

work. After **Citizens' Equal Rights Alliance** was formed, she became a member of its advisory board. (See page 38)

The least prominent of Montana's three spin-off organizations is the **Citizens Rights Organization** headed by Hale Jeffers of Lodge Grass, Montana. With a membership made up of farmers, ranchers and small businesses on and near the Crow Reservation in Eastern Montana, this group was formed as a reaction to tribal governmental efforts to resume the exercise of taxing and other regulatory powers - particularly in connection with environmental regulations concerning farm chemicals, insecticides and herbicides. (*"Tribal Jurisdiction" PARR ISSUE Fall/Winter 1988: 14*)

All Citizens Equal (ACE), the successor organization to **Montanans Opposed to Discrimination** is the best organized and most active of the three



Montana-based anti-Indian groups. Led by William G. Tripp, David Lister and William (Bill) H. Covey, All Citizens Equal is a group of resident and absentee landowners with fee land on the Flathead Reservation in western Montana.

Claiming 1,000 members including farmers, orchard owners, small business owners, retirees and resort owners, ACE opposes any effort by the Salish and Kootenai Confederated tribal government to exercise powers which may affect non-Indian property owners or "non-Indian recreationists" with interests inside Flathead Reservation boundaries. Particular emphasis of the group is placed on opposition to the

tribally enacted *Acquatic Lands Conservation Ordinance*, the question of control over the Flathead Irrigation Project that serves farmers on and off the reservation, and the tribal hunting and fishing *Ordinance 44D* which limits non-Indian access to those activities on the reservation. (*"Tribal Jurisdiction"* PARR ISSUE Fall/Winter 1988: 14)

Viewing themselves as "underdogs in a battle to save their homes and property from the excessive and unconstitutional powers of tribal governments," members of **East Slope Taxpayers Association**, **Citizens Rights Organization** and **All Citizens Equal** often see themselves as the front-line defense. Uncompromising as their positions have been, many of these groups' members see themselves as preserving the U.S. Constitution and their way of life against an "alien influence" - tribal governments. They remain seemingly unaware that tribal peoples consider the presence of non-Indians inside the boundaries of an Indian reservation as a violation of agreements with the United States as much as an intrusion of aliens in their reserved territories. Tribal people see themselves as underdogs too; battling to save their natural environment, homes and livelihood. Both sides regard their economic, political and cultural rights as being under attack. Both see their actions as basically defensive.

This politically charged environment proves to be perfect for the development of confrontational politics, malicious harassment and intimidation as well as bigoted violence. While some of these are manifest from actions by the East Slope Taxpayers' Association and the Citizens Rights Organization, All Citizens Equal exhibits the greatest willingness to engage in more forceful action against Indians. With a history of intimidation (through its precedes-

sor M.O.D.) and an enthusiasm for demonstrative opposition to the Salish and Kootenai Confederated Tribal Council, A.C.E. leaders have been the anti-Indian lightning rod in Montana since the early 1980s.

Limited water resources for meeting the minimum stream flows for river fisheries and irrigating farm lands on and off the Flathead Reservation served as the basis for a conflict between competing tribal and non-tribal interests centering on control over the Flathead Irrigation Project. (*"Montana: Flathead ..."* PARR ISSUE October 1987: 8) With help from Montana's then Democratic Senator John Melcher, the Mission Mountain Electric Cooperative wanted control over the Flathead Irrigation Project as a "consumer-owned rural electric cooperative completely detached from tribal or Bureau of Indian Affairs control." (*"Melcher's move"* RONAN PIONEER, September 24, 1986) The Salish and Kootenai Confederated Tribal government wanted jurisdictional control over the Irrigation Project too, but as a public utility.

While controversy raged over the questions of water levies and who will control the Flathead Irrigation Project, another controversy between Salish and Kootenai Confederated government and non-Indian property owners: Hunting and Fishing regulation inside the Flathead Reservation. Montana's Governor and tribal officials had in 1987 agreed to negotiate an arrangement that would avoid tribal and state conflicts over the Tribes' 44D ordinance on hunting and fishing regulation.

Efforts to negotiate a mutually acceptable solution to what was considered a cross-jurisdictional conflict were frequently defeated by non-Indian opponents. Efforts to reach an agreement still continued. Bill Covey,

an All Citizens Equal board member, said that an agreement finally worked out between the state and the Confederated Tribes was wrong "because it would set a precedent in allowing tribal government to set rules for non-tribal members." (*"Crowd criticizes ... RONAN PIONEER, September 29, 1988.*) All Citizens Equal opposition to tribal governmental authority has remained implacable.

In this climate of distrust and painful economic conditions, ACE's opposition to tribal government fell victim to charges of racism. The debate that has raged during the many conflicts caused Mary Herak of Charlo, Montana to observe:

I respect that the people in ACE have the courage to take a stand. * * * I do believe a lot of racist thinking and behavior goes on here (on the Flathead Reservation) more out of lack of information, confusion, and fear of loss, than out of evil intent. (Herak, Mission Valley News, July 28, 1988)

While it is certain that much of the ACE connected anti-Indian activity grew from fear of loss and lack of information, some anti-Indian activity on and near the Flathead Reservation came from white supremacist motivated members of ACE. (See **RIGHTWING CONNECTIONS** at page 44) White supremacist literature was passed out at ACE meetings, but as soon as these

Tribal people see themselves as underdogs too; battling to save their natural environment, homes and livelihood. Both sides regard their economic, political and cultural rights as being under attack.

activities became public, ACE leader Bill Covey disavowed the neo-Nazi activity. In just this political climate, Bill Covey rose from his role in ACE to the heady role of President of **Citizen's Equal Rights Alliance**.

Montana's organizations attached themselves to ICERR, S/SPAWN and PARR. PARR would continue to function as an organizational focus for anti-Indian efforts in Wisconsin and Northern Michigan. Its dual personality -

militant racism verses peaceful and lawful change - would continue to plague its efforts. As had happened in the state of Washington, the anti-Indian organization attempting to overturn Indian rights and undermine Indian governments would become a magnet for racists and rightwing extremists along with the non-ideological farmers, business people, and other ordinary people. Militant racism would frequently win in Wisconsin's non-Indian confronta-

tions with Chippewas.

Washington-based anti-Indian groups had been muted by strong tribal state efforts to resolve disputes through negotiations. A new approach was needed. While PARR had apparently consolidated the Anti-Indian Movement, the tide of confrontation and militant racism quickly undermined PARR's role as a national organization. Creation of yet another "national organization" was inevitable.



From Property to the Constitution

Move to the Right, the Mainstream and the Courts

The newly formed **Citizens Equal Rights Alliance** (CERA) constituted a different organizational approach for the Anti-Indian Movement. At least the organizational method had not been used since the founding of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities. Instead of attempting to pull together large numbers of individual members who were virtually uncontrollable, CERA would be an organization of disciplined organizational leaders. It would claim to represent 450,000 people in the United States, but owe no direct responsibility to these people. As an alliance of citizens advocating equal rights, CERA could emphasize broader issues of concern to non-Indians living on and near Indian reservations.

CERA had a new message too. Unlike S/SPAWN and PARR with their concerns attached to fishing and natu-

ral resources, CERA could focus on those issues and many others within the lofty environment of legal debates over state, federal and tribal jurisdiction.

CERA would "promote the return of democratic principles and equal rights for all citizens, tribal and non-tribal, impacted by Federal Indian policy and court interpretations." (*Convention attendance below expected, ...* PARR ISSUE. Vol 2, Issue 2.) Now the Anti-Indian Movement would present itself as the protector of Indians as well as non-Indians. The system and tribal sovereignty would be the enemy. Echoing right-wing claims that it is the "federal government that creates the problems," CERA would now turn the Movement more seriously toward states rights and county rights policies.

Thanks to PARR's consolidation role CERA became, for the moment, the organization that the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Re-

sponsibilities tried to be in the 1970's. Headed by former U.S. Forestry employee and Flathead Reservation property owner William H. Covey, Citizens Equal Rights Alliance was incorporated in Montana. In an effort to demonstrate its "national appeal," CERA's Executive Board included ten persons from eight different states.

William H. Covey - President Big Arm, Montana

Background: Former employee of the U.S. Forest Service (ret.), involved with Montanan's Opposed to Discrimination (MOD) which in turn was associated with the formation of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities in the 1970's, former head of anti-Indian group, All Citizens Equal (Montana), and in 1990 an elected County Supervisor. Covey's has property on the Flathead Reservation, the reserved

territory of the Salish and Kootenai nations.

**James L. Mitchell - Vice President
Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico**

Background: Head of the Jemez Water Users' Association, but his association with this group is rarely mentioned in connection with his anti-Indian work. He closely associates with PARR's activities in the Great Lakes. He is occasionally mentioned by anti-Indian organizers in the state of Washington when they need to demonstrate popular support outside of Washington. He is concerned with the Sandia Pueblo and the Navajo.

**Gene Covey - Secretary/Treasurer
Big Arm, Montana**

Background: William H. Covey's relative.

**Neil B. Crist - member Bountiful,
Utah**

Background: Brother of anti-Indian militant Dean Crist of Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc., Minocqua, Wisconsin. Neil's presence on the Executive Board appears solly connected with his geographic location.

**Sam E. Davis - member Parker,
Arizona**

Background: The elected Mayor of Parker, Arizona, Sam Davis became actively involved in the Anti-Indian Movement after the Colorado River Indian Tribes file a law suit in 1983 to stop city enforcement of city building codes on tribally held lots in the city of Parker (a town entirely inside the boundaries of the Colorado River Reservation. In February of 1989, U.S. District Judge Roger Strand decided in favor of the Colorado

River Indian Tribes - ruling that the City of Parker is inside "Indian Country" and, therefore, a part of the Colorado River Reservation. In 1987, Parker police fatally shot two Indians in separate incidents; tribal police began following the city officers, and the city police chief described the situation as explosive. (*"Tribes, Townsfolk Spar Over Authority," Journal-American, May 21, 1989 reprinted in S/SPAWN, Volume 2, Number 2. Summer 1989 page 8.*) Davis was an active supporter of PARR and maintained closed ties with S/SPAWN.

**Wisner Kinne - member Ovid,
New York**

Background: A member of the New York State Conservation Council which is connected with both PARR in Wisconsin and Totally Equal Americans (TEA) in Minnesota. Members of Kinne's organization include fee land owners on the Mohawk Reservation, outdoor sportsmen, locally elected officials and business people. The organizational is connected with the National Wildlife Federation in Washington, D.C. Harold Pratz, of the New York State Conservation Council initially agreed to serve on the CERA board. Pratz had been the primary anti-Indian activist connection with PARR, TEA, the ICERR and S/SPAWN.

**Verna Lawrence - member Sault
Sainte Marie, Michigan**

Background: A Chippewa who presents herself as a "non-tribal Indian, Ms. Lawrence is a City Commissioner for the Upper Michigan Peninsular town of Sault St. Marie. An openly racist spokesperson for the anti-Indian move-

ment who claims that treaties between Chippewas and the United States are invalid because they were made "with and for full-blood Indians ONLY." (Lawrence 1984:2) "Today, governments are dealing with dilute bloods," according to this expert whose pearls of wisdom have fed the anti-Indian movement's rhetoric since the early 1980's.

**Wallace Pheiffer - member Wau-
bun, Minnesota**

Background: Head of the White Earth Equal Rights Committee located on the White Earth Reservation - a part of Chippewa territory in northwest Minnesota. Pheiffer's organization claims to represent resort owners, farmers, business people, property owners and outdoor sportsmen on and near the White Earth Reservation. Associated with Totally Equal Americans (TEA), PARR and a correspondent with the ICERR, Pheiffer's organization has been primarily concerned with the result of a federal court ruling that concluded that thousands of acres of Chippewa land had been illegally confiscated as a result of state and county tax foreclosures. The court said the Chippewas are entitled to the return of the land. Some of the land (10,000 acres) has been used by the state of Minnesota for parks and recreational purposes. Non-Indians were illegally sold thousands of acres of Chippewa land. Now many of these property owners, the state and county must either return the land, or Chippewas are being encouraged to either pursue their claims through the court or accept compensation from the Federal Government. The Chippewas want their land back, and the property own-

ers consider the problem an unfair burden on them. The United Townships Association, also on the White Earth Reservation, is an organization of 23 township governments which oppose the White Earth Tribal Council's adoption and enforcement of laws relating to fishing and natural resource preservation on grounds that they are not participants in the Tribal Council. Both organizations maintain close ties to PARR and TEA.

Jay M. Sandstrom - member New Town, North Dakota

Background: Head of the North Dakota Committee for Equality which has maintained its association with TEA and PARR since 1984. Sandstrom's organization includes a membership of farmers, business owners, teachers and fee land owners who live on or near the Fort Berthold Reservation which is the reserved territory of the Manadan, Hidatsa and Arikara Tribes. The 10 member tribal council modified the Reservation Constitution eliminating restrictions on tribal civil jurisdiction which formerly applied only to enrolled members. A large number of non-Indians purchased as much as 563,023 acres of the 980,000 Reservation.

Mike Van Der Wagen - member Gallup, New Mexico

Background: Little is known of this member and his organization called American Citizens Together Association (ACTA).

Though some CERA Executive Board members are not noted for their visible participation in the Anti-Indian Movement, several of the Advisory Board members are. Most notable of

these is Betty Morris.

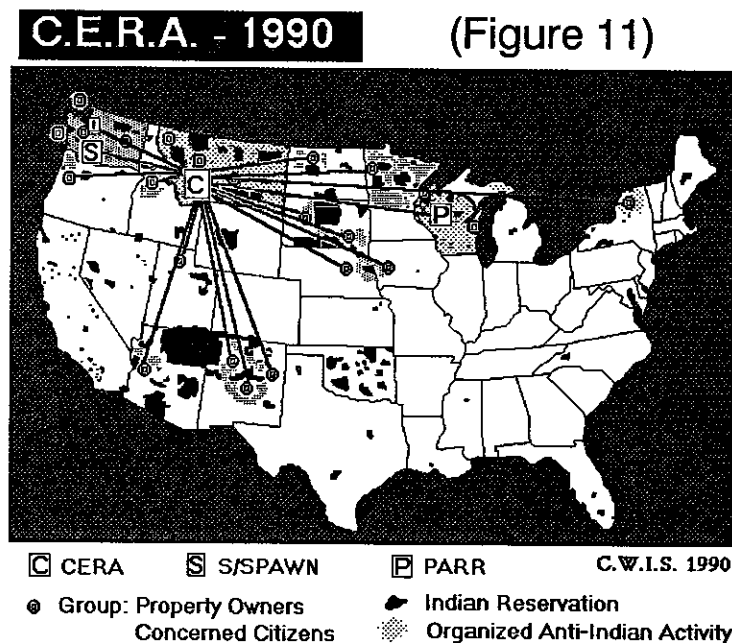
Ms. Morris has maintained an active role in virtually every anti-Indian organization since the founding of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities (1976). A member of the Quinault Property Owner's Association, ICERR, S/SPAWN, adviser to Totally Equal Americans (TEA), assistant to the Association of Property Owners and Residents of the Port Madison Area (APORMA), advocate and spokesperson for PARR and now a member of Citizens Equal Rights Alliance Advisory Board. Ms. Morris's long and varied career in the Anti-Indian Movement can be characterized as nothing short of impressive.

Ms. Morris is joined on the CERA Advisory Board by Wisconsin's Dean Crist, **Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc;** Larry Peterson, **Protect Americans' Rights & Resources;** Verna Lawrence and C.J. "Bud" Korger, **Salmon Unlimited.** Valerie J. Shahan of the Lummi Property Owners Association, Washington is a newcomer to the Anti-Indian Movement as is Steve Green of the Cheyenne River Landowners Associa-

tion, South Dakota - both sit on CERA's Advisory Board. Lee Jacobsen of East Slope Tax Association in Montana rounds out the key players. The remaining Advisory Board members reflect the makeup of PARR's "friendship list," and the association lists of TEA and ICERR.

Only four of the ten Executive Board members could actually say they represent a group or organization. The remaining six clearly represent themselves and their connections with other parts of the Movement. The Executive Board's makeup seemed to confirm the elitist, non-representative intentions of this new organization. The participation of three elected officials on the Board (Mr. Covey, Mr. Davis and Ms. Lawrence) also suggested an effort to lend popular credibility to the organization.

With the formation of CERA, the Anti-Indian Movement began to achieve an entirely new level of sophistication. (Figure 11) In many ways this new organization would more effectively challenge Indian rights, undermine Indian governments and advance the right-wing agenda than any earlier effort.



Like its organizational predecessors, however, CERA would look for its visibility in a federal court action involving an Indian Tribe.

The Yakima Zoning Case

The U.S. Supreme Court had agreed to review the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court's decision recognizing the Yakima Indian Nation's right to zone private lands and determine landuses within the Yakima Reservation. Originally filed in 1983, this case concerned the Yakima Nation's challenge of Yakima County's claim to zoning authority inside the boundaries of the Yakima Reservation. Yakima County appealed the Ninth U.S. Circuit Court's decision to the U.S. Supreme Court.

In a July 13, 1988 news release CERA's President, William H. Covey said, "CERA does not advocate repeated litigation, it does support the rare legal case that appears to further our objectives." Demonstrating the looseness with which CERA intended to protect Indian Rights, Covey announced:

This case, given a favorable decision, would help tens of thousand (sic) of non-tribal citizens. It would "break the back" of tribal jurisdiction over private land and private landowners' activities within reservations across the country.

If a decision is made in favor of Yakima County, the dark cloud of jurisdiction by tribal governments, including taxation of non-tribal lands and citizens, will be lifted.

The case has a direct bearing on all Indian reservations across the United States. A favorable decision would prevent the tribes from having land zoning and land use

jurisdiction over private lands. ("Indian jurisdiction challenged by CERA," *EXPRESS*. July 20, 1988)

CERA filed a "friend of the court" brief in its own name and the name of each organization on its advisory board. The U.S. Supreme Court issued its decision on the Yakima zoning case in June 29, 1989. After a vote of 6 to 3, the majority opinion written by Chief Justice William Rehnquist concluded:

Any regulatory power the Tribe might have under its treaty with the United States cannot apply to lands held in fee by non-Indians.

... unlikely that Congress intended to subject non-Indian purchasers to tribal jurisdiction when an avowed purpose of the allotment policy was to destroy tribal government.

Nor does the Tribe derive authority from its inherent sovereignty to impose its zoning ordinance on petitioners' lands. Such sovereignty generally extends only to what is necessary to protect tribal self-government or to control internal relations, and is divested to the extent it is inconsistent with a tribe's

federated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation et al. June 29, 1989:II-III)

Hailing the Supreme Court's decision, S/SPAWN's Executive Director claimed (erroneously) "that a tribe's sovereignty is stripped away" resulting in a "resounding victory for private property rights." (*Lindsay, The Oregonian, October 24, 1989*) Though tribal sovereignty had not been "stripped away" by the Court's action, the ruling did tend to reinforce the Anti-Indian Movement's racial arguments against tribal jurisdiction over all people living inside the boundaries of a reservation. Chief Justice Rehnquist borrowed liberally from the CERA brief to make his arguments for the majority of the court.

Moreover, it is unlikely that Congress intended to give the Tribe the power to determine the character of an area that is predominantly owned and populated by nonmembers, who represent 80% of the population yet lack a voice in tribal governance. (*Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation et al. June 29, 1989:V*)

Arguing for the minority position, Justice Blackman contended, "that an Indian tribe's power to zone reservation lands, once it chooses to exercise that power, is exclusive. Thus, the county lacks authority to zone the Yakima Nation's reservation lands, including fee lands, in both the open and closed areas. (*Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation et al. June 29, 1989:V*)

Rejecting that argument and ignoring its own precedents, the U.S. Supreme Court effectively endorsed state and county *defacto* annexation of tribal territories. The sole determin-

**C.E.R.A.
1988
Big Arm, MT**

dependent status - i.e. to the extent it involves the tribe's external relations with nonmembers - unless there has been an express congressional delegation of tribal power to the contrary. (*Brendale v. Con-*

ing factor allowing *de facto* annexation would be the race of non-Indian property owners and the extent of their penetration into tribal territory. As if to affirm the correctness of this unmistakably racist decision, Justice Rehnquist went on to say that displacement of Indians inside their own territories, and the subversion of tribal governmental authority was consistent with the intent of the United States Congress.

Noting that the Congress had enacted the **General Allotment Act of 1887** for the purpose of removing Indians from their territories and transferring tribal lands to non-Indian United States citizens, Justice Rehnquist asserted that the "purpose of the allotment policy was to destroy tribal government." This, he suggested, remained the unaltered modern policy of the United States government. (*Brendale vs. Confederated Tribes and bands of the Yakima Indian Nation, et al June 29, 1989*)

"That decision put the brakes on countless tribal government aspirations for more jurisdiction over fee lands and non-members within reservations," wrote William Covey in CERA's newsletter. (*CERA NEWS, January 1990*)

The "Sensitive Understanding and Compassionate" Strategy: the hidden agenda

Flush with the first public success since the 1984 Washington state voter endorsement of Initiative 456, Covey and his associates traveled three times in 1989 to Washington, D.C. to meet members of the U.S. Congress to make "lawmakers aware of CERA objectives." CERA carried its message to Congressmen saying that solutions to problems with Indian tribes does "not require abrogation of treaties or abolishment of reservations," but that Congressional

action is essential. Congressmen were warned that "fallout from the lack of action by Congress is more divisiveness and more social and economic problems."

Putting the polish on persuasion, CERA would tell Congressmen that "Tribal leaders go over the edge into illegal and unacceptable activities adversely affecting many non-tribal members and tribal members." (*CERA NEWS, January 1990*) Instead of the Anti-Indian Movement's 1970's "underdog strategy," CERA would spearhead the "sensitive understanding and compassionate action strategy" into the 1990's. Protecting Indians and non-Indians against *evil* tribal governments and "misguided federal government actions" would now serve as the hallmark of the same people who promoted racial attacks on Indians in the Great Lakes Region, invoked racist imagery during the Initiative 456 campaign and the sale of "Treaty Beer" in both Washington and Wisconsin, and pressed for the violation of Indian treaties by U.S. citizens.

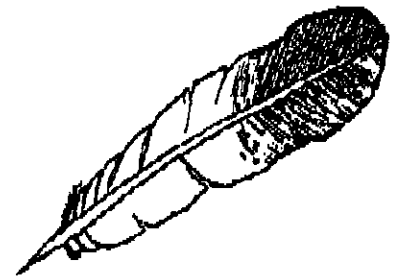
With its populist "kinder and gentler" theme originally tested by the S/SPAWN Initiative 456 campaign in 1984, and then again by PARR in 1987, the Citizens' Equal Rights Alliance found a mainstream political niche. Appealing to U.S. Constitutional interests and populist "us against them" themes, CERA was positioned to engage in government policy.

Forming new Alliances

With elected officials on the CERA Board, new efforts to form alliances with elected officials became possible. The most accessible connection would be through the Wisconsin Counties Association (WCA) - guided by its Executive Director Mark Rogacki.

In 1986, Rogacki had originally

expressed a willingness to work with tribal leaders in Wisconsin to resolve tribal and county disputes. WCA and Wisconsin tribal officials formed a ten member Tribal/County Committee "working together, forming a 'coalition for mutual benefit.'" Saying that he and the Wisconsin Counties Association "sought avenues to increase communication, develop better understanding, establish mutual respect" Rogacki advised tribal officials that the WCA "does not support abrogation of treaties." (*"County/Tribal Relations," MASINAIGAN, November 1986*) Some tribal leaders expressed confidence and satisfaction in the Wisconsin Counties



Association at the time.

Within three years, Rogacki betrayed his commitments to Wisconsin's tribal officials and moved the Wisconsin Counties Association toward hostility and finally open battle with Wisconsin's Indian tribes. Rogacki's transformation from a public official interested in county/tribal cooperation to a vigorous political activist willing to lead the opposition to Indian tribes seems to correspond to PARR's opposition to tribal/state cooperation and CERA's emergence.

CERA continued the bonding of the Anti-Indian Movement with right-wing networks - especially right-wing elements connected with Sun Myun Moon's well financed Unification

Church. Connections between the Citizens' Equal Rights Alliance and Moon's lavishly funded Far Right organization tightened the circle of cooperation between the Anti-Indian Movement and the racial bigots of the Far Right. In the five years between 1983 and 1988, elements of the Far Right succeeded in becoming a common part of the Anti-Indian Movement. [SEE Right-wing Connections on Page 44]

Elected Officials and the Anti-Indian Movement

As early as 1975, many elected municipal, county, state and federal officials aided and abetted the Anti-Indian Movement. Some officials with conflicting economic or political interests aided the Movement in their capacities as elected officials attempting to institute racial, political and economic bias against Indian people through laws and regulations. (In this category we would include former Washington state Congressmen Lloyd Meeds, Don Bonker, and Jack Cunningham, Former Washington state Governor Dixy Lee Ray, and Former Washington state Attorney General - now U.S. Senator Slade Gorton. Congressman Sensenbrenner of Wisconsin also falls into this cate-



gory.)

Other non-Indian elected officials became more directly involved in the Anti-Indian Movement through direct participation in Anti-Indian organizations. (This category includes present and former Washington state Repre-

sentatives and Senators Jack Metcalf, Slim Rasmussen, Sam Guess, Fiske, Craswell, Addison, Betzoff, Patrick, Moore, Haugen, Sanders, Tanner, Vognild, Williams, Woody, Fuller, Van Luben, and Zellinsky; former Skagit County Commissioner, Bud Norris.) Elected officials rarely admit formal connections to anti-Indian organizations.

In many instances, those who either engaged in anti-Indian political activity or directly associated with anti-Indian groups lost popular support, often they either resigned or lost their elective seat. The fact that some elected officials remain formally associated with anti-Indian groups, and in the case of CERA provide public leadership for an anti-Indian group gives strong testimony that in some counties, legislative districts and even Congressional districts, populist anti-Indian sentiments have a constituency.

Toward a National Anti-Indian Lobby

While some efforts had been launched by anti-Indian elected officials in the Association of Attorneys' General and the National Association of Counties in the 1980's to gain those organizations' endorsement of anti-Indian policies, neither supported such policies. While many anti-Indian (treaty abrogation, resource denial, etc) laws in the 1970's and 1980's were introduced by various Congressmen, none were adopted into law.

Of all the public initiatives adopted by states' voters, only one anti-Indian initiative, Initiative 456, received a slim majority vote in the twenty-two years from 1968 - 1990. Clearly, efforts to institute anti-Indian public policy in counties, states and the U.S. Congress have met with very limited success. While this is not to say that all legislation

concerning Indians has been good - this would clearly be an inaccurate conclusion - we can conclude that bigoted legislation has not generally been successful.

Once Wisconsin Counties Association Executive Director Mark Rogacki expressed confidence in the potential for cooperation between county and tribal government. By 1989, Rogacki was leading his organization in an effort to form another "national organization" within the Anti-Indian Movement. Rogacki became the leading advocate in 1990 for the formation of the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy (NCFIP) - a coalition of elected officials seeking the abrogation of treaties between the United States and Indian nations.

Fourteen years after non-Indian property owners with land on the Quinalt, Lummi and Suquamish reservations met with like minded people to form the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities in Salt Lake City, fewer than twenty representatives of county governments met in Salt Lake City to form the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy.

Wisconsin Counties Association President Kieth Ferris convened the "informational/organizational meeting" at 1:30 pm. The meeting began under a cloud of controversy. County Association officials around the country expressed concern (*Metcalf, November 21, 1989*) and Utah Governor Norm Bangerter condemned the meeting ("*Treaty meeting put off-limits,*" *THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, January 12, 1990*).

In his invitation to county officials to attend the conference, Rokaki implied that the National Council of County Association Executives had agreed during a recent meeting in Miami, Florida that county officials were authorized to "organize a national coali-

tion of state associations for the purpose of modernizing Indian treaties and/or resolving outstanding treaty problems." (Rogaki, Memorandum, November 17, 1989)

After expressing his concerns about the approaching conference, Washington State Association of Counties Executive Director James Metcalf cast doubt on Rogaki's assertion that the "Coalition meeting" had the official endorsement of the National Council. Metcalf adamantly advised Rogaki of his view that there was no "position or concurrence on this proposal (for creation of a national coalition) by the NCCAE at the Miami meeting by the entire group." (Metcalf, November 21, 1989)

Undeterred by official condemnations and expressions of concern, Rogaki's conference attracted some county officials from Idaho, Wisconsin, and South Dakota and observers from several other states.

In addition to the few county offi-

cials, Rogaki invited some experts and at least two representatives of anti-Indian organizations. Prominent among conference participants was S/SPAWN Executive Director Barbara Lindsay, who said she represented King County Councilman Kent Pullen from Washington state. Ms. Lindsay was among the most outspoken participants in the conference. (Thompson, Richard. Report, January 22, 1990)

The Citizens' Equal Rights Alliance newsletter in November 1990, urged county officials across the U.S. to join Rogaki's National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy since "it is working toward the same goals that CERA is." (Metz, MASINAIGAN, December 1990: page 2.) Operating on both center stage and off stage, S/SPAWN and CERA actively encouraged and assisted in the formation of the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy despite its repudiation by county and other elected officials.

Six months after its founding meet-

ing in Salt Lake City, and after the angry withdrawal of "several Wisconsin counties" from the Wisconsin Counties Association, Rogaki called another meeting of the Coalition in June. Six elected county officials (all from Wisconsin) reportedly attended this second meeting. "Three or four other attendees were 'designees' of their county board supervisor." (Metz, MASINAIGAN, December 1990)

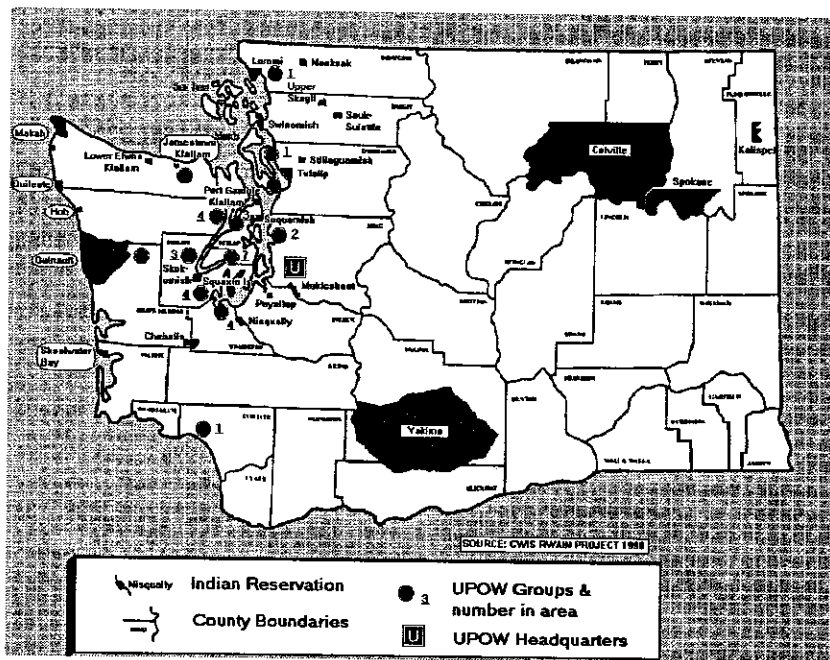
Clearly, if the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy was intended as a forum for elected officials to oppose Indian rights, it failed from the outset. The National Coalition ended up being little more than a masquerade for a few anti-Indian county officials and a failed effort by the Anti-Indian Movement to create an illusion of government sanction of the Movement's racially motivated ideas. A year after its founding, the elected officials' coalition could claim to be little more than a distraction among clear-thinking public officials.

S/SPAWN Gone, UPOW On

Within months after masquerading as a county official at the first meeting of the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy, anti-Indian activist Barbara Lindsay switched from being S/SPAWN's Executive Director to becoming the director of a new organization: **United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW)**. (Figure 12) The organization that was at once a political machine pushing an anti-Indian public initiative, and then an organization transformed into a non-profit, anti-Indian education organization. S/SPAWN died - or so it seemed.

From a clumsy birth in early 1983 to its apparent death in 1990, S/SPAWN had become the epitome of anti-Indian organizations. It had included genuinely concerned, non-ideological

United Property Owners of Washington 1991 (Figure 12)



members, supporters from the right-wing, populists, militant racists and bigots as well as connections in the Republican Party and the offices of selected elected officials. Though it started as an organization of fishermen angered by the outcome of a federal court decision, it became a well organized leader in the Anti-Indian Movement capable of influencing the policies of other groups in Wisconsin, Minnesota, South Dakota and Montana.

True to its actual origins, how-



ever, S/SPAWN always had its heart with the non-Indian property owners who objected to tribal governments exercising governmental powers over "white people" within reservation boundaries. It was to its origins in the spirit of the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities and the property owners' associations that it returned. In the final months of 1989 and the early 1990, S/SPAWN was quietly transformed into the **United Property Owners of Washington** with virtually all of its leadership and connections intact.

As before, *Quinault Property Owners Association* head George Garland, Pierce Davis of the property owners group on the Suquamish reservation (APORPMA), the *Lummi Property Owners Association* and veteran anti-Indian organizer Betty Morris of the *Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities* showed up as either UPOW Board members or as heads of member organizations. Along with the regular anti-Indian activists who made S/SPAWN, the United Property Owners of Washington included more veterans including Carol Lewis (Washington Sports Council and formerly

one of the original Co-Chairmen of S/SPAWN), May Davis (Association of Property Owners and Residents of Port Madison Area and member of ICERR in addition to serving as the Volunteer Coordinator for S/SPAWN), Fairalee Markusen (S/SPAWN Board of Directors), Doug Olson (Former S/SPAWN Chairman and member of the Board of Directors), Senator Jack Metcalf (Former S/SPAWN endorser, S/SPAWN Advisory Board, and one connection for the Anti-Indian Movement to extreme right-wing organizations), and of course Executive Director Barbara Lindsay.

Of the eleven UPOW leadership positions, eight are simply cross-overs from the S/SPAWN organization leadership. UPOW's Chairman, Alan Montgomery, is a "Seattle lawyer and estate planner" who has a summer home in Quilcene, a small community west of Seattle, on the Olympic Peninsula. (*Sunde, SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER, December 26, 1990*) Of the 39 "member organizations," three are property owners associations, and the remaining 36 are an assortment of community clubs, associations, improvement associations and a few corporations that have an interest in Puget Sound beaches.

The organizational core of UPOW



originates with S/SPAWN and the Anti-Indian Movement. Wrapped around the core is an uninitiated collection of ordinary people who mostly own summer homes on and near beaches. Anti-Indian organizers pulled together the list of "ordinary people" to legitimize yet another confrontation with Indian tribes.

The Shellfish Tactic

UPOW organizers excited support for its banner by distorting the implications of a lawsuit filed by 16 tribes in May 1989 to define their rights to harvest shellfish outside reservations. In the wake of the Federal Court's "Boldt Decision," the issue of shellfish harvesting was left for "later consideration." The time for decision had come in May 1989.

UPOW's Executive Director Barbara Lindsay, Chairman Alan Montgomery, and Board members Pierce Davis and George Garland signed a letter to "tideland property owners" attempting to encourage fear and hysteria about this decision by giving an interpretation of the outcome of the pending case, long before Federal Judge Robert Coyle is prepared to issue a ruling. "Tribes are seeking 'access' to these tidelands. This most likely includes the right to cross private waterfront uplands to get to the beach," the letter said. (*"Dear Tideland Property Owner", UPOW, circa June 1990*) Supplemented with an appeal for money to raise \$135,000 to support legal intervention in the shellfish case, the UPOW letter urged tideland property owners and "upland owners" to provide money for "lobbying the federal government."

Behind the Slogans, a new public deception

Hardcore anti-Indian activists are at the organizational center of the United Property Owners of Washington group. The same bigotry, factual distortions and organizational methods used by the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, S/SPAWN, PARR, and CERA permeate UPOW. The eight key organizers central to UPOW's existence are the same as those

who led anti-Indian efforts in the state of Washington throughout the 1970's and 1980's. In an effort to deceive the public press and persons being asked to contribute money to UPOW, Chairman Alan Montgomery and Executive

Director Barbara Lindsay simply deny any connection between UPOW and S/SPAWN, Initiative 456 or any other anti-Indian activity. (*Sunde, SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER, December 26, 1990*) The reality, of course, is that

the Lindsay, Garland, Morris, Davis, Lewis, Metcalf circle of anti-Indian and rightwing organizers continue efforts to poison non-Indian attitudes toward Indian people.

ARYAN



NATIONS

Right-Wing Connections Toward a "White Christian Republic"

The Steelhead and Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now (S/SPAWN) sponsored Initiative 456 performed the vital role of further consolidating the anti-Indian movement (particularly in the states of Washington, Montana, Wisconsin, Minnesota and New Mexico). It also opened the door to establishing covert and long-term ties between the Anti-Indian Movement and extreme rightwing organizers and organizations.

Individual champions of extreme right-wing causes like Washington's state Senator Jack Metcalf, former state Senator Michael Patrick and Allan Gottlieb, rightwing fundraiser and leader of the **Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms**, were early participants in the Anti-Indian Movement. Through them, the Anti-Indian Movement established ties with the rightwing and militantly bigoted **Populist Party**, other persons connected with the racially and religiously bigoted **Christian Patriot** and **Christian Identity** movements, and the extreme rightwing **Unification Church** led by Korean minister Sun Myun Moon.

Lured by the accumulating non-Indian distress on and near Indian Reservations advocates of rightwing politics began to move into the Anti-Indian Movement. Rightwing opera-

tives interested in the "tri-partisan approach" (a strategy by some rightwing organizers to establish mainstream legitimacy in the Republican and Democratic parties in addition to the Populist Party) were particularly interested in the Anti-Indian Movement because of its early close ties to the Republican Party. The potential for increasing con-



trol over tribal land and natural resources by the "white race" also attracted the more militantly bigoted. These persons associated with the Christian Identity Church and other neo-Nazi groups. The more militantly bigoted individuals and groups chose direct confrontation with Indians using hate mail, harassment, vandalism and violence to instill fear and instability in Indian communities.

S/SPAWN's campaign to seek passage of Initiative 456 into law in Washington State was the anti-Indian Movement's main focus in the middle 1980's. The campaign concentrated

money and political muscle in just a few hands - and that fact helped change the movement more. These were two conditions conducive to the systematic emergence of right-wing extremists in the Anti-Indian Movement.

The Populist Party of the Right

A key leader in the S/SPAWN Initiative campaign was Washington state Senator Jack Metcalf. No ordinary conservative Republican State Senator, Jack Metcalf is many things more. While he was developing a public initiative seeking abrogation of Indian treaties, *The Spotlight* (an extreme rightwing publication) announced in its July 23, 1984 issue that Senator Metcalf was scheduled to speak at a Washington Populist Party Convention. By that date, the Populist Party had been taken over by Mississippi Ku Klux Klansman Robert Weems and assorted other members of neo-Nazi groups, Posse Comitatus, Christian Patriots, National States Rights Party leaders and other right-wing extremists. (*Ballot-Box Bigotry, CDR, 1989*) Metcalf's published connection to the Populist Party was revealed in the same year that the Party published its political platform. The planks which most clearly reflected the racist views of party members, and similarly held Anti-Indian sentiments

concerned racial and cultural diversity, and immigration:

CULTURE: "RESPECT RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY. Every race has both the right and duty to pursue its destiny free from interference by another race. The Populist Party opposes slavery, imperialist exploitation, social programs which would radically modify another race's behavior, demands by one race for another to subsidize it financially or politically as long as it remains on American soil, forced segregation or integration. The Populist Party will not permit any racial minority, through control of the media, culture distortion or revolutionary political activity, to divide or factionalize the majority of the society-nation in which the minority lives."

"REPULSE IMMIGRATION. Repeal the Third-World-oriented immigration law of 1965 and replace it with one which works to preserve America's cultural heritage in the face of a population explosion among backward peoples and a no-population growth among the founding stock of the nation. At present there are an estimated 15 million illegal aliens in our midst. They should be found and deported. Our borders must be sealed off from this traffic at all cost or the country will be destroyed from within after it has first been bankrupted." (*"Power to the People"; The Populist Party of the United States Platform, April, 1984.*)

While depicting the Populist Party as respectful of cultural and racial diversity, the platform clearly asserts "white supremacy," opposes affirmative action programs, seeks to margi-

nalize people of color, and threatens Jews. This interpretation of the "cultural and racial diversity" plank is confirmed in the next plank on immigration. It is here that one sees clearly that the Populist Party in 1984 was committed to "America's cultural heritage" and the purity of "the founding stock of the nation" - translated as *English-speaking Anglo-Saxon*. Taken together, these two planks reveal an intensely held racist point of view. The language of these planks reflects the usual content of Christian Patriot, Ku Klux Klan, and neo-nazi literature.

Reverend Bob Le Roy, pastor of a church on Washington state's Whidbey Island and former chaplain of the militant right-wing group called the Minutemen conducted the Washington State



Populist Party's day-long convention in 1989. When asked about alleged links between the Populists and the Ku Klux Klan, Le Roy said: "We believe in the purity of the white race. Other than that, I don't know of any connection with the KKK." (*Gough, The Seattle Times, July 23, 1989*)

Along with Senator Jack Metcalf, other rightist political figures involved in the Anti-Indian Movement affiliated with the Populist Party. Darlene Hangartner, a member of Protect Americans' Rights and Resources (P.A.R.R.) made a bid for Wisconsin State Attorney General in 1990 with the backing of the Populist Party. She failed to win the seat. (*Thompson, The Daily Press, March 29, 1990*)

Former Idaho Congressman

George Hansen, a frequent opponent of Indian tribes, joined Klan leader (now a Republican Louisiana State legislator) David Duke as a guest speaker at the March 1987 national committee meeting of the Populist Party. Hansen received the Populist Party's presidential nomination in the Fall of 1987. He declined the nomination and then announced his desire to work inside the Republican Party. (*"Background Report on Racist and Far-Right Organizing in the Pacific Northwest," Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989, page 8*) David Duke became the Populist Party's presidential candidate in 1988.

Duke's connections with the Ku Klux Klan followed him throughout his campaign. Failing to win the presidency of the United States, Duke followed Hansen's lead and moved into the Louisiana Republican party. On February 18, 1989 he won a seat in the Louisiana State Legislature using the slogan "Equal Rights for everyone." Like others of the extreme right, Duke converted a liability into an asset by switching to the Republican Party and running for office in a predominantly "white district."

David Duke's February 18 (1989) election victory in New Orleans was the result of a new, carefully considered, sophisticated national strategy by political forces centered around the Liberty Lobby and the Populist Party. These anti-semitic, white supremacist forces are looking for a foothold in the political mainstream for a broad political agenda to turn the United States into a "White Christian Republic." (*"Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party," Center for Democratic Renewal Background Report #7, Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989:1*)

Toward a "White Christian Republic": ROC and the Liberty Lobby

While serving as a leading hero of the Anti-Indian Movement, Senator Metcalf was also a leading spokesperson for an organization called **Redeem Our Country (ROC)** based in Fullerton, California. A Far Right organization dedicated to the elimination of the Federal Reserve System, ROC's leadership is populated with some of the most extreme right-wing advocates in the United States.

Robert M. Bartell, **Liberty Lobby** Chairman; Gerald Unger, Editor of the extremist **National Association to Keep and Bear Arms (NAKBA)**, and Robert White of the **Duck Club** are some of the more notable ROC supporters. (*ROC Letterhead, April, 1985*) The Liberty Lobby is an organization which advocates anti-Semitism, and white supremacy and a broad political agenda to turn the United States into a "White Christian Republic." (*Ballot-Box Bigotry, CDR, 1989:1*)

The **National Association to Keep and Bear Arms** is a Seattle and Des Moines, Washington based group which presents itself as a "hard core" alternative to the right-wing **National Rifle Association**. NAKBA supporters live mainly in Montana (Billings, Polson), Oregon (Medford and Tiller) and Washington (Kent, Colfax, Renton and Issaquah). (*Background Report on Racism ... Pacific Northwest, CDR, 1989:9*)

The **Duck Club** is now mainly a Pacific Northwest operation though its founder is from Florida. The Duck Club advocates anti-communist, and anti-tax, doctrines mixed with anti-Semitism from Seattle, Washington. There are other chapters in Oregon, Colorado, Arizona, Michigan, South Dakota. (*Duck Book Digest, 1983*)

Senator Metcalf's connection with such extremists would not be so significant if he were not considered a leader among equals. In a fund-raising letter to ROC members, the organization's national chairman Jim Townsend wrote: "Senator Metcalf has become a national hero to conservative-minded groups" (*Redeem Our Country, ROC, April 1985*).

Though Metcalf avoids any direct assertions of conspiracy theories, publicly disassociates himself from Nazism and claims he is not anti-Semitic, his activities on behalf of ROC, the Populist Party and other extremist groups would suggest he has at minimum a high tolerance for the radical right. Such tolerance even extends to promoting extreme right-wing groups in his own newsletter:

Metcalf's newsletter, Honest Money For America, promoted a 1986 meeting in Richland, Washington, which featured tax protest leader Peggy Christiansen from Montana, the so-called Christian Patriot publication Justice Times, and the Tri-City Citizens for Constitutional Government. The Tri-City group is widely regarded as a Posse Comitatus-type organization. (CDR opens Seattle office to coordinate Northwest work in THE MONITOR, A Publication of the Center for Democratic Renewal, Nos. 13-14, November 1988)

Metcalf's connections in the upper echelons of right-wing organizations securely linked S/SPAWN to right-wing money and political support in 1984. Senator Metcalf's persistent role in the Anti-Indian Movement began with his loose association with the **Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities**, but it became firmly established when he became an en-

dorser of S/SPAWN. After the Initiative 456 campaign came to a close, Metcalf became a member of the non-profit version of S/SPAWN (renamed for Internal Revenue Service purposes: **Steelhead/Salmon Protective Association and Wildlife Network**) Board of Directors. Finally, Metcalf became a member of **United Property Owners of Washington (UPOW)** after the quiet death of S/SPAWN. Metcalf's influence remains a strong factor in the Anti-Indian Movement.

Patrick, FACTS, and Ducks

S/SPAWN continued its move toward the right aided by former Washington state Senator Mike Patrick. Patrick, like Metcalf, identifies himself as a conservative Republican. Patrick gave his public support and endorsement to S/SPAWN, and consequently brought additional connections from the religious right. (*S/SPAWN Letterhead, September, 1984*) As a member of the **FACTS for Freedom** Board of Advisors, a right-wing group based in Seattle, Patrick was apparently responsible for arranging the participation of FACTS founder and president James C. Galbraith in an August 13, 1984 S/SPAWN fund-raiser in Tacoma, Washington.

A part of the extreme religious-right, Galbraith's organization includes on its Board of Advisors not only Senator Patrick, but also Jeffrey Troutt, former Assistant Director of Paul Wyrick's extreme right-wing **Free Congress**. Also included on the FACTS Board of Advisors are Peter Battjes, Area Manager (northwest) of the **Christian Broadcasting Network** and Gene and Mary Jane Goosman, founders of the Seattle-based **Equal Justice For All**.

The Goosmans' organization is closely associated with the **Duck Club** and W. Cleon Skousen's right-wing

National Center for Constitutional Studies. (*FACTS FOR FREEDOM, Galbraith, 1989*)

Gene Goosman is not only a founder of Equal Justice For All, he is also the editor of *QUACKER*, the Duck Club's newsletter. The Seattle Duck Club's publicly stated purpose is to:

promote strict adherence to the Constitution of the United States; to promote sound economic and fiscal policy by the federal and state government bodies; to critically study, examine, review and evaluate the actions (completed, planned or in process) by organizations, groups, or individuals in the federal and state government which effect the economy and financial status of all its citizens; to disseminate the information derived from such study to the DUCK CLUB membership, to the public, and to the members of the federal and state government by all means possible. (*QUACKER Newsletter, October 1986*)

A right-wing group with membership in Seattle and Sequim (estimated 15 members), Washington; Eau Claire (estimated 24 members), Michigan; Colorado Springs (180 members), Colorado; and Roseburg, Oregon the Duck Club frequently claims the existence of conspiracies that place Americans at a disadvantage. (*Duncan, SEATTLE TIMES, April 20, 1986*) Blaming racial and sexual minorities for disadvantages experienced by "ordinary citizens, the Duck Club usually advocates anti-tax, anti-government and anti-welfare positions.

Gene Goosman is a vigorous spokesman for his own organization as well as the Duck Club. Association with FACTS ensures a link with the religious right which reinforces the racial

and sexual biases advocated in his own group. The Duck Club is intimately connected to Senator Jack Metcalf's *Redeem Our Country* in California.

The National Farm Bureau

S/SPAWN's rightwing leanings also embraced the Washington chapter of the National Farm Bureau. The Farm Bureau is not known as a radical organization, but its own rightwing associations and a nationally sanctioned anti-Indian policy surfaced the Washington chapter as a supporting organization for S/SPAWN. Driving its country-wide opposition to Indian tribes is a national policy adopted in 1985,

We support legislation to establish the rule that all people have equal rights and responsibilities under the law. All citizens should be required to obey the laws of local, state, and national governments. The "nation unto a nation" treatment of native Americans should be abolished. * We favor abolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and termination of special treaty rights by purchase or negotiation for fair compensation. *** These steps will end special treatment of native Americans and bring everyone to full equality under the law. *** We oppose granting the power of eminent domain to Indian tribes.** (*Farm Bureau, 1985 Policy 612*)

From ACE to PACE

Fears that the "white race is becoming a minority in the United States" are behind the Anti-Indian Movement's attacks on Indians as "Super Citizens." Expressions of discontent over perceived "special privileges" granted by the U.S. government to Indian people also re-

flect this fear. The fear of the "white race being overwhelmed" is most pronounced in several large cities where African Americans and other non-white populations have become majorities. The same kind of fear seemingly drives anti-Indian activities on and near Indian Reservations. As a result, increasing numbers of anti-Indian partisans appear to be attracted to the right-wing "Pace Amendment."



Originally released as the *Amendment to the Constitution: Averting the Decline and Fall of America*, under the pseudonym, James O. Pace, the *Pace Amendment* has developed a growing following in the states of Washington, California, Wisconsin and Montana. Fundamentally racist, Pace Amendment advocates are not shy about their fear of non-white peoples as these remarks by an orchardist and 1986 member of the Chelan County Planning Commission in the state of Washington illustrates:

I think we are making a big mistake opening up our doors to all these non-whites, even though they may be fine people If the white race becomes the minority, we won't have a voice in the government we founded. We will become the minority." (*Duncan, Seattle Times, April 24, 1986, page D3.*)

The actual text of the proposed Constitutional amendment clearly specifies "American Indians" and other

persons of "non-European or non-white blood" as being unacceptable as citizens in the United States of America.

No person shall be a citizen of the United States unless he is a non-Hispanic white of the European race, in whom there is no ascertainable trace of Negro blood, nor more than one-eighth Mongolian, Asian, Asia Minor, Middle Eastern, Semitic, Near Eastern, American Indian, Malay or other non-European or non-white blood, provided that Hispanic whites, defined as anyone with an Hispanic ancestor, may be citizens if, in addition to meeting the aforesaid ascertainable trace and percentage tests, they are, in appearance, indistinguishable from Americans whose ancestral home is the British Isles or Northwestern Europe. Only citizens shall have the right and privilege to reside permanently in the United States. (Ludwick, *THE MISSOULIAN*, July 21, 1988)

Organizations not apparently connected to the Pace Amendment effort like **Citizens for Constitutional Government** in Cle Elum, Washington clearly echo its intentions. CCG's head, Rod Strand, overtly stated what many Anti-Indian leaders say in slogans and public deceptions:

"... this country was set up by free, white, Christian people ... and, while I have nothing against blacks and Jews and Asians enjoying the fruits of their labor here, they should not mingle with us or govern us."

* * *

Rod is a racial separatist [He] believes in a special kind of separatism when it comes to laws. All laws on the books, he says, should be applied only to those people

who seek the benefits of the statute. Those who do not wish those benefits should not have to support them with their money. (Duncan, *THE SEATTLE TIMES*, April 23, 1986)

Arch Edwards, spokesman for the **League of Pace Amendment Advocates** and occasional speaker before the **World Aryan Congress** in Hayden Lake, Idaho appeared in Montana to organize support for his efforts from the **European Heritage Society** and the anti-Indian group **All Citizen's Equal** in 1988. Expressing the aspirations of neo-nazi leaders and Christian Patriot organizers, Edwards claimed,

the Northwest provides fertile ground for recruitment. A lot of "white nationalists" are moving to the Northwest because of "the low density of non-whites," he said, calling it the country's "last bastion of white culture." (Ludwick,

THE MISSOULIAN, July 21, 1988)

Associating All Citizens Equal with racism in before the Pace Amendment identified ACE with bigotry. Reacting to Flathead Tribal Council Vice Chairman Ron Therriault's charges of All Citizens Equal racism, ACE member John Monteith wrote:

I take issue with this term being used to describe ACE for the following reason - first, ACE stands for All Citizens Equal and everyone including Indians should follow the same laws and be equal in every way as U.S. Citizens. (Monteith, *MISSION VALLEY NEWS*, December 3, 1987)

The increasingly public debate about racists in ACE's ranks in 1987 and 1988 resulted in the formation of a multi-racial human rights group established in 1989 to monitor racist incidents in the Ronan-Poulson area of the

Multiple Use Strategy Conference

August 1988

Reno, Nevada

(Selected List)

American Freedom Coalition, Washington, D.C. (*)
 Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise, Bellevue, WA (*)
 Citizens Equal Rights Alliance, Big Arm, MT (**)
 Committee to Preserve Property Rights, Cook, WA
 Concerned Citizens for Western Lane County, Florence, OR
 Dupont Company, Agricultural Products Department, Wilmington, DW
 Exxon Company, U.S.A., Denver, CO
 Farm Bureau (California, Nevada, Oregon) (**)
 Louisiana-Pacific Corporation, Calpella, LO (**)
 Mountain States Legal Foundation, Denver, CO. (**)
 National Center for Constitutional Studies, Salt Lake City, UT (*)
 National Inholders Association, Washington, D.C. (**)
 National Rifle Association, Washington, D.C. (*)
 Share the Stein Committee, Vancouver, B.C. (**)

(*) Known right wing connections (**) Known anti-Indian connections

Flathead Reservation. During an October 1989 meeting of the multi-racial human rights group, a number of far-right activists attended with the intention of disrupting the meeting.

Frank Ellena, an unsuccessful candidate for Lake County superintendent is known to have distributed literature from Colorado-based Christian Identity minister Pete Peters. E. Keith Roberts, head of the Ronan Christian Church and formerly of Wyoming joined Ellena to organize in March 1990 a *human rights organization* calculated to undermine the multi-racial human rights group. The Ellena/Roberts group claimed to have 50 members including ACE members Del Palmer and John Monteith. Ace member Gene Covey attended meetings of the Ellena/Roberts

group, but did not formally become a member. Former ACE board member Nilah Miller, known to frequently hand out anti-Semitic literature at meetings, joined the group.

During the early stages of forming the Ellena/Roberts group (December 1989 and later) Palmer and Miller reported that their attempts to pass out white supremacist literature at ACE meetings was not being encouraged. ACE resistance to the distribution of racist literature during its meetings apparently grew in late 1989 and early 1990 as a result of public charges from the multi-racial human rights group. ACE's Bill Covey disavowed any connections between neo-Nazi activities and ACE. ACE members who advocate white supremacy were not specifi-

cally disavowed.

Moon's Unification Church

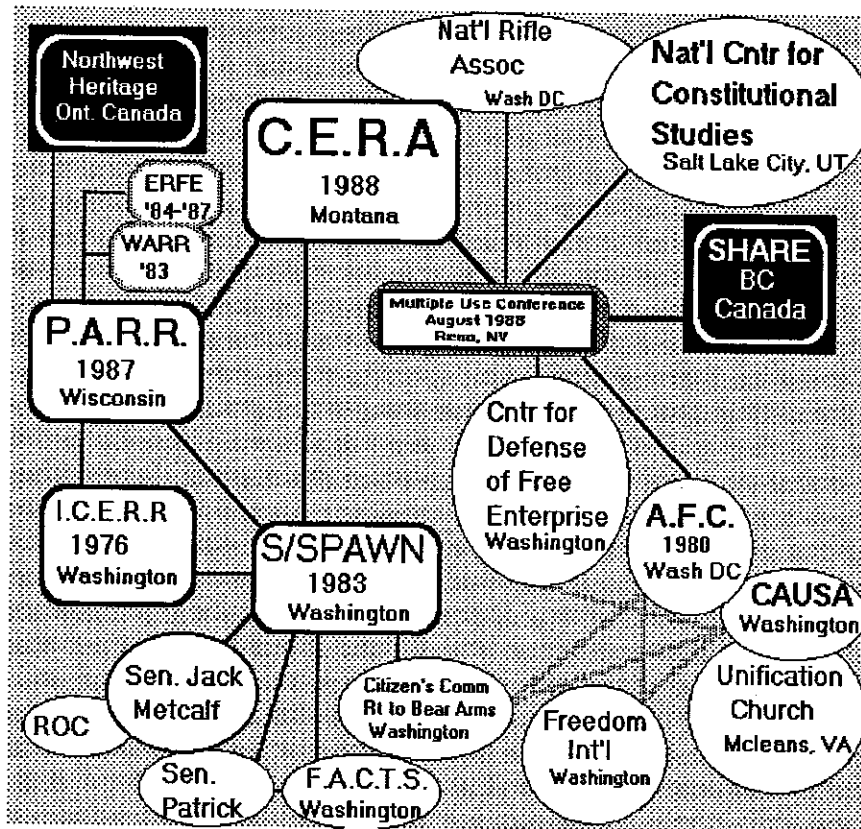
Shortly before October 1983, S/SPAWN acquired the "unlikely support" of the right-wing's principal fundraiser Allan Gottlieb. Through his organization **Citizen's Committee for the Right to Keep and Bear Arms**, Gottlieb quietly began to influence S/SPAWN's political strategy. As a Board of Directors member for the extreme right-wing, Unification Church sponsored, **American Freedom Coalition (A.F.C.)** (formed in 1980) Gottlieb gave S/SPAWN powerful allies. Through the A.F.C. Board, Gottlieb linked the Anti-Indian Movement to Korean minister Sun Myun Moon.

The apparently innocent support given S/SPAWN by Gottlieb eventually connected the Anti-Indian Movement to the **Center for the Defense of Free Enterprise**, headed by Ron Arnold in Bellevue, Washington. Arnold serves on the Speaker's Bureau of the Unification Church sponsored **Confederation of Associations for the Unification of the Societies of the Americas (CAUSA)**, the administrative parent of the American Freedom Coalition. (Figure 13)

Headed by Reverend Sun Myun Moon's chief political advisor, Matthew Morrison from Seattle, CAUSA reportedly received \$1.16 million between 1986 and 1987 from Unification Church International. During this period, CAUSA received no other money from any private source. CAUSA is the channel through which funds pass to support the American Freedom Coalition on whose board sits Alan Gottlieb - S/SPAWN supporter.

Freedom International, an anti-communist and anti-semitic group located in Edmonds, Washington has its executive director, David Montgomery, on the American Freedom Coalition

Anti-Indian/Rightwing Multi-Use Connection - 1988 (Figure 13)



Board of Directors. Montgomery also serves on CAUSA's speaker's bureau.

While representatives of the religious right, and right-wing extremists invisibly nurtured roles in the Anti-Indian Movement, their actual relationship did not become apparent until 1988. At a "multiple-use movement conference" in August in Reno, Nevada, many of the linkages between Anti-Indian activists and right wing groups came together. Under American Freedom Coalition sponsorship and through the AFC created Environmental Task Force, Anti-Indian activists entered into formal inter-organizational cooperation with right-wing extremist groups.

In addition to many responsible environmental groups and timber associations, the American Freedom Coalition brought together such groups as those listed in the selected list of group participants on the previous page. The most prominent anti-Indian group participating in the conference was the Movement's Citizens Equal Rights Alliance. It was not coincidental that the Exxon corporation and the Louisiana-Pacific corporation turned up at this gathering. Both corporations are purported to have connections with CERA. Both corporations, also have a keen interest in efforts to open both tribal and U.S. protected lands to oil and timber development.

The Farm Bureau's participation coincides with the intense conservatism of its rancher and farmer members. Its anti-Indian policy makes its presence at the conference even more significant.

The first level of cooperation between the Anti-Indian Movement and the Far Right in 1983 produced organizational cross-memberships. The second level of cooperation, strategic organizational cooperation, developed at the Multiple Use Strategy Conference

in Reno, Nevada. Achievement of both levels of cooperation effectively placed the Anti-Indian Movement within the extreme right-wing politics of the United States. By the early 1990s, right-wing politics effectively dominated the ideology and organizational strategy of the Anti-Indian Movement.

Militant Far Right Bigotry

Militantly bigoted elements of the Far Right have not openly worked within the Anti-Indian Movement. These are the most violent among the Far Right. Their presence on and near Indian reservations, however, has been detected. The presence of the Church of Jesus Christ Christian in Hayden Lake, Idaho is the most obvious illustration of how a militantly bigoted group has located near an Indian Reservation. Identified as a Christian Identity Church or Aryan Nations headed by Richard Butler, this neo-Nazi compound is located near the Coeur de 'Alene Indian Reservation.

The National Socialist Vanguard, a violent, neo-Nazi group operates from the small town of Goldendale, just south of the Yakima Indian Reservation in the state of Washington. Closely associated with Richard Butler's Aryan Nations, the National Socialist Vanguard sometimes operates from The Dalles, Oregon, just across the Columbia River from Goldendale, Washington. Rick E. Cooper is the Vanguard's main spokesman and the publisher of the NSV REPORT.

Evidence of militantly bigoted group activity on and near Indian reservations has been documented. On April 13, 1988 the Snoqualmie Indian Tribe received in its offices in Redmond, Washington a packet of hate mail from a neo-nazi advocate located in Waukegan, Illinois. With "HELP THE INDIANS" typed on the face of the envelope, Mark Margoian, a known racist considered mentally unbalanced, sent the tribe several pages filled with anti-Semitic and anti-Black slurs calculated to inspire the reader to hate Jews and racial minorities. Though Margoian is not identified with any structured organization, his materials are similar to those issued by Richard Butler's Aryan Nations.

Press reports of Christian Identity and neo-nazi skin head group activity in Wisconsin indicate their presence at anti-Indian protests sponsored by PARR and Stop Treaty Abuse, Inc. (See Figure 9 on page 31) The skin-head group S.H.Y. in Racine, Wisconsin has maintain



close ties with the Portland, Oregon based Northern Hammer Skinheads. S.H.Y.'s slogan, "White youth of today, white future of tomorrow" illustrates the kind of intimidation Indians in eastern Wisconsin receive.

Beginning in early 1990, evidence began to emerge that a paramilitary compound linked to Richard Butler's Aryan Nations was being organized at a 20 acre cite just south

of the Quinault Indian Nation on the Pacific coast of the state of Washington. Two persons, Lloyd Smith and Charles Chase, are reported by informants to be the leading organizers. One informant reported that Smith "openly admitted," to Indian shake-cutters "that he is Aryan Nations."

Smith has also been reported to be

involved in direct and indirect efforts to intimidate an Indian woman who owns land in front of the alleged compound. Apparently, Smith's intimidation is aimed at forcing the Indian woman to sell her land. Smith constructed a gate across the entrance to the alleged compound -

the gate is on the Indian woman's property. Informants suggest there is a connection be-

tween the Quinault Property Owner's Association, United Property Owners of Washington and these developments. The present Study does not reveal any connections between the alleged "Aryan Nations" events and these two anti-Indian organizations. The Quinault government was advised of these developments by informants.

ARYAN



NATIONS

EPILOGUE

Anti-Indian is the appropriate description of the Movement that has been described as "anti-treaty," "white back-lash" and "white populist." Of these things we can be certain:

- There is an Anti-Indian Movement.
- The Movement has its roots in radicalized non-Indian, reservation property owner groups
- The Movement has grown, but seems to have leveled off with a maximum of 34,150 supporters across the country
- Fewer than ninety anti-Indian activists spearhead the Movement, and the principal leaders come from the states of Washington, Wisconsin and Montana
- The Movement has had its greatest successes in Washington, Montana, and Wisconsin and these are the states where the Movement is best organized. Still, the Movement has contacts or small groups in thirteen other states.
- The vast majority of those persons "claimed to support" anti-Indian activities, are not racist ideologues or militant bigots. Most are ordinary people, usually ill-informed, who are caught up in longstanding and unresolved disputes between the United States government, state governments and Indian nations. The conflict has resulted in large numbers of non-Indians becoming residents and property owners on Indian reservations with the aid and encouragement of the United States government.
- Political opportunists, racist ideologues and Far Right activists lead and control the Anti-Indian Movement.

● Several "non-tribal Indians" participate in the Movement as "legitimizers of factual distortion." Typically, the "non-tribal Indian supporter" is wealthy as a result of as a result of "helping my fellow Indian." These activists gained their wealth by exploiting other Indians by means of, for example, buying an Indian's individual allotment and selling the same allotment of land to a non-Indian for a vastly higher price. Instead of "allotment of land" one could substitute any of the following words: Timber, oil, gravel, water, fish, natural gas, or minerals, The Movement helps the "non-tribal Indian supporter" avoid tribal government regulation.

An important point about the Anti-Indian Movement is that it focuses populist interests on what has been the central issue of the Anti-Indian Movement since it was born in the property owners associations in 1968: **Prevent Indian governments from exercising jurisdiction inside Indian reservations over non-Indians and their property interests, and prevent Indian rights from being exercised inside reservations and in treaty protected Indian rights outside reservations in ceded areas.**

The basic assertion made by anti-Indian activists concerning the first issue has been that Indians and their governments ought not have lawful authority to govern inside reservations over all matters of jurisdiction. Noting that persons who are not members of an Indian tribe are not permitted to vote in tribal elections, tribal opponents argue that the Indian government ought not have jurisdiction over non-members and their property. Unfortunately, this argument is quickly translated into a

bigoted assertion that "Indians should not exercise governmental powers over white people." The polite and public translation of this assertion by anti-Indian activists is: Equal Rights for Everyone or Equal Rights and Responsibilities. By these phrases anti-Indian groups mean that Indian nations should be eliminated, treaties between Indian nations and the United States abolished, and Indian people absorbed into the U.S. population as a racial, cultural and economic minority.

The second issue involves a much more complex argument in the Anti-Indian Movement. Where tribal claims and treaty disputes with the United States concern resources in ceded areas outside Indian reservations, Indian people are depicted as "super citizens" who have more rights than non-Indian citizens of the United States. Here, the slogan "*Equal Rights and Responsibilities*" claims a wider audience. By characterizing Indians as "super citizens," "greedy," and explosive, populist bigotry becomes a means to an end. People who never thought of themselves as racist begin to advocate harassment and sometimes violence against Indian people.

In more alarming terms, anti-Indian activists are working for the destruction of Indian nations either through a kind of "national suicide" or through "forced assimilation" legally implemented by the United States. The expected outcome would not only mean the elimination of Indian nations, but the opening up of the last remaining tribal territories for non-Indian ownership and annexation. The war that began in 1607, on the shores of the Atlantic Coast, continues unabated 384 years later. Tinged with the rhetoric of racial supremacy and the methods of

manifest destiny, the Anti-Indian Movement seeks nothing short of the dismemberment of Indian nations, the scattering of their people and the parceling out of lands and natural resources.

The United Property Owners of Washington, Citizens Equal Rights Alliance and the National Coalition on Federal Indian Policy are the contemporary labels behind which the anti-Indian organizers now hide. They have become more clever, more careful of exposing their actual agenda, and they are very serious.

The seven-year-old joining of the Anti-Indian Movement to right-wing ideologues and organizations has become more concrete and mutually beneficial. Wrapping themselves in mainstream populism, anti-Indian leaders attempt now to carry out a deception that far exceeds their earlier attempts. Their hope is that the uninformed U.S. public will blindly accept the destruction of tribal governments and the displacement of Indian people from their reserved territories. With the increased use of slogans like "equal rights for everyone" and "elimination of reverse discrimination," the Anti-

Indian Movement hopes for the popular acquiescence to the dismemberment of Indian nations.

Many tribal governments continue to work toward structuring a framework of government to government relations between Indian Country, states and the United States of America. The web of agreements, accords, compacts and treaties being developed will contribute to the resolution of long-standing disputes. The list of such agreements like the *Government-to-Government Accord* between Indian governments and the State of Washington (Summer 1989), *Self-Governance Compacts* between the United States and each of seven tribes (Summer 1990), and county/tribal cross-jurisdictional agreements continues to grow. Now it is time to turn the process of government to government cooperation to resolving the non-Indian property owner problem inside reservations. Now is the time to turn the government to government problem-solving experiences of the last ten years to resolving jurisdictional conflicts between Indian nations and states holding harmless innocent individual Indians and non-

Indians when the problems result from government inaction or failures.

Democratizing the relationship between Indian nations and neighboring states is the only alternative to bitter struggle. Democratizing the relationship between Indian nations and the United States is also the only alternative to U.S. government created conditions for Indian and non-Indian conflict. A balanced relationship between Indian nations, states and the United States is essential to resolving longstanding disputes. And where errors were committed in the past, they ought to now be corrected.

It is the tension between Indian Nations, states and the United States that contributes to a climate of conflict. Where such a climate exists, bigotry and racism can flourish. Such conditions do now exist and the Anti-Indian Movement is the product. Replace the tension with a carefully executed democratization of relations between tribes, states and the United States, and the Anti-Indian Movement loses its constituency - it becomes exposed for what it is. Opposition to tribes based on bigotry will wither.

REFERENCES & SOURCES:

- "An Open Letter to the citizens of Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan, your rights and resources are in Jeopardy ..." Wisconsin Alliance for Rights and Resources, Inc. Superior, WI. circa 1984.
- "Arrest led him to fight treaties," MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, October 14, 1984.
- "Background Report on Racist and Anti-Semitic Organizational Intervention in the Farm Protest Movement," Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1985.
- "Background Report on Racist and Far-Right Organizing in the Pacific Northwest," Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989.
- "Ballot-Box Bigotry: David Duke and the Populist Party", Center for Democratic Renewal Background Report #7, Center for Democratic Renewal, Atlanta, GA. 1989.
- Black, Dan. "Crow criticizes state, Tribes", RONAN PIONEER, Ronan, MT. September 29, 1988.
- Boeth, Richard and Copeland, Jeff B., Hager and Malamud. "A Paleface Uprising" Newsweek, April 10, 1978.
- "Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation et al." Syllabus. Supreme Court of the United States. Argued January 10, 1989 - Decided June 29, 1989.
- CERA NEWS, Citizens Equal Rights Alliance, Inc. Big Arm, Montana. January 1990.
- Cohen, Faye. Treaties on Trial, with contributions by Joan La France and Vivian L. Bowden. American Friends Service Committee. University of Washington Press. Seattle and London. 1986.
- "Competing Sovereignities in North America and the Right-Wing and Anti-Indian Movement: Preliminary Findings Right-Wing Extremism & Anti-Indian Network Project," Center for World Indigenous Studies. January 13, 1988.
- "County/Tribal Relations," presented by Mark Rogacki, Executive Director, Wisconsin Counties Associa-

- tion. MASINAIGAN, A Chronicle of the Lake Superior Ojibway, Odanah, Wisconsin. November 1986, page 6.
- "Crowd criticizes state, Tribes," RONAN PIONEER, September 29, 1988.
- "Dear Tideland Property Owner," UPOW fund raising letter, signed by Alan Montgomery, Pierce Davis, George Garland, and Barbara Lindsay. circa June 1990.
- Darst, Guy "N.M. Indian wants her share of tribe's \$55 million" (The Associated Press) The Arizona Daily Star. February 8, 1985. 8D.
- Dressler, Dawn. "Indian claims could be 'economically catastrophic'" The Peninsula Gateway, Gig Harbor, WA. June 13, 1984.
- Duck Book Digest '83, 1983
- Duncan, Don "A Pick-and-choose theology: Constitution, Bible given twists, turns." Seattle Times, April 21, 1986, A1.
- Duncan, Don "They're marching as to war: Fringe groups reach for recruits." Seattle Times, April 20, 1986, B2.
- Duncan, Don. "Defenders of the legal right: They sue for the sake of principle." Seattle Times, April 23, 1986, D2
- Duncan, Don. "Send them back where they came from," Seattle Times, April 24, 1986, D3.
- Duncan, Don. "They're marching as to war: Fringe groups reach for recruits." Seattle Times, April 20, 1986, B2.
- E.R.F.E. (Promotional letter) February 15, 1985.
- Eikenberry, Ken (Washington State Attorney General) Letter to President Ronald Reagan. February 21, 1985.
- FACTS FOR FREEDOM, "Facts for Freedom Board of Advisors", Faith Action Commitment Truth Stability. James. C. Galbraith, Founder & President. Seattle. 1989.
- Farm Bureau, Farm Bureau News, 1985 Policy "Native Americans - 612"
- "FBI Investigating threats against Indians" The Milwaukee Journal, Friday, December 7, 1984.
- Gough, William. "Protesters heckle Populists" The Seattle Times, July 23, 1989.
- "Group Files Initiative Challenging Boldt Ruling" DAILY OLYMPIAN, Olympia, Washington. April 30, 1983.
- Haller, Claude O. of Puyallup. Letter to the Editor: "Indians' salvation lies in their own self-sufficiency," Daily Record Chronicle. Renton, WA circa December 1984.
- Herak, Mary. "Racism an addiction", (Letter to the Editor) MISSION VALLEY NEWS, Mission, Montana. July 28, 1988.
- "Indian jurisdiction challenged by CERA," EXPRESS, Utah County, Vernal, Utah. July 20, 1988.
- Jackson, Senator Henry M. Chairman of Committee on Energy and '63 Natural Resources. Letter to Attorney General Griffin B. Bell, U.S. Justice Department. March 1, 1978.
- Johnson, C. Montgomery and Quantock, Ann. "First Our Land, Now Our Treaties" C. Montgomery Johnson and Associates, February 1, 1985
- "Dear S/SPAWN Friend" funding support letter for the Steelhead and Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now organization. September, 1984 in Johnson, C. Montgomery and Quantock, Ann. "First Our Land, Now Our Treaties" C. Montgomery Johnson and Associates, February 1, 1985. page 67.
- Jones, Jenkin Lloyd. "Exempting tribes from laws invites trouble: U.S. Supreme Court is going to have to step in to resolve issue of Indians' special privileges." (Los Angeles Times Syndicate) Tacoma News Tribune, Tacoma, WA. April 4, 1984.
- Jordan, Lani. "TV debate centers on Indian rights" Milwaukee Journal. November 12, 1984.
- Kahn, Linda and Appleman, Rose The Right Cultivates the Grassroots: Sowing Hate and Reaping Gains in FRONTLINE, a publication of the Institute for Social and Economic Studies, Oakland, California. JANUARY 30, 1989.
- Kerr, Scott. "The New Indian Wars" THE PROGRESSIVE. Volume 54, Number 4. April 1990. 20 - 23.
- Kirschling, Helen Mitchell Sanders-Kirschling. "Testimony on S.B. 3125 - Quinault Tribal Highway" Washington State Senate Transportation Committee, Olympia, Washington. February 13, 1985.
- Lac du Flambeau, The Town of. "Testimony concerning the need to appoint a Presidential commission to study the impact on non-Indians living on Indian reservations and on ceded lands" Town of Lac du Flambeau, Vilas County, Wisconsin. February 25, 1985.
- Lawrence, Verna. City Commissioner for the Upper Michigan Peninsula town of Sault St. Marie, Michigan speech delivered to members of a group meeting on the subject "Unraveling the Native American Rights Issue" in Michigan. (circa October 1984)
- La Course, Richard. "ICERR tags 7 senators to move Meeds bills for Senate action" Yakima Nation Review, December 20, 1977
- Lindsay, Barbara. "Indian tribes shouldn't be seen as sovereign nations." Ms. Lindsay is the executive director of Steelhead/Salmon Protection Association and Wildlife Network (S/SPAWN), a non-profit public education and research foundation '63 based in Redmond, Washington. The Oregonian, OpEd, October 24, 1989.
- Lindsay, Barbara. "Tribes ask state, public to turn the other cheek" Ms. Lindsay is the Director of United Property owners of Washington, based in Redmond, Washington. Seattle Times, OpEd, July 28, 1990.
- Ludwick, Jim. "Whites only: Racists seek Montana recruits", The MISSOULIAN, Missoula, Montana. July 21, 1988.
- Lunger, Elinor. "The American Neo-Nazi Movement Today," [author of Josephine Herbst - Warner Books] The Nation, July 16/23, 1990. pp. 82 - 107.
- "Melcher's move stalls tribal power bid," RONAN PIONEER, September 24, 1986.
- "Metcalf Elated by Senate Boldt Vote" LANGLEY WHIDBEY, Langley, Washington. April 12, 1983.
- Metcalf, James A., Executive Director, Washington State Association of Counties letter to Mark Rogacki, Executive Director, Wisconsin Counties Association. November 21, 1989.
- Metz, Sharon. "HONOR objects to WCA activities" MASINAIGAN, A Chronicle of the Lake Superior Ojibway, Odanah, Wisconsin. December 1990. page 2.
- "Montana ESTA airs Indian tax proposal," PARR ISSUE page 19 June 1987.
- "Montana: Flathead farmers take protest to BIA," PARR ISSUE pages 8 - 9 October 1987.
- Monteith, John. "Racism: who fits Webster's definitions?", (Letter to

- the Editor) MISSION VALLEY NEWS, Mission, Montana. December 3, 1987.
- Mountain States Legal Foundation, NEWS RELEASE, "Why Mountain States Legal Foundation is Representing Bernice G. Muskrat" February 8, 1985.
- Opre, Tom. "Indians demand super-citizen status" Detroit Free Press, Detroit, Michigan. October 14, 1984 page 12 D.
- "PARR's bingo boycott, Stop Organized crime, boycott Indian bingo says PARR" MASINAIGAN a Chronicle of the Lake Superior Ojibway. September, 1987, page 2. PARR ISSUE Vol 1, Issue 1. February 1985
- "Who and What is PARR?" PARR ISSUE, Volume 1, Issue 1. February, 1985.
- PARR ISSUE Vol 1, Issue 6. June 1987
- "Greshner airs views on media reports at UPI convention" PARR ISSUE, Vol 1, Issue 6. page 15.
- "Joint Resolution" PARR ISSUE, Volume 1, Issue 6. June, 1987. page 22.
- Kavanaugh, LeAnne "Montana ESTA airs Indian tax proposal," PARR ISSUE, Volume 1, Issue 6. June 1987. page 14
- "National unity theme of convention," PARR ISSUE, Volume 1, Issue 6. June, 1987.
- PARR ISSUE Vol 1, Issue 7. October 1987
- "Is having Second thoughts about Bob Dole" September 27, 1987 letter to Senator Robert Dole from James L. Mitchell, Member of PARR published as an open letter in PARR ISSUE Vol 1 Issue 7. October 1987. page 21.
- "Montana: Flathead farmers take protest to BIA," PARR ISSUE Vol 1, Issue 7. October 1987 page 8.
- "PARR hires executive director" PARR ISSUE Volume 1, Issue 6. June, 1987. page 5.
- "Peterson visits Land of Boldt and S/SPAWN" PARR ISSUE. Volume 1 Issue 7. October 1987. page 6
- "WARR dissolves; donation to PARR" PARR ISSUE Vol 1 Issue 7. October 1987, page 4
- Greschner, Larry E. "Responses to Guest Column", Mr. Greschner is the Executive Director of Protect Americans' Rights and Resources. PARR ISSUE, October Vol 1, Issue 7. 1987.
- PARR ISSUE Vol 2, Issue 2. May 1988
- "Convention attendance below expected, but a great success in many respects," PARR ISSUE. Vol 2, Issue 2. May 1988. page 8.
- "In a peaceful, lawful manner," PARR ISSUE. Vol 2, Issue 2. May 1988. page 9
- PARR ISSUE Vol 2, Issue 3. December 1988
- "Tribal Jurisdiction Taxation without representation: Results of Recent Federal Indian Policies" (Statements of concern introduced by organizations and individuals as a part of the CERA brief before the U.S. Supreme Court.) PARR ISSUE Vol 2, No 3. Fall/Winter 1988 pages 14-15.
- Peterson, Larry. "Chairman's Report", PARR ISSUE Vol 2, No 3. Fall/Winter 1988.
- Phelps, Christopher The Posse Rides Again in The Portland Alliance Vol. 10, No. 5 September 1990)
- "POPULISM, The Wave of the Future." Populist Party flyer announcing the King County Populist Party Convention at Delridge Community Center in southwest Seattle. July 22, 1989.
- "Power to the People", The Populist Party of the United States Platform, 1984. Third Printing. National Committee of the Populist Party, Washington, D.C., April 1984.
- QUACKER Newsletter. October 1986
- Redeem Our Country (ROC) letterhead - April 1985.
- Report on Federal, State, and Tribal Jurisdiction. Task Force Four, Final Report. American Indian Policy Review Commission. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. July 1976.
- Rogaki, Mark. Executive Director, Wisconsin Counties Association. Memorandum: "National Coalition on Federal Indian Treaties - Informational/Organizational Meeting, January 18-20, 1990, Salt Lake City, Utah." November 17, 1989.
- Shipp, E.R. "Indians Sue Over Disputed Minnesota Land" The New York Times. Thursday, March 26, 1987.
- Sorensen, Jack. Equal Rights For Everyone, Inc. Public Relations Director, Equal Rights for Everyone, Examples of Congressional inaction that have compounded arising from the Indian policy Minocqua, Wisconsin. February 15, 1985.
- Stokes, Bill. "Racial prejudice as it is in Wisconsin" Chicago Tribune, Thursday, September 27, 1984.
- Sunde, Scott. "Waterfront owners alarmed by Indian suit over shellfish." SEATTLE POST INTELLIGENCER, December 26, 1990.
- S/SPAWN, Vol 2, Number 2, Summer 1989.
- "Expert says Evidence Ignored in Treaty Case" S/SPAWN, Wisconsin Appleton Post-Crescent, March 1989 in S/SPAWN, Volume 2, Number 2. Summer 1989. page 12.
- "Tribes, Townsfolk Spar Over Authority," Journal-American, May 21, 1989 reprinted in S/SPAWN, Volume 2, Number 2. Summer 1989 page 8.
- Lindsay, Barbara. "S/SPAWN Pressing on Towards Goal of Equality" S/SPAWN, Volume 2, Number 2. Summer 1989. page 1.
- S/SPAWN, Steelhead and Salmon Protection Action for Washington Now. Letterhead. September 1984.
- S/SPAWN "Proposal to the President of the United States for the Appointment of A New Presidential Commission to Study Federal Indian Policies" The S/SPAWN Committee. February 25, 1985.
- TEA TOTALLY EQUAL AMERICANS NEWSLETTER, November 29, 1984.
- National Association for Totally Equal Americans, "Problems Relating to Indian Policies," Mahnomen, Minnesota. October 15 & 16, 1984.
- Morris, Betty. "Morris Testimony for TEA" - (as sent to Totally Equal Americans and to TEA members with TEA Newsletter, November 29, 1984.) Oct. 15-16, 1984
- THE MONITOR, Center for Democratic Renewal Nos. 13-14, November 1988.
- "CDR opens Seattle office to coordinate Northwest work" in the THE MONITOR, A Publication of the Center for Democratic Renewal, Nos. 13-14, November 1988.
- The Spotlight, July 23, 1984.

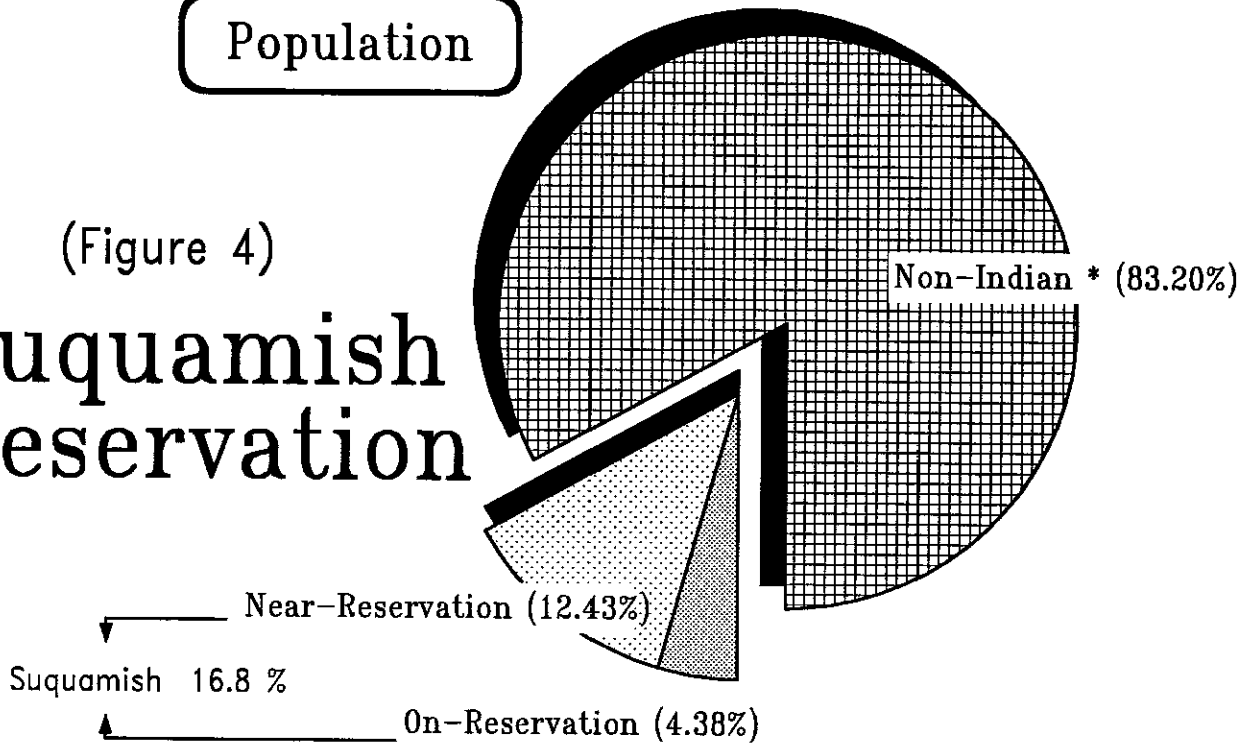
- Thompson, Richard. Report: "W.C.A. - Indian Treaties Coalition Conference January 18-20, 1990; Salt Lake City, Utah." Narrative transcription of conference proceedings. January 22, 1990.
- Thompson, Mary. "CDR sees white supremacists in anti-treaty groups" The Daily Press, Northern Wisconsin. Thursday, March 29, 1990.
- "Treaty meeting put off-limits," THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, Friday, January 12, 1990.
- "Tribal jurisdiction taxation without representation," PARR ISSUE pages 14-15, Fall/Winter 1988.
- Uncommon Controversy, American Friends Service Committee, University of Washington Press, Seattle and London. 1970.
- Washington State Grange Resolution "Rights of American Indians" Washington State Grange in Convention, 1984.
- Waukau, Anne. "Anti-Treaty Beer Called Ironic" Milwaukee Sentinel, appearing in MASINAIGAN August, 1987.
- Williams, C. Herb and Neubrech, Walt. Indian Treaties-American Nightmare, Outdoor Empire Publishing, Inc., Seattle, Washington. December 1976.
- Wisconsin's Educational Imperative: Observations and Recommendations of the Ad Hoc Commission on Racism - Indian-White Relations - Final Report Veda W. Stone, Chief Commissioner. Ad Hoc Commission on Racism in Wisconsin, November 1984.

Notes

Population

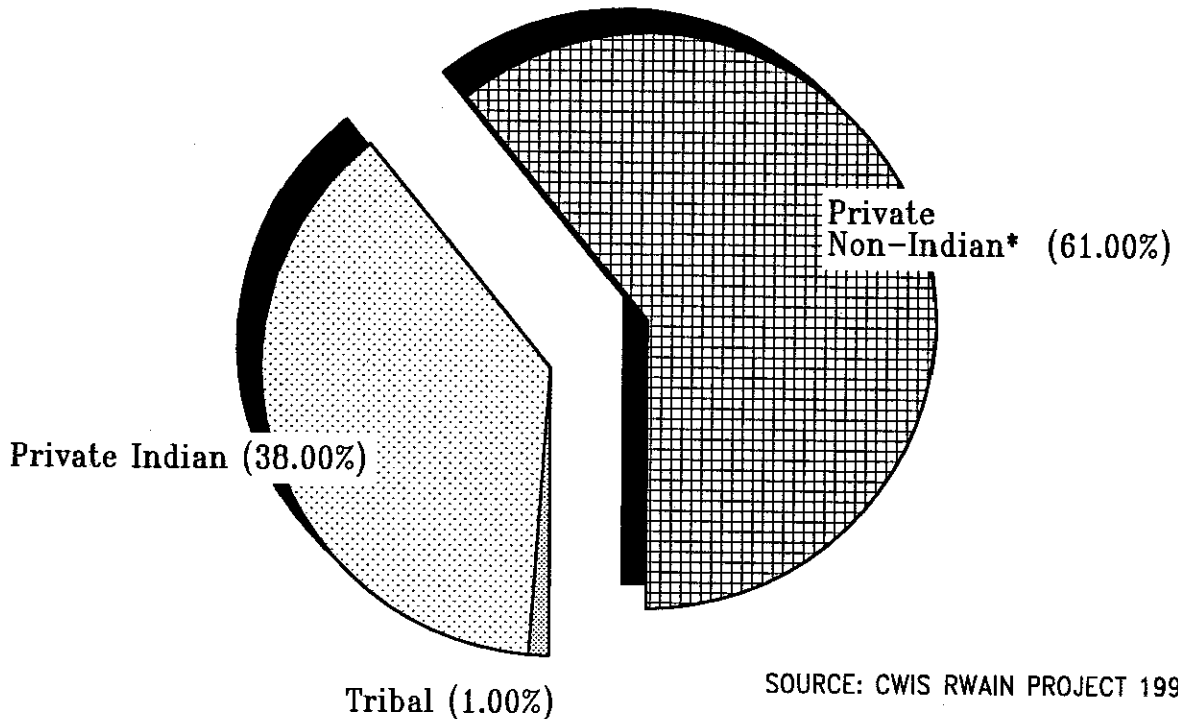
(Figure 4)

Suquamish Reservation



* Including resident and non-resident property owners

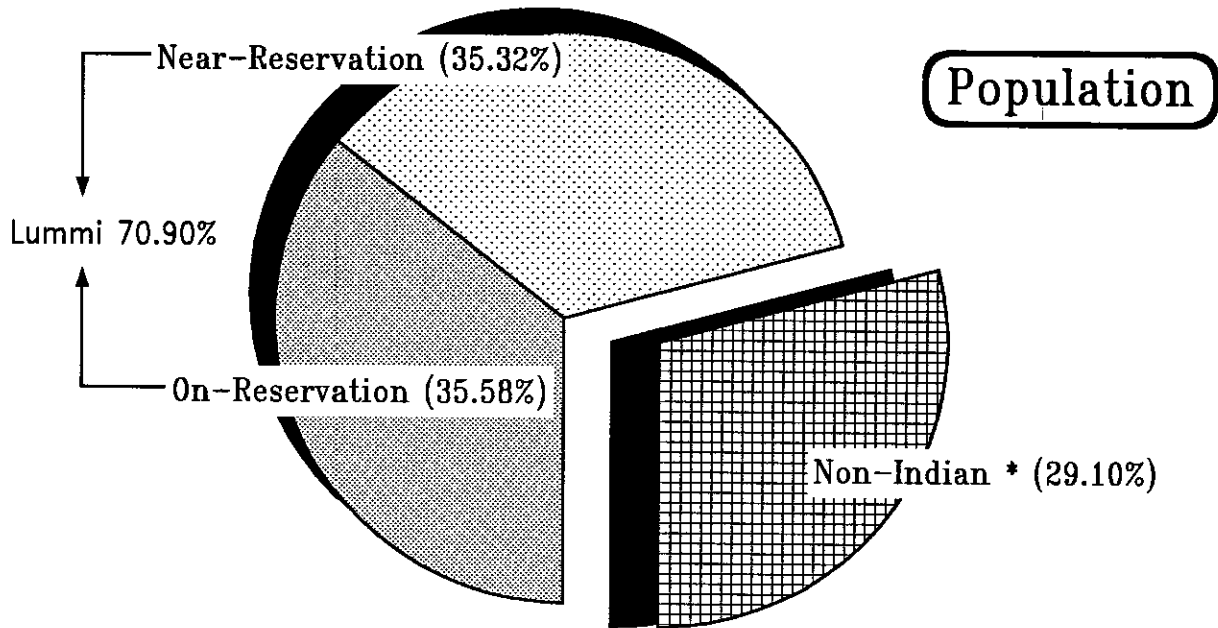
Property Ownership



SOURCE: CWIS RWAIN PROJECT 1990

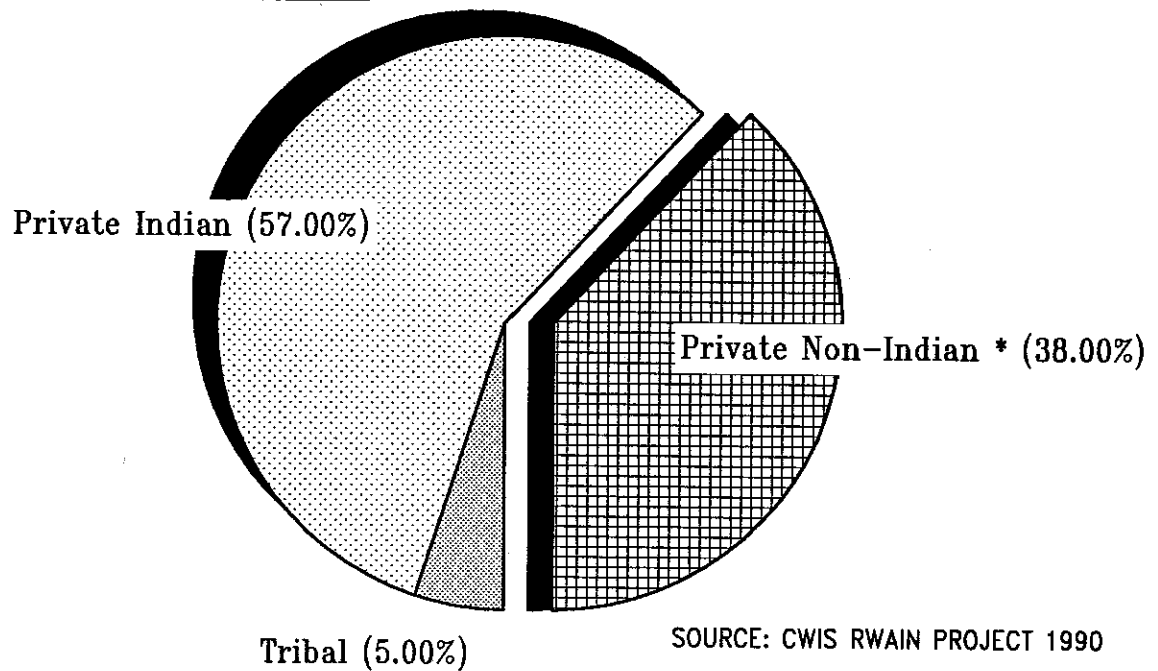
(Figure 5)

Lummi Reservation



* Including resident and non-resident property owners

Property Ownership



SOURCE: CWIS RWAIN PROJECT 1990

(Figure 2) Evolving Anti-Indian Movement 1968 - 1991

