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Native American alcoholism: An issue of survival

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NATIVE AMERICAN ALCOHOLISM:
AN ISSUE OF SURVIVAL

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Pam Colorado

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This dissertation of Pamela Colorado entitled "NATIVE AMERICAN SUBSTANCE ABUSE: AN ISSUE OF SURVIVAL," directed and approved by the candidate's Committee, has been accepted by the Faculty of The Florence Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare and the Graduate Faculty of Brandeis University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

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SECTION ONE:

NATIVE AMERICAN ALCOHOLISM, AN INTRODUCTION

Section one introduces the current relationship between Native Americans and alcohol/substance. This section explores both the social dimensions and the impacts of substance use/abuse among Native people. Several points are made:

1. Alcohol and substance abuse are the leading cause of death of Native people.

2. The prevalence, incidence is so great that it cannot be explained by theories based on individual deviance or pathology.

3. Despite efforts to combat alcoholism, the problem is increasing geometrically.

4. Substance abuse threatens the survival of Native Americans.

Section one concludes with a statement from an elderly Northern Cheyenne man. This man, a child at the time of the Battle of the Little Big Horn, spells out an interpretation of the changes alcohol has wrought among the People. He suggests that an answer to the problem may lie in re-discovery of the "Good Way", that is, a way which is based on traditional tribal values and practices. The question is raised, why is the "Good Way" the answer and how can it be found?

PAINT[1]

A cold summer night on the northern plains of Montana
Winds come, fiercely whipping the squat tarpaper house
where six children and three adults sleep
Four rooms crumbling plasterboard, rotting floor boards
backed up toilet and sink. Windows too few for air and too small
for light frame reality for this Native American family.

Earlier evening, after work, the Family gathered at the
Tongue River, built fire, heated rocks and took Sweat.

The Way of the Sacred Sweat
Water - the Gift of Life, is poured on the
Grandfathers, lava rocks, now radiant with heat
and mingle with prayers into steam - the Breath of Creator
Outside Sweat Lodge, Thunders rumble ominously and cedar is burned
the storm retreats held back through ancient understanding.
Inside Sweat, the Family gives thanks for - a day of life,
a husband being sober again, a child recovering from illness and a
prayer for Mitakeoysin (all the Relations).

Evening Meal:
Eleven relatives sit down for boiled venison and Wonder

Bread.
Thanks is given, again and again, especially for the food.
Oldest son, age fifteen, is proud, night before last,
freezer empty,
he got the deer.

Plentiful coffee and Kool Aide
reservation water, too brackish to drink alone,
its depredation visible oily slag on the top of drinks.
teasing and laughter conclude the Feast.

Now its two A.M.
heavy winds and driving rain pound against the house.
Lightening flashes; thunders roar and I awaken with a start.
Heart pounding, gnawing fear returns.
I cannot sleep for thinking...my sister, face lined with pain and bitterness
a despair which speaks of some final surrender.
Struggling for answers, tears slip down my face
as I beg Creator's pity on this Family.

There was such hope
Just four years ago, the Family left Boston,
two advanced degrees, won at such a cost, and worth it too
This time the tribe stands threshold of new life.
Coal, black gold!
Harvard degrees wielded to extract a successful contract

with the
energy conglomerate, the first negotiated by a tribe on its own.
Now there is a way to feed and shelter the People.
yet my sister and family perish.

Tokay! Assassin! In your sights, my brother-in-law falls to his knees.
Mind clouded in Whiteman's poison, he steals from his wife and children.
for the next bottle...

The baby stirs, lying next to me on the cot.
Water drips in and within seconds, soaks through the blankets.
The bed is moved repeatedly to avoid the leaks.

A new home
BIA has been promising one for ten years
but it is a four A.M. promise
far away.
Exhausted and hungry, the baby and I fall into sleep.

Alcohol is the spectre of Native American destruction, its virulent effects impact Native societies with an intensity and scope previously unknown to mankind. Of the 1.4 million Native people in American today, about 65% of the adult population has problems with alcohol. This rate is higher than any other ethnic group in the United States, further, the trend is towards more alcoholism and emerging drinking patterns pose new threats to the survival of Native Americans. Alcoholism[2] is the leading cause of death among Native American people!

In 1973, the United States Center for Studies of Crime and Delinquency, studied the relationship between alcohol and Native Americans[3]; their findings revealed the following statistics:

> The suicide rate among Native Americans is twice that of the general population. Almost 80% of suicides among Native people are alcohol related. Alcohol was also found to play an important part in homicides among Natives.
>
> The death rate from alcoholism among Americans increased from 8.9, in 1966, to 11.9 per 100,000 in 1969, compared with an increase of from 1.6 to 2.0 per 100,000 in the general population. Deaths from alcoholic psychoses among Natives, were 8.0 and 1.0 per 100,000, in those years. (0.3 each year in the general population. Deaths from liver cirrhoses with mention of alcoholism were 20.7 and 26.3 among Indians (4.8 and 5.2 in the general population). The male to female ratio of discharges from Indian Health Service and contract hospitals in one year for alcohol intoxication and liver cirrhosis with alcoholism were 2.5 and 0.78. In one Native community during one year, 80% of the automobile accidents, 31% of the accidental injuries, 94% of fights involving injury and all suicide attempts were related to drinking.

In the same year, Congress initiated a nation-wide study of alcoholism in the 24 federal reservation states. This study was conducted by Native people, on their own reservations, who found that 20% to 80% of a given tribal population had problems of alcoholism and that 6.9% of all deaths were directly attributable to acoholism. (This number makes the overall mortality rate for deaths primarily attributed to alcoholism 51.9 per 100,000 or an increase of 23% over the 1972 rate.

Alcoholism has devastated the People with incomprehensible rapacity. Anthropology has demonstrated that Native Americans have lived in North America for at least 20,000 years. During all of this time, tribes, particularly those of the Southwest, used substance ritualistically, without problems of addiction. Tribes, such as Pima and Apache, distilled and used alcohol, again without problems of abuse. Yet, in less than three hundred years, entire families and tribes have become addicted to alcohol.

Native Americans are tribal people who relate to life in a communal manner. Early European invaders of America reported that the Native relationship to alcohol reflected communal values of sharing, and total community participation in drinking. However, this behavior lacked the critical element of ritual (among tribes which had not previously used alcohol). A 1979 study of alcohol use among Arctic Eskimos (who did not have alcohol prior to invasion)

revealed the communal use, without ritual pattern For, among Eskimos, today, making of friends and the strenghtening of relationships in the family often depends on being willing to drink with them. The same study also pointed to a growing problem among Native children.

In his book "Etok", Charlie Edwardsen Jr. (an Inupiat leader) related that when he was 12 years old:

> ...his father called him and his brother Douglas together to say that it was time the boys learned to be men. "He said he had two lessons....Always be good to a woman, he said. The other lesson was how to drink."
>
> Charlie's father brought out a bottle of whiskey, uncorked it, and set it on the table, saying, "Let's have a little drink." He poured a healthy slug for himself and each of his sons and the night began. They had drink after drink after drink. Charlie threw up but would not give up. He had another drink. Finally, he remembers, he passed out at about four or so in the morning. At about six, his father shook him awake -- it was very cold out -- and said, "We are almost out of ice; we need some more ice." So Etok, who always obeyed his father, got up, got dressed, harnessed his dogs, drove his sled for two miles, chopped the ice and brought it back. He thought he was going to die from the hangover, the retching of his stomach, and fatigue. When he returned with the ice, his father said, "Now, let's have another drink." Says Charlie, "I learned about drinking then." (Gallagher, 1974)

In 1975 one out of four deaths of Native women (age 35 to 40) was attributed to cirrhosis of the liver and, young Native women in their child-bearing years (age 15 to 34) were dying of cirrhosis at a rate 37 times greater than that of white females in the same age group (Wallace, 1978). This increase in alcohol abuse among Native women not only jeopardized their own lives but could result in severe

damage to unborn fetuses.

In the last decade, health care providers have become aware of the fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). FAS refers to a pattern of malformations in the off-spring of chronic alcoholic mothers. The FAS baby is born with irreversible malformations, including mental retardation (the average FAS I.Q. is 65), and gross facial skeletal muscular and limb abnormality. Earler, in 1962, Schaefer, described alcohol withdrawal symptoms in a new-born, full-term, five-pound infant, born to a Yukon Native mother who had steadily consumed alcohol during her last two months of pregnancy.

Although Schaefer (1962) referred to a chronic alcoholic mother, no dose response curve has been determined. However, recent research by Jones (1974) indicated that the risk of FAS is 10% in women who drink 2 ozs. or less of absolute alcohol (about four drinks) daily. More than two ozs. increases the risk to 19% to 74%.

In recent times, the pattern of community drinking has been exacerbated to community addiction. In Shageluk, an Interior Alaska Native village, which was severely impacted by the Trans-Alaska pipeline development, 100% addiction to alcohol among adults is reported.

What this all means to the life of the People was eloquently stated by a revered Northern Cheyenne elder, Frank Walks Last:

> Here...I am talking about drinking (alcohol)...how it is going. Little Choulder (Ben Shoulderblade), he drank alone...he said very funny things (jokes), he caused much laughter. And then Last Bear (Pete Fire Crow), he too caused much laughter. Be encircled, could not stand up good; he would fall and lay there. Howling Rock (Curtis Redneck), he is another one...these were the ones that drank. But they stay out away from people...did not bother anyone...ah...I have drank a certain amount. I do not know how or where they take me, these policemen. In the morning I wake up in the jailhouse. Now...these drunks can recognize the policemen from about half a mile or maybe one mile away and hide somwhere from them. If the policemen come too close to them they run away, and they run real fast. Then (the policemen) try and grab them; they are strong and jump around. When they are really drunk, policemen come close (and) they are suddenly cold sober...they are really liars. I have been with them a certain amount; I tell big lies when asking for money. That is the way it is and goes; it is really no good. They fight among themselves (the young men) even if they are closely related. They do no good (abuse) to young girls...creates hatred; dissension. It seems like there is no stopping it; something about the liquor (drinking) today. For instance, last evening a young man was fighting his stepson over there in Lame Deer.
>
> Alcoholic homes, ones that are really heavy drinkers, they go and stay somewhere. No matter how much you talk to them as soon as they come back they start right in drinking again; they never listen, we never listen. You can only sober yourself up, learn by experience; I sobered myself up. If I had continued to drink I might be dead now. Or, I would have been in a crazy-house somewhere.
>
> This is the direction of this liquor. It is plain to see, right now, how it is killing people both young and old; bringing on early old age, bringing harm and no good; makes you poor and poorer. For instance my daughter, I talk to her, she just won't listen to me. Her and the man she is with now, they are living the same way.
>
> ...there are small groups of small children roaming around, left behind by drunk parents that the Chiefs should see and think on. Our grandson was left behind by his parents; he is neglected. We brought him home with us, we are going to keep him;...those all my grandchildren...that is the liquor treatment. I want them to know and come back to the good direction.

The "good direction" has eluded the best efforts of

Native people, western science, and concerned others. Despite all efforts to eradicate or ameliorate alcoholism among Native populations the problem persists and current research suggests that the prevalence, incidence and patterns of abuse are intensifying. Such devastation is difficult to understand, particularly when we recognize that alcoholism is a new phenomena among Native Americans and completely away from 30,000 years of tradition.

SECTION TWO

SCIENTIFIC THOUGHT AND DINE' ALCOHOLISM

Section two explicates scientific thought on Dine' alcoholism. From a brief, historical review of the literature, it becomes evident that the Western view of Dine' alcoholism has shifted over time. These changes in thought fall into four general paradigms:

1. scientific racism
2. cultural anthropological
3. sociocultural
4. new empiricism

The paradigmatic struggle for understanding begins with an image of Dine' as savage and evolves into a concept of cultures, implying a notion of shared humanity. However, a critique by nascent Dine' scientists and other contemporary alcohol researchers, questions whether the search, based in Western thought and tradition, has been for truth or an exercise in dominance and authority.

The section concludes with a series of recommendations, considerations and prospects for a new, fuller, more humane science. Such a science would recognize truth seeking from another People, that of Native Americans, who face

alcoholism as the leading cause of death.

FERROTYPE[4]

Cowboy hat
waving blond hair
Buckskinned Buffalo hunter
poses before
counted kill
shot only for the hide
    protruding tongues
    greying eyes
Mdewkantons Sioux starve
"Let Them Eat Grass!"[5]

Bespectacled social scientist
labors long night
gross culture
wizard sleeves
rolled high
above
research mute testimony
of Dine' Dying
Paid only to study problems
"We need to tighten our controls"

In Revilla Gigedo mountain mist
a Seward Totem[6] stands
High hat Yellow face

top barren Cedar pole
raised for one
with no relations
ridicule in mime
Who smiled pleased at such great tribute

SCIENTIFIC RACISM, A First View

Scientific inquiry and literature on Dine' alcoholism were born in scientific racism of nineteenth century social sciences. This doctrine replaced the word, "nation" (which all Dine' tribes are) with the word, "race" and assumed that moral qualities of people were positively correlated with physical characteristics; further, that all humanity can be divided into superior and inferior stocks (Berkhofer, 1978).

The essence of scientific racism, as applied to Dine, was captured in the work of Bailey (1922). In his pioneer work in cross cultural study, Bailey compared substance use over several ethnic groups, Dine' and African. He found that "residence in the United States seems to foster a drug inbriety or to convert alcoholic inebriety into drug inebriety" (Bailey, 1922, pp. 183-201).

Bailey epitomized the nature and tone of research in this era, in the following classic quote:

> From the statistics which relate to the two so called primitive races, the African and the American Indian, it appears that the primitive could not under any present circumstances attain the average intelligence of cultured races. This appears to be so, not because there is any detailed information as to the potentiality of the primitive mind, but because mental deficiency is so profuse that their average intelligence must be inferior to that of average European intelligence. (Bailey, 1922, pp. 182-201)

In the paradigm of scientific racism, alcoholism among Dine' was understood as a logical consequence of belonging to an inferior biological stock. This view related directly

to the theory of evolution (1895), the pervasive philosophical force of the time (Berkhofer, 1978). In his text The Whiteman's Indian, Berkhofer analyzed the structure and functions of scientific racism and found that "scientific racism accomplished the 'biologization of history...' by equating the cultural hierarchy assumed under the idea of progress with the physical and mental differences popularly believed to exist among human groups" (Berkhofer, 1978, p. 56).

Scientific racism continued on into the early decades of the twentieth century; however, toward the latter end of that period a shift began to occur in scholarly understanding of Dine' alcoholism. This shift was largely the result of a civil rights movement of the 1870's which called for new conceptions of humanity and, a number of other social forces which, among other things, resulted in the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment (United States Constitution).

Two of the greatest social forces of the time, Americanization (socialization of masses of new immigrants and Dine') and new restrictive immigration quotas, played significant roles in bringing about the shift in scientific thinking. The early impacts of these "social forces" were not readily discernible but their manifestations are found in the establishment of the Bureau of Ethnography (1859) and in the workings of a group who called themselves, "Friends of Indians". The "Friends" dominated American-Dine' policy

making during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

The philosophy of the "Friends", during the transitional era between scientific racism and the emergent cultural paradigm, is an excellent representation of the intellectual attitudes expressed in scientific writing of the period. Prucha (1973) observed:

> They (the Friends) recognized the crisis that resulted from the increasing pressure put upon Indians by the burgeoning nation, and set about to solve the problem in terms of religious sentiments and patriotic outlook that were peculiarly American. They had great confidence in the righteousness of their cause, and they knew that God approved. Convinced of the superiority of Christian civilization they enjoyed, they saw no need to inquire about the positive values in the Indian culture, nor to ask the Indians what they would like. With an ethnocentrism of frightening intensity, they resolved to do away with Indianness and to preserve only the manhood of the individual Indian. There would be no more Indian problem because there would be no more persons identifiable as Indians. All would be immersed in the same civilization. "This civilization may not be the best possible," the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said in 1889, "but it is the best the Indians can get. They cannot escape it and must either conform to it or be crushed by it. (Prucha, 1973, p. 1)

By the 1930's the pressures from these social forces led to a new liberalism which focused on issues of culture and pluralism (Berkhofer, 1978). The currents of these new forces gained command of the social sciences and are apparent in the works of Horton (1943) and Bales (1946).

Horton's (1943) study was the pivotal piece of research. He studied functions of alcohol in primitive society. He, by expanding upon the purely racial analysis of earlier work, led the way in conducting large scale

cross-cultural correlational analysis as a generalized answer to why people drink. Using anxiety theory to determine drunkeness, Horton attempted to "integrate behavior theory and psychoanalysis" (Horton, 1943, pp. 199-220). The findings of this study demonstrated that "...strength of response tends to vary directly with the level of anxiety in the society...." (Horton, 1943, pp. 199-220).

Bales (1946) built on Horton's cross-cultural correlational analysis of behaviors. Bales used pychoanalytic thought to explain the variances in the rates of occurance of alcoholism among a number of cultures. He held that acute inner-tension (or needs for adjustment), availability of alternate behaviors within a culture, and attitudes towards drinking, determined behavior. In regards to Dine', Bales argued that individual pathology accounted for the high incidence of alcoholism.

Conceptions of culture and cultural relativity, demonstrated in Horton's and Bales's research, led to a revolution in the scientific thinking. With the birth of cultural anthropology, the scientific image of Native Americans was changed. Specifically, the underpinnings of pluralism and relativism (in cultural anthropology) were intended to yield a moral, non-judgemental analytical framework (This was critical to a nation struggling for unity.) Through this approach, cultural anthropology was to do much to destroy the hierarchical ranking of social

groups, so blatant in scientific racism literature (Berkhofer, 1978).

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY, the Second View of Dine'

Boas, father of anthropology, repudiated raciology and evolutionism (of scientific racism) and espoused the idea of culture to explain a diversity of lifestyles of humankind. The cultural anthropology school separated biological heredity from the social transmission of culture thus challenging all previous work in the field.

This new viewpoint is exemplified by the shift from a singular to the plural in the word "culture". Previously it referred to one culture (Western European) and implied civilization; it came to refer instead to diversity (Berkhofer, 1978).

Using empirical methodology, Boasian scholars stressed the import of replacing the evolutionary history of Dine' (which was held to be conjectural) with actual history. They were convinced by their research findings that tribal change happened more as a result of diffusion among tribes than from a unilinear sequence of modifications in cultural perceptions and practices presumed by evolutionists (Berkhofer, 1978).

The zenith of cultural anthropological thought was captured in the work of Paul Radin, Brandeis scholar. Radin not only conceded the concept of cultures, but stretched the science to its limits by recognizing the existence of

philosophy and religion of Dine'.

In the preface to Primitive Man as Philosopher, Radin crystallized the thought of cultural anthropology. He stated:

> the relationship of conquered to conqueror is important to both. Up to the present all attempts that have been made to understand them, or to come to any reasonable adjustment with them have met with signal failure, and this failure is in most instances due to the scientifically accredited theories of the innate inferiority of primitive man in mentality and capacity for civilization quite as much as to prejudice and bias. Some governments, notably those of Great Britain and France have begun to recognize this fact. But how can we expect public officials to take an unbiased view of primitive mentality when the dominant tradition among ethnologists, among those who ostensibly devote their lives to the subject, is still largely based on an unjustified, or a least undemonstrated assumption? (Radin, 1927, p. xi)

Application of cultural anthropology usually meant extensive fieldwork with a tribe, mapping cultures and cultural traits. These practices began to change conceptions of Dine' and alcohol.

One such anthropologist, Loeb (1943) reviewed the literature on alcoholism and found that nearly all of it assumed that all Dine' were alcoholics...the myth of the Drunken Indian. This implication was a direct result of a basic tenet of scientific racism - Dine' were savage thus given to bestial excesses; the ranking was based on racial differences. Loeb's research findings put forward a radical notion, that at least paleolithic Dine' were not drunkards.

Honigman (1945, 1949) established the paradigm of Dine' drinking, which continues in present day scholarly work. He

looked at patterns of drinking in order to devlop a map or picture of the style of Dine' drinking. To Honigman, Dine' drinking was a recreational activity which had deteriorated to deviance. This deviance was expressed in rapid drinking, gulping to intoxication or until the bottle ran out. He observed that Dine' generally share a bottle and become extremely aggressive when the first flush of happy sociable drinking subsides. In an interpretation, reminiscent of Horton, Honigman explained deviant Dine' drinking in terms of severe anxiety that resulted from the harshness of the physical environment (Honigman, 1949).

Combining the psychoanalytic model of Bales, with the cultural orientaton of the new anthropology, Hallowell (1950) looked at the psycho-dynamics of Anishnabeq (a northern Great Lakes nation) drinking. He found that drinking patterns revealed a cue to character. In this case, Dine' were manifesting a character of supressed hostility resulting from the impact of acculturation. Hallowell asserted that under existing circumstances (of acculturation) it would be improbable for Anishnabeq to achieve full psychlogical maturity and optimal mental health (Hallowell, 1946). This view of alcoholism as a mental health problem foreshadowed the emergent medical/clinical alcoholism model, of the late twentieth century.

While most of the research of the Forties and Fifties derived from the cultural anthropological school and rendered a more humane treatment of Dine', scientific racism

emerged periodically. In 1945, Devereaux studied patterns of sex and aggression among Mohave (a Southwest nation) to determine why Mohave were not aggressively anti-social or alcoholic (Hallowell, 1950). Similarly, Snyderman (1949) used a case study approach to assert that traditional Seneca (a nation of the Iroquois Confederacy) medicine practice was responsible for the alcoholism and subsequent death of a Seneca patient. While the truth of the matter is open to speculation, this is the only scholarly work of the era on alcohol and traditional medicine, and its focus discredits. Stewart (1950) argued that the disproportionate rate of alcoholism among Dine' was due to physiological differences. He held that the large number of mongoloid genes carried by Dine' accounted for an extraordinary incidence.

Despite intermittent recrudescence of scientific racism, the new cultural anthropological image of Dine' was firmly established with the acceptance of Kluckhohn and Kroeber's work (1952). By stressing cultural holism and its tenets of pluralism and relativism, the new view did much to erode the image of Dine' as the counterpart to the European-American personality Until this period, Dine' were regarded, "...not for what he was in and of himself, but rather for what he showed civilized men they were not and must not be" (Pearce, 1953, p. 4). Viewing Dine' as different from self allowed even the intelligentsia to believe Dine' were "bound inextricably in the primitive past, a primitive society, and a primitive environment, to

be destroyed by God, Nature, and Progress to make way for Civilized Man" (Pearce, 1953, p. 4).

The contributions of the notions of relativism and pluralism are evident in the work of Lemert and Driver. Lemert (1954) studied with Haida, Nootka and other Northwest coast tribes. He identified cultural conservatism, anomie and interclan rivalry as important factors in alcoholism. Arguing against Horton, Lemert pointed out that the greatest drunkeness occurred when the tribes were enriched by fur trade. So, how querried Lemert, could this be associated with fear? (Lemert, 1954)

Driver, supported by Swanson (1955), established the use of alcohol among Dine', prior to contact with Europe. He postulated that one-fourth of Dine' manufactured and consumed alcohol prior to contact and that there was little drunkeness in aboriginal times, due to the nutritious ingredients and low alcohol content of traditional beverages. Driver concluded that the increase in alcoholic deviance was due to the inroduction of distilled European liquor.

These findings were typical of those in the flowering of cultural anthropology in the 1950's. From this time forward, culture was the sine qua non of any discussion on the subject of Dine' alcoholism. The word "primitive" was no longer used to refer to Dine'; empiricism became the method; major theories of deviance, and social control became philosophical underpinnings of future scholarly work

(Berkhofer, 1978). Finally, discovery of Dine' culture opened a new frontier for burgeoning social sciences of the Sixties and Seventies.

THE SOCIOCULTURAL PARADIGM - A Third View of Dine'

In the 1960's and 1970's, Dine' activism brought national attention and funds to the problem of alcoholism. The field exploded producing more studies in a single decade than in the preceding fifty years (Bates, 1980). More than half of the literature continued to be anthropological (Leland, 1978) but the sociocultural model was emerging. This model emphasized patterns of belief and behavior that characterize various populations. It "derives from the view...that human behavior is the complex resultant of an interplay of biological and historical factors including interactions among systems that can be distinguished as those of the culture, the society and the individual" (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980, p. 1).

In a sense, this new model was more a framework for organizing a highly diffuse field than a new discipline or doctrine. Its major methodological tool is the multidisciplinary approach.

In the late sixties, Fenton Moss (University of Utah, Institute of Indian Alcohol Studies) attempted to identify and clarify a puzzling array of studies and other published materials on Dine' alcoholism. He based his observations on

the sociocultural model, applying somewhat arbitrary topical headings to the different concentration areas - labeling based on primary area of emphasis. Moss classified 42 theories of causation under the following six headings: Cultural, Social, Economic Biological, Psychological and Combination (Moss, 1970).

The arbitrariness of the topical headings becomes self-evident when examining studies under any of the six headings - none are restricted to their category but rather, all are multidisciplinary. (It is noteworthy that Moss completed the literature review under "Culture" and stopped without reviewing the other five headings!). A recent review by this writer of one hundred current articles on Dine' alcoholism produced nearly an equal number (100) of theories of causation.

The diversity and newness of literature produced under the socio-cultural model make it difficult to interpret the impact on scientific thought. In fact, it might be stated that the expanded view of Dine' alcoholism has neither clarified nor focused scientific thought on Dine' alcoholism but has created confusion.

Dr. Heath spoke to this point at a 1977 National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) convocation of alcoholism scholars. He remarked, "...it would be misleading if I were to give you the idea that the diverse, scattered, and rapidly increasing body of information on sociocultural aspects of drinking has been

carefully compiled, with attention to what techniques are most likely to elicit what kinds of information in what settings. On the contrary! A feature that sets alcohol studies apart from many other behavioral and historical studies is that most of the pertinent data and observations have been serendipitous by-products of research on very different foci of concern" (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980, p. 11).

The ways which contemporary sociocultural alcohol research will shape scientific thought will be determined by future scholars. In lieu of this knowledge, we can look to concrete changes in present day research parallel to the emergence of the sociocultural model. There are several new trends (evincive of the sociocultural model) in contemporary Dine' alcohol literature.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE SOCIOCULTURAL PARADIGM:

1. Sociocultural research has freed Dine' from a timeless ethnographic present. Previous research looked at Dine' life, frozen in time (prior to the European invasion of America) (Berkhofer, 1978). The sociocultural perspective presented Dine' as contemporary beings with radically altered societies and social contexts as a colonized people. Many studies sprang from this recognition.

Albon (1964) looked at People who had been relocated to urban areas -- which is to say, about one half of the

current population of two million. He theorized that urban socialization of Dine', who were relocated from reservations, occurred in bars. Albon identified three Dine' attitudes towards majority society-suspicion, potential dependency and fear of white rejection. He speculated that these attitudes were not due to relocation but a carry-over from reservation conflicts. In another study, Albon (1971) looked at specific values of Dine', such as sharing, extended family, familial obligations, withdrawal from unpleasant situations and predicted that non-Dine' alcoholism treatment could not work for the people.

In a manner somewhat reminiscent of scientific racism, that is, blaming the victim, Price (1975) examined patterns of Dine' drinking. He conceded that some alcoholism among Dine' was a result of "historical introduction" but argued that alcoholism existed among Dine' prior to invasion. He went on to say that contemporary forces of discrimination, frustration, economic deprivation an peer pressure spread deleterious drinking patterns. Since legal solutions hadn't worked, Price recommended enhancing remaining Dine' social controls so that the dysfunctional self-destructive patterns of alcohol abuse could be halted.

Hurt (1965) worked among the Sioux. He was interested in determining the cause of inordinate incidence of alcoholism among males. In his descriptive study, Hurt examined the destruction of the traditional warrior, hunting

complex and concluded that the Sioux male role was lost. Through the resultant social alienation, came excessive drinking. Likewise, Graves (1967) looked to economic deprivation, social alienation and the destruction of traditional goals to account for the high rates of drinking among Navajo.

These research findings mark an important change in Dine' alcohol literature. From this point, Dine' would be recognized as contemporary human beings, not as archeological artifacts. We would continue to be seen as people with emotions, intellect, and as beings subject to social pressures. Research under this model also demonstrated that traditional heritage effects the way we relate to alcohol today.

2. This brings us to the second change in alcohol research of recent times -- which is belief that culture effects patterns of drinking. Heath (1980) argues that the sociocultural approach has "expanded knowledge about the range of variation that occurs through our time and space; that ethnographic accounts from different tribes have revealed extreme patterns of belief and behaviors associated with drinking that have extended understanding of human possibilities" (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980, p. 11).

This perspective is evident in research by Levy and Kunitz, major clinical theories of Dine' alcoholism. Under the sociocultural rubric, the investigators added a

historical dimension to their study.

In a retrospective analysis (from 1540 to the present) of the use of alcohol in the Southwest the research findings tie prevalence to forces of expropriation, traditional customs, and individual factors (Levy, 1974).

In a second study, Levy and Kunitz (1971) speculated (pending further investigation) that alcoholism would be higher among individualistically oriented hunting and gathering tribes at the family band level of sociocultural integration and lowest among agricultural, sedentary tribes. As evidence, they cite the Shoshone-Bannock and White River Apache (nomadic people) suicide rates, which are ten times the national average, with the Navajo and Hopi (agricultural people) suicide rates which are at or below national averages.

In a third study, Levy and Kunitz (1971) looked at death rates from liver cirrhosis among Hopi, noted for sobriety. They found that the very high rate demonstrated the existence of radically different drinking styles present in different tribes. Through this research, an accepted sociocultural tenet was established that even physiological differences are culturally determined.

3. Recognition of such variance among tribes, has resulted in general propositions that have gained broad acceptance, such as the propositions that ritual and symbolism have important effects on drinking habits and the correlates of typical 'convivial, utilitarian,' and other

meanings are attached to alcohol (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980, p. 5).

Another study which looks at Dine'/non-Dine' interface and alcoholism is Heath's (1962) study of drinking patterns of Bolivian Camba. Heath found that the relatively homogenous Camba nation drink large quantities of almost pure alcohol but have no addiction. He contends that this phenomena is a result of the social function of alcohol among Camba, which is to produce social cohesion in an otherwise unstimulating environment.

Using Merton's paradigm of anomie, Jessor (1968) distinguished four categories of Dine', ranging from affluent to poverty level and from traditional (unacculturated) to acculturated. He found that only economically successful acculturated Navajo drank less but even those had more trouble than Anglo.

Daily (1966) analyzed Iroquoian drinking. Using a descriptive approach, he found that specific culture constellations, extant prior to European invasion, accounted for high prevalence. Among such constellations was the spiritual vision quest, which the author refers to as seeking a euphoric state.

In 1977, Stratton studied variation in alcohol problems among Oklahoma Dine' nations. He found great differences between tribes of eastern and western Oklahoma which he tied to historical experiences and the influences of urbanization on the two groups (Stratton, 1977).

A dramatic example of the variance in drinking patterns among Dine' is provided in West's (1972) study of the Tarahumara of Mexico. His findings were similar to Heath's; alcohol was distilled and used but tribal members did not develop alcoholism.

West chose the Tarahumara as a result of a search for a population which would be at high risk for alcoholism but for some reason remained immune. The tribe, numbering about 50,000, is probably the least acculturated of any of the North American continent. Tarahumara are a semi-nomadic people who live a subsistence lifestyle in an extraordinarily demanding environment. The People are noted for the dignity they show others, particularly children, and the respect shown for property of others. Tarahumara mothers are exceptionally affectionate towards children and do not use physical punishment for discipline. Tarahumara drink large amounts of "tesguina" (a traditional beer) within a ceremonial context; the Tesguinada. This ceremony is reported to be an institution for spirituality, culture and history. Tesguino does not keep and is drunk steadily until gone. During this period all adults get drunk for as long as several days. Despite this, habitual drunkenness or alcoholism is unknown. It is rare for anyone to drink alone.

West (1969) concludes his observations with the remark that Tarahumara do not now prefer distilled liquor but states that it remains to be seen what will happen when

civilization closes in. The recognition that alcoholism can be influenced by civilization, brings us to the fourth contribution of the sociocultural model.

4. The sociocultural model has led to awareness that effects of ethanol include social, economic, historical and cultural factors as well as chemical, physical and biological factors. In his address to the NIAAA scholars, Heath (1980) reminds us that it has only been in the last forty years that alcohol studies have recognized the now obvious fact that alcoholism is an illness of many levels.

Kunitz, Levy and Everitt (1969) used a multidisciplinary analysis in their study of incidence of alcoholic cirrhosis among Navajo. They found that the incidence of cirrhosis is related to nearness of non-Dine' towns and the accessibility of alcohol. Navajo living in more isolated areas had less (far less than projected) cirrhosis. This proposition poses a major scholarly challenge to previous clinical studies of Dine' alcholism, which were based on a concept of biological inferiority.

Hussey, M.D. (1976), Bennion et al. (1976), and several other major university researchers used the multidisciplinary approach to study physiological aspects of Dine' drinking. All findings refuted the alleged racial differences as a cause for the prevalence among Dine'. This new research suggests that social context and individual factors such as age, sex, family role, and past experience account for differences (Westermeyer, 1976). Reed (1976)

argues that variation among races, in rate of alcohol metabolism is no different in kind than variation among individuals within a given race. In fact, his research indicates more variation among individuals within a race.

5. Using history as a methodological tool, sociocultural theorists have shown how attitudes, values and ways of drinking have changed in various ways and at different rates in many cultures (National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, 1980). In a benchmark study, anthropologist Hays (1968) connected political forces with historical and cultural factors. Using a paradigm of deviance and community disorganization, Hays found that cooperative activities for San Carlos Apache, have been virtually impossible since 1872. At that time, the author notes, opposition of heterogenous bands (forced to live together) stresses between missionary-followers and BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs) supporters against traditional Apache, bred the kinds of conflict which resulted in imbalance and disorganization for the entire reservation. Hays asserted that traditional mechanisms of social control such as banishment, wouldn't work because no Apache was allowed to leave the reservation. "This disassociation of control of the Apache's affairs from their existing forms of organization, increasing cultural elements and the subsequent growth of factionalism at all levels, irreparably tore the societal fabric" (Spicer, cited in Hays, 1962).

6. From the Hays study, we see the propensity of the multidisciplinary approach to get within the society being studied -- to see history and life from the view of the people being observed. The tendency of research (within the sociocultural model) to aim at social relevancy and involvement of the study populations, stimulated intersubjective approaches. These studies used Native points of view for description and explanation (Everitt, 1973). This methodology is best represented in studies on Peyote and Dine' alcoholism.

A pioneer in the intersubjective method (applied to Dine' alcoholism) is Dr. Bergman, a psychiatrist and former Chief of mental health for the Indian Health Services. Bergman (1971) studied Navajo peyote use to determine its safety. His findings indicate that the Peyote Way provides real help for Dine' threatened with identity diffusion. He maintains that peyote helps us see ourselves not as people whose place and way in the world is gone; but as people whose way can be strong enough to change and meet new challenges. His data (based on participant observation with a tight structural format) convinced him that peyote could serve as the better antidote to alcohol than any existing form of treatment. In addition to these findings, Bergman's study provides an opening for Western people to consider Dine' ceremonies for the truth-seeking science that they embody. This recognition is implied in the following quote:

> It (peyote) also seems to affect their mood. It is very difficult to assess the role of pharmacology in producing the group feeling of a meeting. Emotions are deeply felt and freely expressed. Speakers often cry, and there is a great sense of communication with God and the other worshippers.
>
> It would be easier to assume that these phenomena were caused by peyote if they were not frequently observed in the part of the meeting before any medicine is eaten. (Bergman, 1971, pp. 695-699)

Pascarosa, M.D. (1976) also observed Dine' alcoholics in Peyote meetings. His data suggests that peyote, within the confines of ritual can have a lasting and permanent effect with Dine' alcoholics. Pascarosa found no abuse of peyote nor reports of dependency or using it to cope with daily pressures.

Representing the field of psychiatry, Pascarosa was interested in defining mental health aspects of Peyote meetings. But his quotes from the Roadman (coordinator of the ceremony) and participants, enable Western science to embody Dine' alcoholics' own understanding of causation and remedy.

One participant remarked:

> ...my Dad asked me to bring him over here because he had heard you were having a meeting. Then when we got here everyone was in the teepee and my Dad asked me to come in and say something but never did say nothing until I drank some medicine. I was kinda scared since I was drinking that very day and I know this Peyote doesn't mix with alcohol. Boy, I started crying and talking about myself. Then I felt good. I have been coming to these meetings ever since then and only been drinking one time in nearly two years. (Pascarosa, 1976, p. 523)

Coming to terms with oneself is a common occurance in Peyote meetings, often this process is facilitated by the "Roadman" who may help with good words:

> ...That's good what you said; I know how the Whiteman's world makes you feel small and that alcohol makes you feel big. I used to drink and fight all the time. Then John invited me to come to his meeting. So I did and I've been coming here for eleven years now. You drink that medicine and stay with your people; it will help you, make you feel good and make you think good. It's good this Peyote Way. (Pascarosa, 1976, p. 520)

The same type of socially relevant problem orientation and direct decision-making involvement of the study population was also found in anthropological studies of the 1970's (Everitt, 1973). This thrust marked the appearance of the first alcoholism research conducted by Dine' scholars. Although the numbers of such researchers was and remains small, their contribution is significant in that it presents us a view from inside the culture; a view which no non-Dine' scholar has ever been able to present. Also, the findings themselves suggested new possibilities around causation and remedy.

Research conducted by Dine' can be described as follows: the research looks to external forces (i.e. political, economic and social) as causative agents. It is concerned with continuity which is manifested in the use of history. The work tends to be highly descriptive and combines realistic (concrete world) and abstract (spiritual) themes. In short, Dine' research, in development of strategies for prevention, treatment and policy, invariaby recommends a traditional spiritual basis to the approach. Dine' alcoholism research is also characterized by an emphasis on the good aspects of non-Dine' research.

Criticisms are aimed at outside forces, never toward individual researchers (Walker Museum, 1972).

Dozier (1964) was a forerunner in Dine' conducted alcohol research. In his study of Dine' drinking, Dozier used a retrospecive analysis, employing Western scientific methodology and traditional Dine' knowledge. Dozier found that cultural invasion and military subjugation of Dine' were leading causative factors. He cites historical evidence of the deliberate destruction of Dine' culture by the United States Government, instituted purely for the purpose of asserting control over Dine'. He discusses the diaspora of Dine'; the annihilation of language, tradition, knowledge and customs, in government boarding schools, concluding that stress and frustration (which exacerbates the problem) stem from a series of contradictions in Dine' life. These contradictions include the U.S. Government's historical process of breaking down traditional social controls then blaming Dine' for not controlling social problems; governmental agencies control Dine' lands then demand that the People be self-sustaining; compelling tribes to make progress in social programs while policies vascillate; force alcohol on the People then, later, through indirect forces, label Dine' "drunken Indians" (Dozier, 1964).

Dozier maintains that the first remedy will be found in spiritual movements such as Native American Church (Peyote Ceremonies) and that this will yield to a community

organization approach. (Note: Dozier wrote in the middle sixties when Dine' community alcohol programs were beginning to be funded.)

In a descriptive study of drinking behavior, Albough (1973) deals with the outcomes of the stresses defined by Dozier. Albaugh used Merton's theory of anomie as the framework for analyzing the behavior of clients in his Oklahoma treatment program.

One year of participant/observer study with male and female clients (N=87) revealed a condition of anomie since childhood. The clients saw themselves as failures in both Dine' and non-Dine' worlds. Unable to be innovative with other modes of adaptive behavior (in either society), the subjects withdrew into drinking.

Albaugh based the treatment regimen around Dine' therapies including the peyote way, counseling by traditional elders, and helping other tribal members through charitable acts. Each of these activities specifically require no drinking and the role of each member is well defined. Each activity also carries qualities important to Dine' (i.e., helping each other, living the good Dine' way while understanding the White way).

At the end of the year, eight out of eighty-seven clients had totally stopped drinking, the remainder evidenced longer periods of sobriety and increased ability to relate to the world (Albaugh, 1974).

George Baker (1973) conducted a participant/observer,

descriptive study and found that forcing Dine' to adopt alien ideals, mores and religious teachings clashed with their desire to be free. He cited this contradiction as the cause for Dine' alcoholism.

In a report to the 93rd Congress (1974) tribal representatives and experts in alcoholism cited a 185% increase in deaths from liver cirrhosis between 1955 and 1971. Causation was held to be the result of poverty, forced abandonment of traditional ways, degredation of family and harsh physical reservation and urban ghetto environments.

Benz (1980) continued to focus on Dine'-government relations. Benz reviewed Dine' alcohol literature from 1941 to 1980 and identified an underlying theme throughout the restrictive government policies.

To substantiate the thesis, Benz draws heavily on Aberles (circa 1940 to 1966) study of Navajo reactions to forced stock reductions. (Sheep were the traditional economic base of the Nation). Periodic and enforced stock reduction, by BIA, required a shift from independent livestock raising to obligatory participation in a job market for which Navajo were not prepared.

Benz maintains that this policy caused feelings of helplessness and hopelessness resulting in a profound sense of loss and deprivation. The author states that such policies, which Dine' see as unnecessary and uncontrollable, cause drinking. Benz also notes a high correlation between

people who experience the most severe stock reductions and participation in the Peyote ritual (Benz, 1980).

Ward Churchill et al. (1981) undertook research similar to that conducted by Benz who used history in concert with a social psychological analysis. Churchill explored the traditional uses of substance (including alcohol) and found that many substances were used and none were abused. This finding is explained through the view, universally held by traditionals, that misuse constitutes a violation of the natural order of things.

Churchill went on to examine the introduction of alcohol and the use of substance by Europeans to undermine tribes who impeded their drive to "conquer" a continent, he concluded that Dine' alcoholism reflects a sense of rage and self-hatred generated by the forces of colonialism. He recommends a retribalism or decolonization, which would be built on family, as the way to freedom from substance dependency (Churchill & Larson, 1981).

This rather brief review of alcohol research conducted by Dine' should make it clear that the Dine' view tends to incorporate economic, historical and spiritual perspectives into their analyses; consistent with their traditional holistic approach to seeking knowledge.

A NEW EMPIRICISM, A Fourth View

From the sociocultural paradigm, two trends emerged.

We have discussed the first -- the expanded view of Dine' alcoholism which resulted from the multidisciplinary approach. The second trend, towards empiricism, was triggered by the first. Early sociocultural research produced a wealth of descriptive and explanatory studies. But few claims were made for scientific rigor (Heath, 1980) and the need for definitive studies, pushed empiricism to the fore (Noble, 1976).

As a result of the new more rigorous and robust scientific empiricism, fundamental issues were raised regarding previous work.

Three problems became evident. First, scientists recognized that alcoholism is a complex phenomenon about which little is known. Second, data collection and interpretation problems were presenting manifold difficulties. Finally, the appropriateness of theoretical models was called into question (Leland, 1978; Noble, 1978).

Research Problems, Definitional and Data:

To date, there is no explicit definition of alcoholism (not even within the context of Western, majority culture) (Westermeyer, 1976). Therefore, applying operational definitions of alcoholism across cultures becomes even more problematic, especially when no method is available for testing association in other cultures. These problems were succinctly stated by Kunitz (1978) who remarked:

> ...it is not clear that the disease we call alcoholism is the same in both white and Indian societies or even that there is one unified pathology we call alcoholism. Those indicators,

> both behavioral and physiological which have been used to diagnose alcoholism in the White society have been found to be determined in part by sociocultural factors. The behavioral indicators have been most frequently used to diagnose the presence of alcoholism in Indian populations.
>
> Since the association between these behaviors and either a physiological addiction or a psychological predisposition to drink has not been demonstrated there must be an effort on the part of clinically oriented researchers to observe and measure the causative agents of alcoholism more directly if, in fact, this is possible (Levy & Kunitz, 1972, pp. 217-236)

Lacking a precise definition of alcoholism or a clear understanding of the variety of cultural groups included in Dine' (Noble, 1978), efforts are confounded in initial stages. Further, problems of sample size, inaccessible data and cultural barriers discourage scholarly inquiry (Levy & Kunitz, 1978).

Diversity and sample size pose major research problems. Today, there are approximately 300 Dine' nations, with a population of less than two million. The nations are scattered in urban areas and geographically isolated reservations.

Establishing base line data or conducting longitudinal studies is nearly impossible in that much of Dine' history has been destroyed in the forces of invasion. For example, the Spanish burned the literature of the Maya nation. Bishop Landa wrote, from the Yucatan (15th century) as the last shreds of Maya civilization went with the books:

> ...as they contained nothing but superstition and lies of the devil, we burned them all which the Indians regretted to an amazing degree.... (Josephy, 1961, p. 82)

At the same time, an unknown poet/author of the Book of Chilam Balam of Tizimin, wrote

> With rivers of tears we mourned our sacred writings among the delicate flowers of sorrow. (Josephy, 1961, p. 82)

In Northeastern United States, traditional elders, keepers of knowledge, were deliberately murdered. The code of the Iroquois (approximately one thousand years old, defines the traditional Dine' system of knowledge).

> And now let us think of the Old Ones, it is they who are our true teachers. Those who have kept the wisdom accumulated over the centuries will help in these troubled times. They speak our true language, and it is our instruction that when they speak we should listen. (Oneida Historical Society Bulletin, 1978, p. 1)

The early invaders of America saw the power of elders. In 1625, a minister named Stockam expressed the prevailing European attitude of the time:

> Till their priests and ancients have their throats cut, there is no hope to bring them to conversion. (Jennings, 1978, p. 55)

The destruction of Dine' history leaves Western scientists without direct knowledge of pre-contact patterns of deviance, expression of aggression or personality structure, so are compelled to make inferences which may be determined by unverifiable preconceived notions of the nature of pre-invasion Dine' life (Levy & Kunitz, 1973).

Appropriateness of Theoretical Models, Questioned:

These procedures which pose serious threats to validity and reliability are overshadowed by an all pervasive intellectual imperialism -- the lynchpin of all Western studies of non-European people (Churchill, 1982).

Intellectual imperialism refers to the reliance upon a monocultural (European) tradition, within a multicultural arena. This practice constitutes an essentially transparent form of intellectual domination which is achievable only in the power context of parallel forms of domination (Churchill, 1982).

Charnoy (1970) examines this intellectual hegemony and traces its origins to the European effort to colonize-to bring in-digenous peoples into the imperial/colonial structures. Through scientific colonialism/imperialism, the center of gravity for the acquisition of knowledge about a nation is located outside of the nation itself (Galtung 1973-1974). Thus Dine' became dependent on Western science for answers to Din' alcoholism. The process of dependency formation is manifested in several tendencies extant in the literature.

One way that scientific colonialism manifests itself is in the practice of comparing two people and their statistics as if they were perfectly analogous (Wilcox, 1970).

Heath (1980) spoke to this point. He said that the issue of cultural homogeneity is problematic in sociocutural

research. Although it is convenient to deal with typical characteristics, rather than the complex, such convention obscures important parts of reality. This approach is particulary deleterious to a small population with a grave problem.

An additional problem in comparing Dine' with non-Dine' lies in the determination of the presence of alcoholism by manifestations of behavior. These manifestations derive from observing Western societies and there is no guarantee that similar association will prevail in Dine' societies (Kunitz & Levy, 1973). In a study titled, "Looking at What Through Whose Glasses?" Kunitz and Levy (n.d.) look at three realities of research, the observer, the observed and the statistical indication of a problem and question whether Western science can be applied to another culture.

A second tendency of scientific colonialism, is in describing similar behavior in Western society and Dine' society in different terms (Wilcox, 1970).

Social scientists tend to look for very different kinds of problems in different contexts. For example, when examining the habits or patterns of drinkers from a literate society, social scientists attempt to identify problems that might result from drinking. In contrast, when examining behavioral patterns of drinkers from a non-literate background, there is a strong scientific bias toward seeking to identify problems that might result in drinking. Thus, drinking is conceived as causing problems for majority

society and relieving problems for the dominted (Heath, 1978).

Another example of the tendency to describe Dine' behavior along colonial/imperialistic lines, is in the choice of vocabulary and the monolinguistic tradition (Durham, n.d.; Wilcox, 1970).

In Western terms, Dine' scientists become Medicine Men or Shamans. Dine' tools of science are totally unrecognized, passed off lightly as prayers or described as hallucinogens, rattles, and paint. Our specialized scientific language becomes incantation or folk taxonomy; treatment regimens become ceremonies or customs, and our scientific revolutions are called Messianic Movements (Wilcox, 1970).

Such romantic colonial vocabulary serves to objectify Dine'; to make Dine' affairs and systems seem more child-like than serious advanced affairs of Western Europeans. The English vocabulary chosen to describe Dine' always goes toward proving that the people are inferior (Durham, n.d.).

Tangentially related is the requirement that Dine' speak to Western scientists in Western scientific language. This custom reveals the explanatory limits of the scientific craft (Rodriquez, 1980). Increasingly, contemporary scientific thought recognizes this problem. Heath (1980) observed that most of the sociocultural interpretations about Dine' alcoholism are couched in terms that are

familiar to Western society and notes that there is little assurance that the members of the group in question would accept such interpretations. Carrying the point further, Churchill comments on the inability of the mainstream to deal with substance abuse problems generated by its own structure and cautions Dine' that turning towards mainstream solutions for answers to our own problems is not a viable solution. Nevertheless, through the processes of Western scientific colonialism, the legitimacy of Dine' heritages/science is systematically negated...

> ...through distortion and outright omission. Legitimacy is Europe and its overall tradition, a tradition which cannot ever be truly shared by the non-European despite, or perhaps particularly because of assimilation of the European doctrinal value. (Churchill, 1982, p. 53)

This system of considering Western science as the central subject and object of legitimate, important or serious intellectual endeavor is quite simply part and parcel of the total European colonial structure, intellectual imperialism. Both critics and advocates of the European status quo are equal parts of the system insofar as they accept the European intellectual traditions as sacrosanct (Churchill, 1982).

Bates (1980) observed that through the succession of change, in scientific views of Dine', from scientific racism to the sociocultural paradigm, the main remain unchallenged. Traditional systems of beliefs and healing are regarded as primitive, archaic and largely irrelevant...as a result, there is virtually no alcoholism literature deriving from

Dine' science and few pieces written by Dine' employing western scientific skills and speaking in English. Denied access to legitimate science, Dine' often challenge Western scientific colonialism in the political arena, notably in Congressional hearings. Such challenges are typically met with a retreat into objectivity, the underpinning of Western science. Citing objectivity, scientists have disclaimed any responsibility for the failure of their craft to positively impact Dine' alcoholism or to facilitate the recognization of Dine' science.

Berkhofer (1978) connected objectivity/relativity to a concept of moral agnosticism. He argues that Western objectivity is really a questioning of one's own society as the best in a cultural hierarchy, if not a challenge to one's own values and this is an expression of alienation, that permits the exploitation of Dine' to continue (Churchill, 1982).

Richard Jessor remarked on this tendency to the 1977 NIAAA alcoholism symposium; he said:

> In dealing with these issues (around the sociocultural model) our aim is to provoke or facilitate discussion rather than to offer solutions. The latter are just not easily come by; despite nearly two decades of research on alcohol use.... (Jessor & Jessor, 1980, p. 37)

Later, at the same conference, Dr. Edwards, an addiction research and psychiatrist from London, questioned whether the sociocultural model had done any good. Heath responded affirmatively, citing positive change among White Mountain Apache, the Navaho, Papago, and Kaska. (No Dine' were present to respond to the claim.) Heath remarked:

> I would like to address the specific question Grif (Dr. Edwards) threw before the group: "What successful intervention has been offered on the basis of the sociocultural model?...I was terribly concerned that...sociologists or social scientists in general were being taken to task for something that most of us don't ever pretend to do.... (Jessor & Jessor, 1980, 180)

Edwards retorted:

> ...society is engaged in the pursuit of pleasure and the pursuit of profit. And we simply haven't got the power to carry through the implications of our researchers to altering the larger shape of society. You may feel that is a terrible surrender. In some small part of my activities on certain occasions, I go on trying to influence the shape of society I live in.... (Jessor & Jessor, 1980, p. 195)

This then, is a third tendency of Western scientific colonialism -- <u>the tendency of concealing the exploitative nature of the relationship between Dine' and non-Dine'.</u> The most obvious way western science exploits Dine' is through the use of objective strategies which regard Dine' as fit objects of study and see Dine' problem drinking as pathological (Everitt, 1973).

This view, based on the theory of deviance cannot apply to a population with a 60% prevalence among adults. Nevertheless, Western research continues to suggest that Dine' suffer with alcoholism because of unique population characteristics rather than the systems which impinge on us and the sanctioning of these systems by dominant groups (Wilcox, 1970).

This characteristic pervades even the most respected works. In the 1974 study of <u>Indian Drinking</u>, Levy and

Kunitz state:

> It should be mentioned...that the historically oriented studies of Mac Andrew and Edgerton (1969), Daily (1968), and Winkler (1969) as well as our studies of Navajo drinking, homicide and suicide indicate...that the effects of drinking are compatible with aboriginal goals and values. (Levy & Kunitz, 1974, p. 232)

Later, in the same report, the authors discuss the high cirrhosis rate among Hopi, and conclude:

> These data alone cannot determine whether, as we believe, the traditional Hopi personality, described as marked by suspicion, covert aggression, hostility and anxiety, has predisposed these people to drink as soon as liquor became available.... (Levy & Kunitz, 1974, p. 232)

In this manner, the highly empirical (relative to the bulk of Dine' alcoholism literature) studies of Kunitz can cause more damage than writings of a non-empirical kind, by maintaining existing stereotypes (i.e., Drunken Indian) with a scientific aura.

Native people have used (without addiction) substance, including what western science refers to as hallucinogens and alcohol for more than 10,000 years (Le Barre, 1959). Therefore, it is curious to see how often Western scientists attempt to attribute our present addiction problems to factors inherent to culture, personality or physiology (Wilcox, 1970).

Other Western scientists are more concerned about the limitations of western science's ability to cross culture and handle alcoholism. Reiss (1975) undertook a study of inapropriate theories and methods in policy formation. He found that:

> Sociologists may take comfort from trying to find out why things are as they are, rather than from learning how things that are can be made different. But social policy is informed more by the latter than the former. (Reiss, 1975, pp. 211-222)

In an article titled, "American Indian Drinking, Pathology or Perspective?", Everett (1973) contrasts the objective strategy that views Dine' drinking as pathology, with an intersubjective position which utilizes Native points of view. He found that the perspective used relates directly to the efficacy of diagnosis, treatment and prevention of alcoholism. Faced with scientific imperialism, Dine', wishing to do something about the alcoholism must speak to the western scientist in western scientific language. This point is demonstrated in the following interview. In his native language the Dine' man said:

> After five years of working in different alcoholism programs, I can see that the problem of alcoholism for Indian people is higher than for any other group.
>
> The reason, the materials and methods that NIAAA uses, are from people that sit in an office, without witnessing the real horror of family breakup and seeing young Indian men and women end up on skid row or prisons.
>
> I need a degree because it will give the tools to fight the bureaucrats and professionals who now control the destiny of my people. Also, it will help me to express myself in writing so that the non-Indian scientific community will respect that only Indians can work with Indians and be successful.
>
> As an alcoholic on skid row (Madison and Halstead in Chicago) to Director of an alcoholic program, I have been able to see the reality and the fantasy world.

> As an Indian, when I talk to my people it's from my heart. My people can read me and know that I have traveled the same road as they have. I can talk with my people about alcohol, but when they got to a detoxification facility, they are approached by people who do not know that American Indians exist. The treatment is not geared for them so they end up in the streets, drinking.
>
> In three years, Boston streets have taken 21 American Indians to another world. In Boston there are 50 treatment facilities yet our people keep dying!
>
> ...My goal is to work with my Medicine Men and open up a detox where we would use Indian healing ways instead of drugs (Valium, Librium)...
>
> Without a degree, I will never be able to help my people. I will stand by and see them die. (Anonymous, 1978)[7]

Mosher (1975) argues that the tendency of western science to conceal the exploitative relationship between Dine' and non-Dine' is rooted in the White man's efforts to destroy the independence and sovereignty of tribes...and the gradual eradication of Indian independence.

This point is seldom understood by western scientists who continue to regard and study us as individuals. Theories of deviance and pathology are doubly exploitative with Dine'. Dine' people, unlike other minorities, are recognized (by treaty) internationally and by the United States government, as specific political units, whose primary allegiance is to our own Nations, rather than mere ethnic or subcultural groups. Furthermore, it is through our sovereign status that we hold our remaining land and resources.

When western science investigates Dine', (using theory derived on western norms and failing to obtain tribal permission) it usurps authority of tribal government to deny access to its citizens by groups or individuals who have not first taken the time to learn about and understand the Dine' nations, national character. Further, application of theories based on individual deviance ignore the communal reality of Dine', thus further eroding national identity (Morrison, 1982).

Because western science advocates truth and denies Dine' the right to speak, there is an issue. Oren Lyons, spiritual and political Longhouse Chief of the Onondaga Nation spoke to this problem. Chief Lyons asked by what authority western scientists study Dine'. He said, that if western science studies Dine' on the basis of power and dominance, then that's what should be said. However, if western science is really seeking truth, as it maintains, then, western scientists should be clear about this point and live up to it (Lyons, 1976).

ALTERNATIVES, RECOMMENDATIONS

Looking at the overall history of the scientific image of Dine', leads many scholars to cynicism about the ability of one people to understand another in mutually acceptable terms (Berkhofer, 1978).

Initial meetings between non-Dine' and Dine' scientists/Medicine Men resulted in the extermination of

much of Dine' science. In his text on American Indian Medicine, Vogel states:

> As one of the strongest unifying factors in any Indian community, the Indian Medicine man became the object of the most intense hatred of Europeans striving to weaken and dominate his tribe....All of the principle forces of European erosion of the Indian society have been brought to bear in the assault against the Medicine man. To the extent that his influence was weakened, White influence was able to penetrate. (Vogel, 1970, p. 35)

As a result of these early contacts much of Dine' knowledge and science was destroyed. In the 20th century changing western scientific views of humanity occasionally permitted a sharing of views.

One such event was a psychiatric conference sponsored by Harvard University in 1974. The guest speaker was Robert Fulton, a Dine' healer and traditional scholar. Mr. Fulton spoke (in Navajo) through an interpreter.

A participant, psychiatrist, asked, "Your medicine and your religion are really one and the same?" Mr. Fulton responded:

> Religion is like a tree with roots and branches which spread everywhere. All things are part of that, my plants, my songs, and my prayers.
>
> We are meant to live in harmony with the earth, the sun, and the waters. To the Navajo, the earth is mother. It has given us life. That is why the turquoise which comes from the earth is the symbol for woman. The heavens too give us life. If we live in harmony with all these things, there will be no illness. If a man falls ill, he is out of harmony and it must be restored. All things are sacred. One of the most sacred is corn pollen. It represents life. Every living thing has pollen. I brought some pollen from the reservation with me, and today before class I took it with me to the Atlantic Ocean. I offered a prayer for my safe return. I do this everywhere I go. Last night before dinner, I asked Dr. Beiser (conference organizer) to make a prayer. He said he didn't pray. I was overcome. How can a man exist without a prayer?
>
> Each man must have a prayer; he must dream of something and believe in something which is more than himself. The Navajo word for prayer is Sodirzin. It means "to grow". (Beiser & DeGroat, 1974, pp. 9-12)

In this exchange, we see the problem of language, the blurring of concepts which occurs when looking across cultures and the basic contradiction between Dine' and western science. That is, western science analyzes to predict and control; Dine' science synthesizes to accommodate natural principles.

Equally, we see a desire to communicate. The question is, how and if cross cultural scientific communication can occur in this nation.

Establishing Cross Cultural Scientific Exchanges

There is diversity in scholarly opinion regarding the possibility of scientific pluralism in the United States. Generally, the views fall into three categories (depending on the type of change called for).

One group of scholars, represented by Heath, call for incremental changes in the sociocultural model. Another represented by Wilcox and others call for an integration of sciences. The third group, which is primarily a Dine' scholars group call for fundamental system change.

1. Incremental changes in Western Science

Heath (1980) speaking to other western scientists,

outlined several prospects for new contributions from the sociocultural paradigm. Among those were:

> -- pay special attention to alcohol in a sociocultural context. This is a departure from most studies which looked at sociocultural factors, incidental to others.
>
> -- learn how others view alcohol and human behavior; most such efforts have been superficial compared with those that could be achieved through ethnoscientific methods.
>
> -- learn about the adaptive strategies of individual drinkers in various sociocultural contexts.
>
> -- pay attention to biology; in an overreaction against racism, social scientists may be overlooking metabolic, enzymatic, and other differences that set limits on how groups who share such physiological characteristics can drink. The traditional firewater myth, that Dine' are particularly susceptible to alcohol has been discredited but the new myth, that Dine' are immune to alcoholism is not supported by data either. (Leland, 1976, pp. 1-24)
>
> -- there is a real need for longitudinal studies.

At the same time Dr. Heath was calling for focus in the sociocultural paradigm, Indian Health Service (in charge of the 150 existing Dine' alcoholism programs) was implementing a nationwide information, reporting, and treatment guidance system called ATGS (alcoholism treatment and guidance system). ATGS was designed by a committee of Dine' and western experts in alcoholism. It provides accountability to the funding agent but equally important, it yields an itemization of traditional Dine' alcohol treatments, it records the frequency and types of traditional services used and through an alcoholism severity index and staging mechanism, measures progress.

Thus, ATGS offers a vehicle for cross-cultural scientific communication; however, it is still predominantly geared towards demonstrating to western science that our science (traditional knowledge) is legitimate. As such there is danger that ATGS, like so many other efforts will be one more tool of exploitation. This time the most sacred beliefs are being held up to western measures of cost effectiveness (Public Health Services, 1982).

2. Strategies of Integration

Wilcox, an early advocate of scientific pluralism, called for a twin strategy to integrate western science (Wilcox, 1970). First, he recommended an application of humanism to existing literature. This would point out the dual perception of reality that exists in scientific colonial literature. It would demonstrate the manner in which one's frame of reference is distorted by the fact of racism/colonialism and how it is utilized to maintain the status quo.

Wilcox's second suggestion is that minority people gain requisite power to get control of Dine' alcohol research and to restrict the role of bewilderers and gatekeepers. To a certain extent, the strategies proposed by Wilcox in 1970 have been implemented with mixed results. The growing body of literature, some authored by Dine' scholars, attests to the application of humanism in the literature on Dine' alcoholism. This can be considered a major shift in

scientific thought.

The second Wilcox suggestion, to restrict scientific colonialism, has also met with a measure of success. In the growing struggle over Dine' resources, numbers of social environmental impact studies (all with sections which regard Dine' alcoholism as a significant mitigating measure) are being conducted by Dine' nations. Tribes, such as the Northern Cheyenne, are insisting on the right to conduct their own research, other tribes work with Federal and State agencies. However the more scholarly research on Dine' alcoholism remains in Western hands. This is reflective, in part, of the failure of Dine' to gain the requisite power to restrict the role of the bewilderers and gatekeepers -- Wilcox's second point. While the numbers of Dine' attending institutions of higher learning rose from a few thousand in the early 1970's to nearly 30,000 in 1979, the situation remained essentially the same, if not worse, due to frequency of dropouts (James, 1981) and the extensive acculturation wrought in the higher educational experience (Walker, Education and Acculturation Among Indians of the Northwest). As James points out, the absence of Dine', in the ranks of the western scientific community, typically represents the choice to remain Dine' but leaves universities with Dine' studies programs, and the potential to interface the sciences, without academic professionals. Ortiz (1981) argues to other Dine', that acquisition of professional license in western science does not necessarily

mean assimilation, but is an essential if the gap is to be bridged between Dine' science and the dominating western mode. Nevertheless, there is not now a sufficient number of Dine' qualified, in western science,to stabilize the few existing Native American studies programs in universities. Furthermore, of the programs that do have tenured Dine' faculty, the pressure is to provide student and community support services rather than research, research training and scholarly publications (Sue & Sue, 1972).

In 1972, Sue and Sue advocated for appropriate research. This is research that provides some benefit for the people being studied and combats racism and colonialism which is perpetuated in so much of the social science literature.

According to these authors, there are two major ways of shaping appropriate research. The first, is that the researcher is to assume an active role in producing environmental changes (based on research findings) for the study group. The second is, using an analytical approach which perceives problems as stemming from the external environment.

> Sue's recommendation for appropriate research was implemented in the efforts of Dr. Robert Bergman (investigator of the research on Peyote as an antidote to alcoholism). Dr. Bergman attended and observed Dine' ceremonies; he established a school for the training of Navajo traditional healers/scientists and facilitated the appearance of Mr. Fulton at the Harvard conference (Bergman, 1971, pp. 695-699)

3. Fundamental System Change

A major theorist advocating fundamental system change is Churchill (1980). In his view scientific imperialism has contorted both Dine' and Western scientists. Basing much of his thinking on Memmi (1965), Churchill stresses:

> In order for the colonizer to be a complete master, it is not enough for him to be so in actual fact, but he must also believe in its (colonialism) legitimacy. In order for that legitimacy to be complete, it is not enough for the colonized to be a slave, he must also accept his role. The bond between colonizer and colonized is thus destructive and creative. It destroys and recreates the two partners in colonization into colonizer and colonized. One is disfigured into an oppressor, a partial unpatriotic and treacherous being, worrying only about his privileges and their defense; the other into an oppressed creature, whose development is broken and who compromises by his defeat. (Memmi, 1965, p. 89)

As it is, the monoscientific paradigm, corresponding to the culture of the colonizer, is essentially the same as the indoctrination system through which power relations are reinforced. Therefore, Memmi observed:

> ...accepting the role of being a colonizer means agreeing to be a...usurper. To be sure, a usurper claims his place and, if need be, will defend it with every means at his diposal... He endeavors to falsify history, he rewrites laws, he would extinguish memories -- anything to succeed in transforming his usurpation into legitimacy...the more the usurped is downtrodden, the more the usurper triumphs. (Memmi, 1965, p. 89)

The scope and breadth of scientific colonialism is formidable. If the goal of scientific pluralism is to produce a conceptual change in Western scientific thought, not merely a contentual change, then appropriate strategies must be defined.

Churchill (1982) recommends a three-level strategy. First, the credentialing hegemony of Western science must be challenged. Currently, Western science recognizes attainment of mastery only in the forms of European orthodoxy. Second, Dine' should work with inter-disciplinary studies departments of institutions of higher learning. This is because inter-disciplinary studies offers a potential for holism which complements Dine' science. Finally, Churchill advises that Dine' scholars look to mavericks in the European tradition, as a way to establish a dialog. Such mavericks include Chomsky, Velikovsky, and Ornstein.

This strategy, proferred in 1982, is too recent to assess impacts. But it is noteworthy that a strong traditional argument has been advanced by a Dine' scholar, working through Western science. Churchill's writings are most frequently found in special Indian issues of scholarly social science publications. But this is the first point in the history of Dine'/non-Dine' relations that such a position has been given serious attention by Western science.

4. Is Scientific Pluralism Possible?

In the flowering of the sociocultural paradigm (in the middle 1970's) there was a great hope that attention to various cultures and social forces would contribute significantly to an understanding of the complex reality of

alcoholism. While scientific rigor was an admitted problem in much of this research there was speculation that the sociocultural model would lead to a convergence between the medical and social paradigms (Kunitz, 1974). Thus, the problem of rigor would be addressed.

Dr. Dizmany (1971) studying Dine' suicide found, "The sociocultural determinants apply so clearly that...it is...unwarranted...to talk about individual dynamics or neurobiochemistry outside the context of the broad sociocultural picture" (p. 27).

This trend toward holism was attenuated. The rise of empiricism, accompanied by political conservatism and budget constraints of the 1980's, "caused many social scientists to foresake the observational and qualificational roots of their discipline, in favor of the mathematicization of data..." (Straus, 1980, p. 19)

At the 1980 NIAAA convocation of scholars, Dr. Heath closed his remarks with the statement that he was convinced that the sociocultural model had not outlived its usefulness. Nevertheless, in recent times, little of note has been produced under that paradigm.

In August of 1982, the membership of the National Indian Board on Alcoholism and Alcohol Abuse was informed at its annual meeting that NIAAA would no longer allocate funds specifically for Dine' alcohol research. (This formerly was a part of Treaty rights.) Furthermore, available research funds were to be in biomedical areas; Dine' nations would

have to compete with majority scientists for these monies (Chattam, 1982).

Under such scientific colonial practices, the colonizer is validated in his legitimacy through the fundamental conceptual exclusion of all possibilities other than the colonial Western mode. The colonized Dine' is validated through the hegemony of legitimate knowledge which decreases Dine' traditions, meaningless (Churchill, 1982, p. 55).

Therefore, any fundamental alteration such as scientific pluralism, carries with it the demand for considerably more than inclusion of some non-Western data. Instead, it proposes the conceptual reconstruction of American scientific and popular thought; the basis of contemporary scientific colonialism itself. Any less prospectus is likely to yield a co-optive continuation of business as usual; the function of a status quo is, after all, to perpetuate itself by any means available to it.

These recent events suggest that the technological/empirical maintenance of empire now seem the imperative behind the monolithic form of science required by power. But form is not immutable; it can change (Churchill, 1981).

5. Factors Contributing to Pluralism in Science

In many ways, combining Western and Dine' sciences is a practical and timely concept. Pluralism in science doesn't attempt to create something new (especially difficult for

academia and research institutions today) but proposes to combine resources. The effort is not to suddenly infuse Western science with non-European realities but to develop points of intersection between the sciences (Churchill, 1981).

In the alcohol field there is a need for multidisciplinary study:

> Drinking behavior and the problems of alcohol provide unusually vivid examples of the need for holistic or unifying models that facilitate examining the fundamental ineractions between structural, functional, genetic, and chemical bases of what we usually call biological behavior; the psychological, social, and cultural bases of individual and group behavior; and the impact on behavior of environment, space, and time.
>
> ...For the last century...we have been moving toward a greater concentration of knowledge around discipline...enabling...exquisite expertise in theory and technology and around ever narrowing foci of concern.
>
> ...we have been moving toward a point of development in the pursuit of knowledge at which traditional disciplinary boundaries have been meaningless and obsolete. Today, in almost every field...questions...cut across disciplinary lines and encompass the traditional territory of several disciplines.
>
> ...With today's methods of information retrieval and synthesis, however, superspecialists can no longer justify ignoring the findings of related disciplines that interact with and add meaning to their own. (Straus, 1980, p. 21)

Churchill argues that combining sciences does not mean that the European tradition is dismissed but that it is simply accorded the proper role as one conceptual tradition among many. Its essential legitimacy is not diminished, only the false legitimacy born of imperial pretention and

expediency.

On the other hand, we need not overstate the validity of Dine' science but must merely recognize it as valid and legitimate. Churchill concludes with the following advice:

> Western science must reintegrate human emotions and institutions into its interpretation of phenomena; Eastern (and Dine') peoples must confront the physical world today, and the effects of technology.
>
> We shall understand as these traditionally opposing views seek a unity that the world of historical experiences is far more mysterious and eventful than we had previously expected. (Churchill, 1982, p. 55)

Nevertheless, both politics and culture mitigate against such a compromise of power and ideation (Berkhofer, 1978). Bates (1980) recommends bringing these different values and perspectives together but warns against bureaucratic intrusion which would signal "co-opted alteration (to Dine' science) at best -- or a premature end at worst -- to a delicate system of healing that is only now finding its way back into the Indian way of life with the vigor it once knew."

Berkhofer summarizes the issue:

> The great question, given contemporary understanding, then becomes: To what extent can new meaning be infused into the old term to cancel old prejudices and invent a new evaluative image? At the moment, Native American leaders and scholars as well as liberal Whites are directing their efforts to this transformation. Their success will depend as much on the future intellectual trends in Western, perhaps world, cultures as in the balance of power among peoples. (Berkhofer, 1978, p. 68)

SECTION III: DINE' ALCOHOL POLICY,

AN HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

"What they do is simple, how
they do it is complicated."
Chief Oren Lyons, 1976

In section two, we recalled that Dine' used substance for thousands of years without addiction. We then examined the scientific literature on alcoholism and discovered that there have been no solutions forthcoming. This fact was then traced to the western scientific convention of colonialism. Finally the question was raised, is western science, housed in colonialism, capable of finding answers to Dine' alcoholism. Dine' researchers, and other humanistic scientists, thought not and posed linkages which might yield a science and method capable of finding truth and answers.

In section III we focus on process, questioning what has been done to address the problem. This study turns to policy, and includes the areas of international treaty law, government rules and regulations, tribal policy statements and sundry Executive orders, laws and statements. Since the problem of alcoholism began with the invasion of America, our analysis begins with the Spanish conquest of the New World and moves through the British and American colonial

empires to present day alcohol policy. This is a difficult and necessary task.

To begin with, there is a problem of historical discontinuity. In the effort to trace and clarify events, trends, policy postures and positions which have produced the present situation, we are faced with the fact that no "Indian history" exists. What can properly be termed Dine' history was truncated in 1492. The traditional written and oral history has been devastated; even the means of transmitting the history have been destroyed. The result is that there is no American Indian history, only a study of Indian/White relations -- a history of colonialism.

Within this contextual scheme, it becomes all the more critical that existing pieces and bits of information be salvaged. For there can be no freedom, from alcohol or any other oppression without knowledge of who we are, how we are (intended to be -- free) and what our relationships are. It is to this end that the following historical analysis is undertaken.

Some readers may feel that sections on the Spanish, British and the nascent American government, are too long and incorporate too many quotes. This is a drawback that stems from my desire to make information available which is presently inaccessible. Many of us, educated in colonial U.S. institutions have lost the critical vision which stems from knowledge of one's own history and tradition. Some of us, just like Western scientists and historians, believe in

the myth of the "Drunken Indian," accepting that we have some innate inferiority which causes us to become and remain drunks.

This section attempts to debunk the myth of the "Drunken Indian" and points intead to another type of deviance, that leads to alcoholism among the People. This deviance is born in greed and desires for power, it is an economic system and an underlying ideology commonly known as capitalism. As readers labor through the successive layers of death and destruction, that is Indian alcohol policy, some may find it over long, tedious, and grow frustrated with obvious repetitiveness. If so, the work has succeeded in imparting to the reader, a sense of what it means to be Dine' in America in 1983.

To Joe

A Drink To Capitalism

Runner[8]
get the bottle
a few coins between us
a Mission song
more or less

Raise it high above our ragged circle
urinated frozen pants
running noses
blearied eyes
We salute you!

One Eagle feathers
Drifted in wind
Warriors of fire and flint

WE drink[9] to you
Wasichu!
Mid class American slave
suffering everywhere
desecrations wound
ripped earth
incested children
vandalized mothers
carrioned men

Oceans of booze
Mountains of trash
Manifested Destiny
We challenge YOU

wobbling legs
shaking knees
flicker
embers of our resistance
the Old Ways
Pity Love Relation
in this our final stand
sucking greeds tit
respecting you
drink to you
in your own way[10]
Brothers Sisters
all
Renegade Guests

Just as scientific colonialism is complimented by the Western image of Dine', an image of savagism (and its counterpart, civilization, progress) has justified the necessity and desirability of Dine' alcohol policy (Prucha, 1977). The tradition of basing policy on image, often myth, began with the first invaders of the New World, the Spanish.

Spanish Law. The Foundation of Dine' Alcohol Policy and Alcoholism.

The image of Dine' as savage was formalized in policy by a 16th century jurist, Franciscus De Victoria. Victoria's task was to rationalize the brutalities inflicted upon Dine' by his fellow Spaniards (Berkhofer, 1979; Ryan, 1977). Using Aristotelian logic, the jurist began with the premise that some people are intrinsically lower than others and argued (pro and con) the issue of proper conquest. This was a necessary exercise since conquest had to be for just cause if the Church were to approve it.

"Just cause" meant that human, Divine, and natural law had to be balanced. This balance was not easy to achieve when the issue was the genocide and expropriation of Dine'; Victoria engaged in a torturous reasoning. If he could establish that the People were slaves or heretics, conquest would be permitted but he could find no grounds to base a slavery argument on; furthermore, Dine' could not be heretics since the true religions, Catholicism had never

been taught in the New World. Finally, Victoria created the fictitious argument of Dine' land ownership; she ascribed the Spanish relationship with land to the People. Since Dine' were created in the image of God, they were not irrational creatures so would not be barred from the exercise of true dominion (Ryan, 1977; National Indian Youth Council, 1965).

Victoria contended that there was a consistency between human, natural and Divine law (Dine' were really subhuman) and concluded therefore that the Law of War applied to Spanish/Dine' relations. A condition of the Law was reading the Requirements to Dine' targeted for expropriation. This document stated that the Christian God had created the world; that allegiance to the Catholic Church was necessary and supposedly, on that basis, offered the People a choice of War or peace. This statement of policy was read to Dine' in Spanish and often from the distance of a ship. But whether Dine' chose peace or war, their resources, labor and spirituality were to be exchanged for Spanish Christianity and civilization (Berkhofer, 1979).

From the first voyages to the New World until the arrival of the French and British, the Spanish were able to conquer vast territories in the Americas. The goal of the invasion was, as one Conquistadore put it, "to serve God and get rich" (Josephy, 1961).

On October 12, 1492, Columbus wrote in his log:

It appears to me that the people (of the Carribean

> Islands) are ingenious and would be good servants (Meyer, 1971, p. 13)

This entry came after passages referring to the kindness and hospitality with which they, the Spanish, had been greeted.

On October 14, 1492, he write:

> There people are very unskilled in arms, with fifty men they could all be subjected and made to do all that one wishes...(He) ordered seven to be taken and carried to Spain in order to learn our language and return unless your Highnesses should choose to have them all transported to Castille or held captive in the Island (Meyer, 1971, p. 14)

Beginning in 1494 and continuing until 1548 thousands of Dine' were burned at the stake by Spaniards. The population of Hispanola diminished from about 500,000 to less than 500. The continuing Spanish military plan was simple. Under a system of repartiementoes Dine' were to supply labor for gold mines and plantations. In exchange the Spaniards offered Christianity, civilization and Spanish language -- slavery (Josephy, 196; Berkhofer, 1979).

Spanish Policy: Secularizing the Dine' Relationship to Substance

Meso-American Dine' employed thousands of plants in healing and truth seeking. Distilled plants produced an alcohol which was typically used in consort with peyote. La Barre traces Dine' use of alcohol to 15,000 years before Christ (Anderson, 1980). Maya produced Balche wine as early as 1,500 B.C.; Toltecs made octli, from the maguey plant as early as 900 A.D. (Josephy, 1961). Despite widespread use

of substance, neither Spanish or Dine' history cite problems of addiction. But the Spanish outlawed traditional use of substance anyway. In his text on "Peyote" Anderson writes:

> There is no doubt that Spaniards believed the accounts of the Indians concerning the effectiveness of plants and concluded that the miracles attained through their use could only be the work of the devil. Therefore, it became a major goal of the Spanish religious leaders to stamp out the use of the satanic enticement. (Anderson, 1980, p. 6)

The destruction of the traditional relationship to substance (including alcohol) took many forms. On the one hand, scholars like Dr. Fernandez (1520) worked with Aztec healers and recorded use of more than 3,000 medicinal plants (both narcotics and anesthetics were used in surgical practices) (Anderson, 1980). Yet other Spaniards burned the libraries containing the Aztec spiritual and medicinal literature (Josephy, 1961; Anderson, 1980).

The efforts of the military were supplanted by Catholic clerics who established numerous prohibitions against the traditional use of substance. In 1571, the Inquisition was brought to Dine' and the use of peyote was strictly forbidden. One way the law was enforced was through the confessional. To this end, Father Nicholas de Leon gave specific instructions to confessors. He directed priests to ask a series of questions which reflect the Spanish image of Dine' as savage; the focus of the questioning was not on healing or theology, but rather, witchcraft and superstition. Priests asked:

> ...Does thou know certain words with which to conjur for success in hunting or to bring rain?

> Dost thou suck the blood of others, or dost thou wander about at night calling upon the demon to help thee? Hast drunk peyote or hast thou given it to others to drink, in order to find out secrets or to discover where stolen or lost articles were? Dost thou know how to speak to vipers in such words as they obey thee? (Anderson, 1980, p. 6)

Two hundred years later, the attack on traditional substance use continued. In 1760, Father Garcia recommended these these questions be asked in confessional:

> Have you killed anyone?
> How many have you murdered?
> Have you eaten the flesh of man?
> Have you eaten peyote?

Such evidence suggests that Spaniards were frantically determined to eliminate the use of substance. But the spanish were not against European Frontier style drinking, and enslaved Dine' became drunks (Josephy, 1961, p. 138). Today, among some of these Central American tribes, traditionally produced alcohol is still used in a natural, spiritual context but it is more frequently consumed and treated as a commercial item (Estrada, 1981).

Dine' Policy Towards Spain and Response to Invasion:

For the conquest of Meso-Americans, Spaniards relied primarily on military force, but alcohol was one of the primary instruments of death. The role of alcohol in its expropriation of Central American tribes, is exemplifed in Jesuit records of the era.

> They (Dine') died in massive numbers from measles, smallpox, cholera, and horror at inumanities they could not believe even while they were happening. They died drunk, they died insane, they died by

> their own hands, they died they said because their souls were stolen. They vanished in such numbers that African Negroes could not be shipped in fast enough to take their places. Their children were born dead, from syphillis; or their women, rotted with syphillis, became unable to bear children at all. And so they went mad and fought...escaped and fought, murdered and burned, and the Indio bravos, the wild Indians filled with dread, became only wilder still. (Josephy, 1961, p. 138)

In this, the dynamics of the Euramerican/Dine' relationship were established. Capitalists would invade, expropriate and exterminate; alcohol would facilitate theft. The entire process would be rationalized through policy which rested on myths of savagism/civilization. The masses of European immigrants would be victimized by this mythology. Unaware that the name "Indios" was inspired by the Haitian native custom of sharing, Europeans would instead follow Columbus' belief that,

> Gold is a wonderful thing! Whoever owns it is lord of all he wants. With gold it is even possible to open for souls a way to paraedise! (Novack, 1979, p. 21)

Observing such ideology in action, Tautile, an Aztec leader, noted that the "Spaniards were troubled with a disease of the heart, for which gold was the specific remedy" (Novack, 1979, p. 21).

BRITISH INVASION, POLICY MILIEU

In the rise of the nation state, the wool trade in decline, and overpopulation, England turned to the emergent joint stock companies to finance colonies in the new world The earliest arguments for establishing a permanent colony

were voiced by Richard Hackluyt (1553-1616) who gave primacy to conversion to Dine'. Hackluyt was concerned that so many Dine' were Catholics.[11] He argued that colonization of America would establish a market for European goods and would provide a chance to build a navy and establish an empire. Looking at the failures of Gilbert and Raleigh, he contended that individuals could not successfully colonize America. He urged that the government undertake the effort through agreements with joint stock companies (Pearce, 1977; Talbot, 1981; Jennings, 1975).

Hackluyt's arguments were persuasive; no colony was initiated by the Crown which stepped in to assume control, only after the foundation and superstructures had been built.

In the "Dispossession of American Indians," Talbot notes:

> ...Instead of Massachusetts and the New England towns being a survival of ancient free Anglo-Saxon institutions on the American frontier, they were merely "founded as a result of a simple business arrangement...." (Talbot, 1981, p. 85)

Thus, it was the joint-stock companies which shaped Dine' policy under the European invasion of America. Unlike the Spanish predecessors, the British did not have to consider Divine law nor Dine' rights in policy formation. In fact, Protestant mission groups became private enterprise partners in the joint stock invasion. This meant that religious trustees assumed powers of a feudal lord --

> the right to make all laws, to admit or expel inhabitants, to imprison, execute, make war, tax and hold title in fee from the Crown to all land. (Talbot, 1981, p. 84)

ALCOHOL ADDICTION; THE INSTRUMENTAL NEXUS OF BRITISH POLICY

Despite the sweeping, self-assumed powers, the British were outnumbered and dependent upon Dine' for food and raw goods. Desiring more land and cheap resources, the British turned to alcohol as a means of minimizing the superior bargaining position of the People (Jennings, 1975).

For the British, alcohol was uniquely suitable for expropriation. It was inxpensive, readily available, highly consumable and infantilized the consumer. Furthermore, Dine' alcohol consumption, would complete two global trade routes; the Rum Triangle[12] and a similar opium route to China (U.S. China Peoples Friendship Association, 1975).

Joint stock companies were ruthless in their acquisitivenss. When the Ching dynasty refused reciprocal trade with Britain and insisted on payment in silver, the British turned to opium. Burmese and Indian colonies were compelled to plant large poppy fields. The opium from these fields was smuggled into Chinese coastal cities. Attempting to halt the spread of addiction, China banned smoking, cultivation and importation of the drug. The British reacted by enlisting the help of local pirates and finally brought warships and guns into Chinese harbors. By 1880, China was importing more than 6,500 tons of opium per year from Britain (U.S. China People's Friendship Association, 1975).

In turn, opium was used to lace alcohol intended for trade with Dine'. This deadly brew was foisted on the People in trading, treating, and other mutual activities. Generally, such meetings were preceded by drinking this special brand of Indian Whiskey which was:

> ...a vile potion, usually drugged and diluted to best serve devious ends...drugs such as strychnine and laudanum were added and justified on the grounds that aggression would be diminished.
>
> Liquor was also given as a form of payment for services rendered. Military aid given by the Indians to both British and French was paid for by quantities of liquor.... (Strauss, 1976, p. 32)

Thus, alcohol was widely and cynically used to defraud tribesmen; and alcoholism became a major social problem for Dine' (Jennings, 1975; Pearce, 1977)

BRITISH EXTERMINATION OF TRADITIONAL DINE' RELATIONSHIP TO SUBSTANCE

Like the Spanish before them, the British implemented a two stage policy for promoting alcohol dependency among Dine'. The first stage, already discussed, was introducing alcohol and making it readily available. The second, was the destruction of traditional science, which defined healthy relationships with substance. Extermination of Dine' medicine, was a policy implemented with zeal, for colonists brought with them, post-Protestant Reformation values such as fear and hatred of people considered to be infidels (Pearce, 1977)

Unlike Spanish Jesuits, who recorded thousands of Dine'

medicines, Protestant English did not expect to learn anything from heathens, so were motivated to stamp out the evils of Dine' medicine. Historian Jennings observed:

> ...educated Europeans refused to learn the genuinely effective Indian remedies because of the...heathen superstition that tainted his medicine. They paid a heavy price in lives for their stubbornness... The brevity of European life expectations in that era is confirmation enough (Jennings, 1975, p. 52)

But the lives of colonists were a small price for joint stock companies to pay. Indeed, they used every available means to assault traditional science, for these businessmen had correctly perceived that,

> to the extent his (Medicine man) influence was weakened, White influence was able to penetrate (Jennings, 1975, p. 53)

Where tribal science was intact, business had small chance of success. In one instance, a missionary was given an appointment with the Six Nations. The purpose of the meeting was to persuade Iroquois to convert to Christianity. Red Jacket (Iroquois Traditional) listened to the presentation and then responded:

> Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion or take it from you. We want only to enjoy our own.
>
> Brother you say that you have not come to get our land or our money but to enlighten our minds. I will now tell you that I have been to your meetings and saw you collect money from the meeting. I cannot tell what this money was intended for, but suppose that it was for your minister; and, if we should conform to your way of thinking perhaps you may want some from us.
>
> Brother we are told that you have been preaching to the White people in this place. These people are our neighbors. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while and see what effect your

> preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will then consider again of what you have said. (Jennings, 1975, p. 52)

When Britain was able to dominate tribes and destroy the traditional science, North American tribes did as their Meso-American relatives had. They turned to secular use of alcohol, rather than an alien religion. The life of Joseph Quasson, a seaboard Dine' is an example of this phenomena. Quasson had been bound to a colonist when his father died in debt, while in servitude, he had learned to read and:

> had come to know God. Freed, however, he had become a roisterer and drunkard and by 1726, a condemned murderer. (Wallace, 1972, p. 206)

By the 17th century, Eastern Dine' were asking traders British authorities to halt alcohol trafficing, but such pleas fell on deaf ears. In myth, Europeans were not guilty of rendering Dine' dependent on alcohol. Colonists could point to restrictions and prohibitions on the distribution of rum to Dine' (which were totally ineffective) and pretend they were responding in a humane way (Pearce, 1977). Furthermore, European myths of savagism/civilization convinced colonists that Dine' were savage and given to bestial excess, thus, naturally alcoholic.

The Englishman devised the savage form to fit his function, but one aspect of the term "savage" remained constant -- the savage was always inferior to the civilized man. (Pearce, 1977)

As the colonial period drew to a close, the British had accomplished several basic goals. Many Dine' were

transformed into colonial subjects; title of Dine' land was transferred to Crown (at least in theory) and resources were being exploited in ways consonant with British economics. Increasing numbers of Dine' were alcohol dependent and dependent on British suppliers. In this regard, the British invasion policy can be measured a success; but in ideological ways, the invasion failed. Dine' would expose the savagism/civilization myth and reveal a system of greed which would devour even its own (Jennings, 1975).

DINE' BURNISH MYTH OF SAVAGISM/CIVILIZATION--VENEER OF CAPITALISM

Dine' nations were strong, in the early days of colonialism and maintained a xenophillic posture towards Europeans. This characteristic, combined with straightforward observations exposed the contradictions in British policy.

Around 1560, three Iroquois visited France. Montaigne, a French writer, interviewed them, hoping for a romantic story on the noble savage. Instead, the Dine' leaders, offered some pointed political criticism:

> They had perceived there were men amongst us full gorged with all sorts of commodities, and others which hunger -- starved, and bare with need and poverty, begged at their gates; and found it strange, these moyties so needy could endure such an injustice and that they took not the others justice and that they took not the others by the throat, or set fire on their house.... (Jennings, 1975, p. 79)

In America, colonists who had fled Europe often sought new life among Dine'. Generally, they were welcomed by Dine'

but joint stock companies often took harsh measures against such defection, as evidenced in the Virginia colony (Jennings, 1975, p. 79)

In Virginia, the first colonists died in massive numbers. From 1607 to 1610 the population declined from 900 to 150. Powhatan, a leader of a confederacy of more than 200 villages, could have stamped out the colony or left it to starve but chose to help. Captain John Smith wrote:

> ...it pleased God to move the Indians to bring us Corne ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh us, when we rather expected...they would destroy us...(Jennings, 1975, p. 79)

In a later meeting, Powhaten reminded John Smith that colonists were welcome among Dine', stating:

> Why should you take by force from us that which you can obtain by love? Why should you destroy us who have provided you with food?...I am not so simple as not to know that it is better to eat good meat, be well and sleep quietly with my women and children, to laugh and be merry with the English, and being their friend, to have copper hatchets and whatever else I want.... (Josephy, 1961, p. 165)

But the iron grip of the joint stock company held and by 1622 life in the Virginia colony became a nightmare:

> There having been, as it is thought, not fewer than Ten thousand soules transported thether, there are not, through aforenamed abuses and neglects, above Two thousand of them at present to be found alive...in stead of a Plantation, it will shortly get the name of a slaughter house. Sir Thomas Smith (1607-1619) affirmed the wants and miseries of the colony...many fled for relief to the savages but were taken again, and hung, shot or broken upon the wheel: one man for stealing a meal had a bodkin thrust through his tongue and was chained to a tree until he starved.... (Jennings, 1975, p. 79)

Conditions were ripe for revolution against Great Britain. When the Iroquois Confederacy (the most powerful Eastern

Dine') joined forces with the colonists, the die was cast.

Early Nationalist Ideology and Myth; the Basis of Policy

Colonial Americans failed to make savage and civilized destiny one. Dine' had rejected absorption into the emergent capitalist utopia. This posed both a paradigmatic and a practical problem for business and the new federal government, which wanted expansion west (Pearce, 1977, p. 49).

Expansion required a populace committed to aggression and violence, yet many Americans had established good relations with Dine'. Indeed, the only major difference among the two people was in the relationship to land (or in Western terms, property). Dine' valued accomodation to nature whereas the European valued control and possession. Still, immigrants who recalled the pestilential, feudal and war-torn conditions of Europe were often willing to forsake amassing property for freedom and security, among Dine' (Josephy, 1961).

Early Presidents, including Washington and Jefferson, argued for separation of Whites and Dine' and based their arguments on the pattern of land use. These ideas, educed from the philosophy of John Locke, associated property ownership with agriculture, natural rights, life and liberty. In this view, Dine' were nomadic, non-agricultural peoples thus had no proof of land ownership. By using the sacred doctrine of natural rights, dispossession was given a

pious, Christian impetus (Pearce, 1977; Berkhofer, 1979).

Expansionism accrued further merit by new understandings of "savagism". Historian Ortiz (Cheyenne Nation) has found that in this time period, references to savagery did:

> not necessarily refer only to violence. Europeans were not opposed to violence. Most references to savagery...were made in the context of observing Native land ownership and land use concepts. Indians were "savage" because they did not want to be homesteaders, because they opposed private ownership of land.
>
> Europeans, Christians had an idea that they had originated in a Garden of Eden where everyone shared and shared alike, no one starved, everyone was provided for. Europeans believed that Indian people were living in that imaginary primal state.
>
> Before Europeans arrived, there was no lack of necessities for Indians. Their social structures were built around human needs and human relationships and the preservation and reverence for all life. The Europeans thought that in overcoming their own imaginary Garden of Eden stage, they had somehow advanced and were civilized. (Ortiz, 1977, p. 67)

The final piece of expansionist ideology came with the idea of progress, which explained that:

> Cultures are good...as they allow for full realization of man's essential and absolute moral nature and man realizes this nature as he progresses...from savagism to civilization. Westward American progress would...be understood to be reproducing this historical progression; and the savage would be understood as one who had not and somehow could not progress...who would inevitably be destroyed...History would thus be the key to the moral worth of cultures; the history of American civilization would thus be conceived of as three-dimensional, progressing from past to present, from east to west, from lower to higher. (Pearce, 1977, p. 48-49)

Expansionist ideology was so successfully inculcated that Americans would reap havoc on their own, with no thought of sympathy. A participant in an Ohio Valley Campaign who helped in the forced repatriation of colonists wrote:

> For the honour of humanity, we would suppose those persons to have been of the lowest rank, either bred up in ignorance and distressing penury, or who had lived so long with the Indians as to forget all their former connections. For each and unconstrained as the savage life is, certainly it could never be put in competition with the blessings of improved life and the light of religion, by any persons who have had the happiness of enjoying, and the capacity of discerning them. (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 244)

When turned on Dine', the combined forces of religious mission and Protestant capitalism, produced a deadly dynamic. Convinced of their righteousness, colonists murdered Dine', stole lands and rapidly overpopulated, usually without thought to what had been there before (Newsweek, 1982).

EXPANSIONIST IDEOLOGY BECOMES ALCOHOL POLICY

George Washington and Secretary of War Knox forged expansionist ideology into Dine' alcohol policy. The two men agreed that destruction of Dine' would be too expensive and probably impossible. Moreover, such action would likely tarnish the image of the federal government. Contending that expansion was inevitable, they reasoned that tribes pushed west, would necessarily encroach on other tribes; hence, would destroy each other (Berkhofer, 1979).

In a carefully orchestrated effort, Knox posed a strategy that would build federal power; restrict the states; receive public support and continue to expropriate Dine' lands. The policy was, "Expansion with Honor". Knox hinted that it would bring honor to the U.S. to recognize Native occupancy rights; title of Dine' lands could be transferred through federal purchase (Berkhofer, 1979). The purchase of lands concept promulgated federal dominance over tribes through the precedent of boundary lines. The lines insured separatism and provided the locus for government "factories" -- trading posts, agents, and alcohol (Ortiz, 1977).

Such thinly disguised avarice was rationalized and legalized in a series of Executive Orders and Congressional Acts relating to trade and intercourse. The Acts were purported as humane concessions to the Iroquois, to help control unscrupulous traders but resulted in legalization of a massive federal alcohol trade (Prucha, 1977).

While the U.S. continued to encroach on Dine' land, and flood it with alcohol, Jefferson spoke to Dine' leaders, remarking that, "...temperance, peace and agriculture...will prepare you to possess property...." (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 244) Privately, Benjamin Franklin states, "...if it is the design of Providence to extirpate these savages in order to make room for the cultivators of the earth, it seems probable that rum may be the appointed means" (Smith, 1968).

Dine' Fight Alcohol -- A Tradition of Resistance Begins

By the mid-eighteenth century, the mighty Iroquois Confederacy was struggling with "community wide drunken saturnalia" (Wallace, 1972, p. 199). Within their own communities, Iroquois chiefs had spoken to their people about the dangers of alcohol, however, and Handsome Lake, Longhouse Chief, reported:

> ...men revel in strong drink and are very quarrelsome. Because of this the families become frightened and move away for safety....
>
> Now the drunken men run yelling through the village and there is no one there except the drunken. Now they are beastlike and run about without clothing and all have weapons to injure those whom they meet. (Wallace, 1972, p. 234)

Traditional Scientific Strategies

Within the Nation, Iroquois confronted alcoholism on social, political, and spiritual levels.

Iroquois sought and were given direction through traditional scientific means. Handsome Lake received a series of visions, which led to a complete social reorganization of Iroquois -- the Longhouse Way. Through the institutionalization of traditional beliefs and the addition of Christian elements, the Way espoused thanksgiving, love, temperance and industry. Thus, Handsome Lake provided a means for Iroquois to deal with the pressures of colonization. His traditional scientific findings and subsequent social activism were remarkably effective:

Inspired by their prophet and taking advantage of the educational and technological aid offered by religious and government organizations, the Iroquois quickly began to implement the recommendations of the social gospel. A true renaissance occurred on many of the reservations in the years between 1799 and 1815. This renaissance affected the lives of the Iroquois most conspicuously in matters of temperance, technology, and religious observance....

The implementation of the prophet's demand for temperance was not left to individual conscience. The political structure of the several communities and of the Great League itself was mobilized to exact conformity to the disciples of sobriety...village, tribal and League councils early met to discuss the prophet's Code and uniformly supported the condemnation of alcohol....These council resolutions did not, to be sure, have the force of law in the European sense, for there were no police or courts to enforce the resolution; but the council members made it their business to harass nonconformists into sobriety. If the chiefs found out that someone had gotten drunk when they were out in the White settlements, they were sharply reproved by the chiefs on their return, which had nearly the same effect among Indians, as committing a man to the workhouse among white people. (Wallace, 1972, p. 234)

Diplomatic Strategies

Facing the source of the alcohol problem, Iroquois initiated a series (1790-1794) of high level diplomatic meetings with American spokesmen. As a result of the negotiations, Americans agreed to correct abuses in whiskey trade. In exchange, Iroquois agreed not to align with the British; in fact, Iroquois desired trade and official communication with the U.S., but,

> wanted traders to be licensed, in order that the unscrupulous whiskey-sellers and other undesirables could be excluded from the Indian country: and they wanted a system of official, recognized Indian agents close to their borders with whom they could conveniently communicate as needed. (Wallace, 1972, p. 175)

Conceding alignments with the British cost the collapse of the Confederacy. No longer could Iroquois pursue a policy of neutrality or play one power against the other. Worse, the U.S. did not keep its agreement.

By 1796, the agent to the Iroquois wrote to the Secretary of War:

> The Indians of the Six Nations...have become given to indolence, drunkeness and thefts, and have taken to killing each other, there have been five murders among themselves within Six months -- they have recd their payments and immediately expended it for liquor.... (Wallace, 1972, p. 200)

In the spring of 1802, Handsome Lake and a delegation of Six Nations leaders, met with President Jefferson. During the meeting, they confronted Jefferson with the failure of his policy to halt the continued influx of whiskey. Several days later, Jefferson responded by letter

that the Congress:

> was considering a law to prohibit the use of alcohol by Indians and agreed to provide in writing a guarantee that Iroquois land could not be taken by anyone without Iroquois consent. (Wallace, 1972, p. 269)

U.S. DINE' ALCOHOL POLICY: A TRADITION OF GENOCIDE THROUGH BUREAUCRACY AND EQUIVOCATION

By fall, nothing had changed for the Iroquois and Handsome Lake again wrote to the President about the problems of whisky and iniquitous land sales of recent past. The response from Jefferson came a week later:

> ...these nations (of Euramericans) have done to you only what they do among themselves. They have sold what individuals wish to buy, leaving to everyone to be the guardian of his own health and happiness. Spirituous liquors are not in themselves bad. They are often found to be an excellent medicine for the sick. It is the improper and intemperate use of them...which makes them injurious, but as you find that you people cannot refrain from an ill use of them...I am authorized...to prohibit them (sale of alcohol).
>
> ...I sent an agent in whom we all trust to see that your consent was free, and the sale fair. All was reported to be free and fair. The lands were your property. The right to sell is one of the rights of property. To forbid you the exercise of that right would be a wrong to your nation.... (Wallace, 1972, p. 271)

Pressured further, Jefferson finally called upon Congress to take some step to control the liquor traffic with Dine'. Congress was not easily persuaded but Jefferson cited the presence of alcohol in nearly every settled Dine' conflict and argued that control would not only benefit Dine' but would protect Americans. Congress agreed and

authorized the President:

> to take such measures, from time to time, as to him may appear expedient to prevent or restrain the vending or distributing of spirituous liquors among all or any of the said Indian tribes, anything herein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. (Chen)

The Act was implemented through the Secretary of War who sent a circular of instructions to all govenment agents prohibiting the vending of ardent spirits. Thus responibility for ending the trafficing was placed in the hands of agents who often profitted from it. The law was so unsuccessful that William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana (1803), wrote to the President:

> It is my opinion that more Whiskey has been consumed by the Indians and more fatal consequences enurred from the use of it since the traders have been prohibited from taking it into the Indian Country than there ever was before. (Prucha, 1977, pp. 104-105)

In 1811, William Clark, Midwest agent, wrote Jefferson:

> My power under the laws...is not sufficient to affect this object in a country like this, where nine out of ten of the Indian traders have no respect for our laws. (Prucha, 1977, p. 10)

Despite this concern of honest agents, Jefferson remarked that he was:

> glad to see the good and influential among the Indians in debt (to government traders) because we observe that when these debts get beyond what the individual can pay, they become willing to lop them off by a cession of lands. (Williams)

Two noted Dine' historians suggest that the very ineffectiveness of the alcohol laws may have assured continued legislative response by the government. Prucha examined alcohol policy of the era and concluded that

powerful trading interests on the frontier used loopholes to thwart and attempt to curb the use of whiskey in exploiting Indians.

Historian Jacobs found:

> It would almost seem that the official government policy at these factories (trading posts) was to drown the Indians in a Niagara of liquor. (Ortiz, 1977, p. 87)

SUMMARY OF EARLY NATIONALIST POLICY ERA

The policy of, "Expansion With Honor," worked. As early as 1794 the Seneca (Iroquois) were doubtful of their ability to survive. Red Jacket (Iroquois Chief) stated:

> It appears to me that the Great Spirit is determined on our destruction -- perhaps it is to answer some great and now incomprehensible purpose, for the better and whatever his will is, I bear it like a man. (Wallace,1972, p. 199)

The mighty Iroquois Confederacy crumbled and the entire eastern seaboard fell in the hands of Euramericans. From this point forward, Red Jacket would open his speeches with an appeal for pity, reminding Americans, "once you were weak and we were kind, now we are weak and you are merciless" (Wallace, 1972, p. 205).

Frontiersmen, who were in many respects more like Dine' than Europeans, were alienated from the people by an ideology which compelled them to remember:

> the basic objective of their life -- property -- so different from the basic Indian objective that the two could never hope to be members of the same club. (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 247)

Iroquois were confined to small tracts of land. These

reservations were:

> being gradually encircled by a peculiarly delapidated and discouraged European culture brought by hopeful speculators, by hungry farmers, and by hard drinking Scottish-Irish weavers. (Wallace, 1972, p. 208)

Now, secure in its dominance, the U.S. initiated another ideological war. The objective of the war was to convince Dine' that alcoholism was the fault of the People. Beginning in 1819, Congress set aside $10,000 per year to support Christian missionaries' work among Dine' (McNickle et al., p. 1). One such missionary was Simmons, a Quaker evangelist, who attacked Iroquois leadership for the problems of alcohol in the community. The Chiefs listened to Simmons then deliberated for several days. Cornplanter, a leading Longhouse Chief, delivered the response -- it was a "declaration of national reform":

Simmons records:

> They had made enquiry and conversed with each other about us (missionaries) and said they could not find any fault with us, but found we were just and upright in all our ways or proceeding amongst them, etc., and that the fault and bad conduct lay on their own side, and wished us to be easy in our minds, for they would take our advice and try to learn to do better, they had concluded with a resolution not to suffer any more Whiskey to be brought amongst them to sell, and had then chosen two young men as petty Chiefs, to have some oversight of their people in the promotion of good among them, and that they intended to take up Work, and do as we said, would assist their Wives and Women on the Labour of the Field, etc. (Wallace, 1972, p. 235)

Through the Declaration, the Iroquois leadership accepted responsibility for the alcohol problem but they

also accepted the blame. Even the great leaders, such as Handsome Lake, admonished the People, predicting that, a flask of rum,

> ...will turn their minds to foolishness and they will barter their country for baubles; then will this secret eat the life from their blood and crumble their bons. (Wallace, 1972, p. 202)

In this, two traditions were formulated. The tradition of responsibility and resistance towards alcohol would be a strength for future generations to draw from but the tradition of accepting blame was a tragedy that would scar Dine' to the present time.

EXPANSION THROUGH REMOVAL AND ASSUMPTION OF JURISDICTION, 1820-1840.

In the early 1800's, the United States was a fledgling nation moving with unbridled speed to establish a new nation and at the same time trying to build an empire. With the collapse of the Iroquois Confederacy, the door was open to the west. Business, citizens and all branches of government became consumed with greed. It did not matter that Dine' occupied the west for Dine' were simply hinderances or obstacles that had to be removed in order for the country to expand its territorial boundaries. (Newsweek, pp. 44-51)

Northwest Territory Dine' Resist:

As the juggernaut moved west, Dine' resisted. By this time, the motives of American capitalists were clear.

Tecumseh, Shawnee chief, challenged the Americans:

> Sell a country! Why not sell the air, the clouds and the great sea... Did not the Great Spirit make them all for the use of his children? (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 208)

Tecumseh was determined to hold the Ohio River as the dividing line. In four short years he succeeded in organizing tribes from Florida to the upper Missouri River into a pan-Indian union. Like the Iroquois, Tecumseh based his resistance in a spiritual movement. Dine' were to abstain from alcohol, to avoid intermarriage and the wearing of white man's clothes; above all, to refuse to sell the land.

Harrison, Governor of the Territory, wrote of Tecumseh:

> He is one of those uncommon geniuses which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and overturn the established order of things.... (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 206)

But Tecumseh's strategy was undermined in a premature military action by his brother and in 1820, the "frontiersman's policy -- clear the Indians out -- was at last triumphing to become the national policy of the United States...." (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 196)

With the loss of the Ohio Valley hunting grounds, the means of subsistence was gone. Dine' were crowded in ever-smaller reservations...

> Many sought the solace and oblivion of alcohol. Others, reduced to begging and stealing to stay alive, became...nothing more than the white man's burden. (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 208)

Alcohol Controls -- Capitalists and Government on a Policy

Merry-Go-Round

One of the most notable characteristics of the developing nation was present in the government/business interface. Both were attempting to establish their turf; resultant conflict and confusion dominated alcohol policy in the Northwest fur trade.

In the early 1800's, hostilities were increasing between American and British fur trading companies. Both nations used alcohol to defraud Dine' in trade, but the problem of alcoholism was becoming so bad, that it was destroying the ability and incentive of Dine', to hunt or trap. Business was losing money; something had to be done. (Prucha, 1977)

In 1822, Congress amended the non-intercourse act and authorized the President to direct Indian agents to search and seize the goods of traders suspected of carrying alcohol into Indian Country. For a brief time, this helped both business and Dine' but the British continued to ply Dine' with alcohol and began to cut into American profits. In 1825, the American Fur Company sought and received permission from the War Department, to use limited amounts of alcohol in trade. This permission was based on the discretionary power designated in the 1822 act. Of course, limiting the use of alcohol to absolute necessity, was impossible to enforce, and in 1827, Congress withdrew the discretionary powers of the War Department (Prucha, 1977).

Still, a loophole remained. Historian Prucha records

that traders were permitted to carry in alcohol for boat-men employed in fur trade. By 1831, the territorial superintendent was issuing a permit for only one out of every hundred gallons taken into Indian Country:

> So brazen were the traders that they openly sold the whiskey in the face of agents who had no power at their command to control it... Any ruse seemed to succeed. (Prucha, 1977, p. 115)

In fact, traders' boats, going up the Missouri, were not even checked. Honest military officers were afraid to act, for fur companies could take legal action against them. In one instance, an officer had to pay all legal fees and damages in a liable suit, out of his own pocket and wait months for government reimbursement. Unlicensed traders operated totally outside the law. (Prucha, 1977, p. 126)

Justice Hops on the Merry-Go-Round of Expansion

Against provisions in the 1802 Intercourse Act (protecting Dine' lands from further encroachment), Jackson persuaded Congress to pass the Indian Removal Act of 1830. This act set aside a half-million dollars to negotiate with eastern tribes for their removal west of the Mississippi. Resisting the legalized expansion, the Cherokee Nation appealed to the Supreme Court (Cherokee Nation v. Georgia) (Prucha, 1977).

Consistent with expansionist goals, the Court refused to hear the case, holding that it did not have jurisdiction; the Cherokees were not a foreign nation and could not sue as one. But two years later the U.S. Supreme Court, in Worcester v. Georgia, used the commerce clause to assert its

jurisdiction in Indian Country (Prucha, 1977). This case served another purpose; it established the Federal Government's dominance over states, when dealing with Dine', and defined Dine' nations, as "domestic dependent wards" (Prucha, 1977). Chief Justice John Marshall based his decision on the assertion that Dine' were "fierce savages, whose occupation was war...." (Prucha, 1977).

The Court determined that the Cherokee could not be removed but spurred by the discovery of gold on Cherokee land, Jackson proceeded with a series of forced relocations. Southeast nations of Creek, Cherokee and many others were driven from their homes and marched from Georgia to Oklahoma. It was winter, the People had only the clothing they wore; food was scarce. So many died that this walk became known as the Trail of Tears. For the People who survived, there was only suffering. By the end of the decade, the eastern half of the United States was in non-Dine' hands (National Impact, 1977, p. 1).

The Boundary Line: Jurisdiction Used to Avoid Alcohol Control

Removal did not mean the end of alcohol invasion for Dine'. Traders moved freely back and forth across the boundary line. In 1832, Captain John Stuart (Ft. Smith, Arkansas) wrote of the lawlessness of Americans, noting that they:

> ...have for their Governing Principles Self Interest alone, Without regard to Law or honesty -- And they will Sell Whiskey to Indians whenever and wherever they can find Purchasers, And I know of no Law by which they can be punished for Selling.... So Little regard is their paid to Law in this Country -- And So much are the Justices of the Peace and Jurors, and Neighbourhood opinions that it is impossible to get a Legal Decision made against an offender.... (Prucha, 1977, p. 128)

The border had become phantasmogoric. Dine' were dying from the bootlegged whiskey and Fort Smith was repeatedly set on fire. Under pressure, Congress (1832) passed an absolute prohibition of any spiritous liquor taken into Dine' land. But Prucha records the various schemes around this, too. When a Ft. Smith territorial grand jury convened on the matter of alcohol trade with Dine', they found the court lacked jurisdiction; only the President had authority to act. A copy of the grand jury finding was sent to the War Department, to be laid before the President. But when the Secretary of War asked for evidence, he discovered that all testimony had been oral and non of it written down (Prucha, 1977).

In 1834, Congress acted again. This time, the 1802 prohibition was modified to facilitate enforcement. Of course, there was still an exception. Indian agents could search and seize illegal alcohol except that introduced by the War Deprtment (Treaty of October 8, 1820). Near the end of the Removal era, it was obvious that business and government would not implement reponsible alcohol policy. Indeed, the entire process had become an absurd, double-dealing, procedural tango.

REMOVAL ERA IDEOLOGY

Nineteenth century Protestant, American genocide was so inculcated that the synonym for Dine' became the "Vanishing American"[13]. It was generally believed that,

> ...some inscrutable natural laws were at work by which the Indians automatically perished under the withering touch of civilization...
>
> ...They pitied his state, but saw it as inevitable; they hoped to bring him to civilization but saw that civilization would kill him....(Josephy et al., 1961, p. 247)

These sentiments were bolstered by awareness of the border alcohol problem and the glaring contradiction in Supreme Court decisions. This in turn produced a double mindedness in Easterners. Near the end of the Removal era, the image of Dine' as "insensate barbarian gave way to the Red Brother asking for guidance of the missionaries...." but only when expedient (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 247). Historian Josephy notes:

> Town-dwelling Indians, rich in culture and cornfields were transfigured in the popular mind into nomadic hunters, rather dirtier and less desirable than gypsies -- which of course made it easier to drive them away, or shoot them if they became dangerous. Well-meaning citizens -- good people - had to keep reminding themselves that the dispossessed Creeks or the dispossessed Sauk and Foxes of the particularly synthetic Black Hawk "War" were savages.
>
> But at the same time sizable sections of public opinion magnified the Creeks and their neighbors into romantic heroes. The indignation of idealists in the North to the methods of Indian removal in the South may be supposed to have added fuel to the various heated reform movements of the time. (Josephy et al., 1961, p. 247)

Ideology may have been double-minded but policy was not in the end, it was President Jackson's thinking which

prevailed:

> Humanity has often wept over the face of the aborigines of this country, and Philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another.... Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good men would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive Republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 13,000,000 happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?
>
> The present policy of the Government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process.... (Pearse, 1977, p. 57)

EXTERMINATION ERA (1840-1891)

In the silence of the eastern lands, the forces of the new nation gathered. Ideology, capitalism and government were not a fine edged blade, honed for the bloodbath of extermination. Christ had died so that Western man might live; the savages would now die so that he might prosper.

Treaties; the Vanguard of Genocide

Alcohol policy became a standard part of many of the treaties negotiated by the U.S. government with the tribes west of the Mississippi River (Cohen, 1968). This inclusion of those policies became, for Dine', a double-edged sword. It set the stage for future assumption of jurisdiction in

Indian Country by the U.S. government when no other legal basis existed (Morrison, 1983). More importantly, it placed responsibility or blame upon Dine' for the future effects of alcohol upon the People.

In the Treaty of February 22, 1855, the Anishnabeq agreed...

> ...that they will abstain from the use of intoxication, drinks and other vices to which they have been addicted.... (Treaty of February 22, 1855)

In the same time period, the Sac and Fox signed a treaty promising...

> to use their best efforts to prevent the introduction and use of ardent spirits in their country. (Treaty of May 18, 1854)

The U.S. used any measure necessary to control Dine' alcohol consumption provided it brooked no interference with American profit. After 1850, the President authorized agents to rely on "acts of kindness or to decrease annuities..." to enforce prohibition (Treaty of June 6, 1825). In treaties with the Ponca (1858), the Sioux (1858), the government provided for:

> ...The witholding for a year or for such time as an administrator should determine, of annuities of an Indian drinking intoxicating liquors or providing others with liquors.... (Treaty of March 12, 1858 with the Poncas, 12 Stat. 997; Treaty of June 19, 1858, with the Sioux, Art. 7,12 Stat. 1037)

Yet government agents, who were supposed to control the flow of alcohol into Indian Country, openly sold whiskey at public stands (Martin, 1981). Thus, the whiskey sellers who

moved west with the gold seekers, not only continued selling whiskey but also...

> sold Indians a drink that combined grain spirits with cheap, corrosive acid. One concoction was called, 'forty-rod' because an Indian who had taken a liberal swallow would stagger about that far before collapsing and dying. (Martin, 1981, . 55)

Overtaken by these policy "successes" the federal government attempted to enforce prohibition in the territory of New Mexico, thereby extending its jurisdiction. This effort met with failure when the territorial Court found that the federal government lacked jurisdiction. The basis for the finding was that, the Pueblo nations, were not Indian because,

> They were not savages but rather were some of the most law-abiding, sober and industrious people of New Mexico. (United States v. Lucerno, 1869)

This conclusion allowed non-Dine' to keep moving onto Dine' lands. It enabled traders to continue selling bootleg whiskey and established the idea of "savage" and presence of alcoholism as tests of sovereignty. This pro-profit finding in United States v. Lucero, signaled the genocidal gravitation of a nation, bent on extermination.

Extermination Policy

U.S. extermination policy reflected changing market conditions -- control of Dine' resources had become more profitable than trade with Dine'. Moreover, the idea of "control" was now possible; the U.S. was increasing in wealth and population, while western Dine' lost French, English and Spanish allies. Extermination was desirable,

and possible, but the question was, how to do it without threatening the new national unity. This problem was solved through a series of policy manipulations which concealed the harsh, genocidal intent of U.S. interests (McNickle et al., p. 5).

In 1849, Congress moved Dine' affairs from the War Department to the Home Department, stating that, "War being the exception, peace the ordinary condition, the policy should be for the latter" (Pearse, 1977, p. 3). Through this shift, Congress assumed, "...a character consonant with the relations of guardian and ward" (Pearse, 1977, p. 2). This policy posture was given further weight when Christian reformists were included in various policy formation boards (Pearse, 1977; Prucha, 1977) and in 1851 scholars entered the picture with Lewis Henry Morgan who published the "League of the Iroquois". This work connected Dine' societies with the emergent philosophy of evolution. Basically, Morgan cited the advanced state of the Iroquois to demonstrate that Dine' were savages capable of advancing, perhaps, to civilization. This sparked hope, in eastern Christian reformists who believed that they could assist the decimated Eastern tribes on the road to civilization (Pearse, 1977; Berkhofer, 1979).

President Grant recognized the potential of the Christian Reform movement in his Peace Policy of 1869 when he stated:

> This policy replaced military agents with men from religious organizations. It also created a board of Indian Commissioners to review contract compliance by those who supplied rations, clothing and other goods to Indians. (McNickle et al., p. 3)

Meanwhile, policy implementation was following a very different direction. At the close of the Civil War slave-holders lost control of the government and capitalists took complete command. So began thirty years of

> ...aboriginal extermination. The Civil War generals turned from battle against the slaveholders to consummate the conquest of the Indians in the West. General Halleck urged that the Apaches "be hunted and exterminated" and General Sheridan uttered his notorious remark, "There are no good Indians but dead Indians." (Novack, 1979, pp. 14-15)

The drive of agriculturalists from the East and the migration of miners caught Dine' in a vice and triggered bloody incidents like Sand Creek Massacre. Reaching the west coast, the U.S. government no longer needed to rely on negotiation with tribes and in 1871 Congress voted to abandon treaty making (McNickle et al., p. 4). From this point on, the U.S. would steal resources from Dine' whenever it pleased. Tribes and resources conquered after 1871 would not be eligible for basic health care; and in the twentieth century would not even be recognized as Dine'.

The absolute nature of this flagrant policy of genocide is clearly manifested in the U.S. government's dealings with the Alaska Native people.

Extermination Policy in Alaska: Christian Expansionism

During the height of the extermination period, Alaska remained relatively untouched. This is partly because the United States had not yet (until 1867 when it entered into

the Treaty of Cession with Imperial Russia) extended its claims to jurisdiction over the land and people. By this time, its policies for dealing with all Dine' were firmly established. A prime example of this "mind set" was the U.S. decision to no longer enter into treaties with Dine'. Thus, the decision to proceed with the take-over of Alaskan Dine' was nothing short of a blanket statement that, "We now have the military, political and economic power, coupled with experience to take whatever we want" (Morrison, 1983).

Another part of the reason why Alaskan Dine' remained relatively free of genocidal military actions which were perpetrated upon continental Dine' was chance. Military actions carried out against Sioux, Apache and other tribes were supposed to rid the land of savages and make room for peaceful settlers. There was no great press by European immigrants for land in Alaska. In fact people either did not know of Alaska or they thought of it as an icebox. Thus on those grounds there was not even a pretense of justification for military action.

Also, Euramerican (fur traders and salmon traders) diseases had already struck a succession of devastating blows upon Alaskan Dine' populations and rum, a primary foreign trade-good, had become the agent most responsible for reducing Alaskan-Dine's resistance to diseases and the vehicle for the neat total disruption of society.

In the late 1800's disease and alcohol had so decimated the People, that when the onslaught of the Klondike gold

rush suddenly appeared, Dine' were almost powerless to resist. The gold-rush brought with it a host of other evils: heroin, cocaine, laudanum[14], slavery of Dine' women and syphillis. Hard on the heels of sin came the U.S. government sponsored missionaries (Morrison, 1983).

A United Front Implements Christian Expansionism Policy

Christian reform groups had proven themselves in the Civil War by supporting northern capitalists in "liberating" the South from the power of slaveholders (Dauenhaver, 1980). Now, fortified by Grant's peace policy (and funds) the missionaries were eager to assist America in formulating and implementing policy which would assure expansion into gold country (Novack, 1979). Government, business and ideology coalesced for the effort.

In 1881, Rev. Lindsley persuaded his mission board to approve a plan to establish a mission among Haida in southeast Alaska. Citing the agreement of the Northwest Trading Company to secure a post and pointing to the positive reception of earlier missionaries, he convinced the board to look for a...

> suitable manager to take charge of what can be made in a few years, an entirely self-supporting plantation. (Talbot, 1981, p. 106)

The military cooperated fully with the missionary effort. From 1879 to 1884, the U.S. imposed Navy rule on Southeast Alaska. One of the original colonizers of Juneau, Harris (1880) observed:

> The gold ore from Silver Bow Basin created quite a sensation in Sitka. The people were almost wild

> with delight. The U.S.S. Jamestown was laying in the harbor at Sitka and her officers had the gold fever bad. Too much praise cannot be given to the officers of the Jamestown as they assisted us in every manner in opening up the camp....The U.S. Navy never furnished a more honorable or obliging set of officers on our ships than...Captain Henry Glass.... (Lindsley, 1965, p. 70)

The missionary/naval zeal for destruction of traditional medicine ways nearly matched that of the Conquistadors. In 1882, Glass arrested a Tlinget medicine man and publicly scrubbed him down and shaved his head. The Christians cheered him on. Ten years later, Mrs. Willard, a missionary, wrote:

> It is here...I would speak of the Kling-get (Tlinget) friend, the...medicine-man, and beg of those in authority to cause his extermination. His incantations should be held a crime and his uncut hair--his touch of power--should be shaved clean to the head; the whipping-post and work under guard on public improvements would be better than a prison. (Dauenhaver, 1980, pp. 20-21)

Southeast, Dine' who were converted, learned modified Ten Commandments such as , "Thou shalt not be happy nor shalt thou erect totem poles" (Dauenhaver, 1980, pp. 25-27).

By 1884, a Presbyterian minister, Sheldon Jackson found that whiskey, prostitution and disease had drastically reduced the Alaskan Native population, all the way to the Inupiaq of the Arctic Slope (Dauenhaver, 1980). This was good news for most Americans. In a popular periodical Leslie Scott wrote, "Indian Diseases as Aids to Pacific Northwest Settlement," among other points Scott notes:

> Wherever went the white man's appetites and wares went also his afflictions, which multiplied manifold in the savage habitat. Indians in the white man's clothing, in his houses, in his liquor drinking,

> were like the cultures of malignant germs which the scientist multiplies in his laboratory...
>
> Throughout the entire West the Indians were victims, but perhaps nowhere else so badly as in the Pacific Northwest; and nowhere else were the results so good for the whites. (Scott)

The American conscience had no pity for Alaskan Dine' and the virulent extermination of Dine' life was now targeted on the minds of the People. In 1888, Sheldon Jackson wrote:

> The Board of Home Missions has informed us that government contracts for educating Indian pupils provide for the ordinary branches of an English education to be taught, and that no books in any Indian language shall be used, or instruction given in that language to Indian pupils. The letter states that this rule will be strictly enforced in all government Indian schools. The Commissionar of Indian Affairs urges, and very forcibly too, that instruction in their vernacular is not only of no use to them but is detrimental to their speedy education and civilization....(Dauenhaver, 1980, p. 27)

During this extermination era, continental U.S. tribes were able to unite and survive through spiritual Ghost Dance Movements which urged abstinence from alcohol and an inter-tribal definition of family. Alaska Dine' had no such opportunity. Free Alaskan Dine' tribes were totally decimated in only thirteen years. The ceremonies and healing ways were gone; so then was the way to resist (Herzberg, 1971; McNickle).

The Denoument of Extermination Policy

As the military concluded its annihilation of Dine' East Coast scholars became concerned. With psychological and physical removal effected, and most Dine' dead, the image of savagery could no longer contain the data. The

paradigmatic crisis in policy was resolved in the historic literary work of Helen Hunt Jackson, entitled, "A Century of Dishonor." Jackson deplored the wrongs inflicted on...

> tribes who once owned the country....There is but one hope of righting the wrong. It lies in appeal to the heart and conscience of the American People. What the people demand, Congress will do. It has been to our shame...at the demand of part of the people that these wrongs have been committed....What an opportunity for the Congress...to redeem the name of the U.S. from a century of dishonor. (Matthiessen, 1983, p. 167)

The government feigned obeisance to this appeal, but gold was discovered on Sioux lands and on December 29, 2890, at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the Seventh Cavalry, bent on revenge for the defeat at Little Big Horn, brutally massacred 300 unarmed men, women and children.

> ...the War Department always insisted that it had been a "battle"...This does not, however, explain bayoneted Indian women and children found miles from the scene.... (Talbot, 1981, p. 56)

In the wake of Wounded Knee, Christian Reformists asserted themselves. The government did not resist, for Reformists assumed the federal view of Dine' as dependent wards of a benevolent American sovereign. With the military on one side and Reformist on the other, Dine' had the choice (voiced by Senator Benton) of "civilization or extinction"! (Herzberg, 1971, pp. 10-14).

POLICY: ASSIMILATION AND THE REFORM MOVEMENT 1887-1945

The spectre of Wounded Knee created a backlash among liberal Christian Americans. Now that Dine' were thought to be destroyed, it was "possible to study the pieces, to pity,

and to comprehend" (Matthiessen, 1983, p. 167). This new thinking was embodied in paradigm with the renaissance of the old noble savage myth. But a new twist was added, "plight" (Talbot, 1981, p. 56). The paradigm became so popular that in 1915 artist James Earle Frazer sculpted the "End of the Trail". The work portrays,

> a noble Indian on his horse, the head of both horse and rider bowed and the lance in the warrior's right hand, bent to the earth. The figure is defeated, but he is noble, grand, imparting an aura of tragic dignity. (Capps, 1976, p. 68)

Shortly thereafter, a model of the sculpture was made for the Indian head nickel!

Policy: the Shift from Negotiation to Legislation

The "plight of the Indian" paradigm was really a liberal pre-emption of issues -- policy would not be negotiated but legislated for Dine' (Cohen, 1968; Deloria, 1970). Nevertheless, this call to conscience sparked the formation of dozens of Christian reform groups which dominated federal/Dine' policy for nearly fifteen years. Imbued with the individualistic ideology of the time, the reformers were determined to break down tribal structure, culture and tradition and to transform Dine' into American citizens, indistinguishable from whites (Prucha, 1977). Reform legislation included individual allotment of Dine' lands through which 86 million acres of lands were taken from Dine', and boarding schools for Dine' children which led to the wholesale destruction of Dine' family and tribal

life[15] (Maxwell, 1978).

Alcohol was of great interest to Reformists. In 1895, federal Dine' liquor laws were extended to cover all tribes in Oklahoma Indian Territory (48 Stat., 396). In the territory of Alaska (1910), Department of Interior educators who were Christian reformists tried to persuade the government to:

> enact a law prohibiting the natives from using intoxicants or having the same on their persons or premises, and that punishment for the abuse of the above-mentioned law be some form of manual labor for the improvement of the native village (a government established concentration of natives) or of government property. (Waldron, 1910, p. 3)

In 1913 (United States v. Sandoval) Congress used alcoholism as the justification for assuming jurisdiction over New Mexico's Pueblo Nations. This arbitrary extension of power, was based on Indian service reports which found that:

> Pueblo's are...like reservation Indians in general; that although industrially superior, they are intellectually and morally inferior to many of them; and that they are easy victims to the evils and debasing influence of intoxicants....(United States v. Sandoval, 1913)

In 1869, the Territorial Court of New Mexico had,

> concluded that the Pueblo's could not possibly be Indians. They were not "savages" but rather were some of the "most law abiding, sober, and industrious people of New Mexico". (United States v. Lucerno, 1869)

But by the time Sandoval was handed down, the,

> BIA had compiled enough information of intoxication, debauchery, and moral inferiority, to prove that the Pueblo were Indians after all; therefore, subject to Federal jurisdiction. (Goetsch, p. 179)

Now in the early 1900s tribes already covered by prohibition, became subject to more stringent control. The Act of July 23, 1897, which set forth a system of prohibitions and enforcement measures against traffic in liquor (with Dine' on trust land) had failed. For Courts repeatedly found that possession of liquor on Dine' land was not sufficient to show introduction (Cohen, 1968). In 1916 Congress addressed the problem when provided that possession would be prima facie evidence of unlawful introduction. But by 1917, when use of the automobile became widespread, bootleggers renewed illicit alcohol trade by working out of cars. Since cars did not exist when the 1897 prohibition was enacted, they were not covered by law. Congress responded in 1918 and mandated that possession of alcohol in Indian Country was an independent offense...just mere possession (reasonable proximity for use) constituted violation. It no longer mattered how it came into personal possession (Cohen, 1968).

None of the legislation halted the spread of alcoholism or of related illnesses. Health problems had become critical on reservations and when social science had evolved adequate tools, the problems were documented. Reformists seized this information and pressured Congress, which reacted with the passages of the Snyder Act (1921). The Snyder Act provided funds for health services to Dine' and certainly could have been used for alcoholism but the funds

were channeled through the BIA which did not see alcoholism as its administrative fiat (Hertzberg, 1971).

Nothing seemed to work but Congress continued to grind out legislation and amended the Prohibition Act three more times in 1929, 1935, and 1938. New laws meant new loop-holes, worse, under the new laws, Dine' were made criminals and imprisoned for alcoholism. Meanwhile, non Dine' bar owners who operated at reservation boundaries, became wealthy (Leland, 1978).

Wounded Knee: the Implication for Dine' -- the Birth of a Pan Indian Movement and Fight Against Alcohol

The massacre at Wounded Knee was intended to break the will of Dine' to resist. But the Ghost Dance spirit -- the tenets of unity and sobriety, did not die in the frozen bodies of the Dancers. To the contrary, the sacrifice of the Lakota generated the Peyote movement, the first pan-Indian unification.

The peyote movement built on the channels of inter-tribal friendship which the Ghost Dance had opened and many leaders emerged from the former Dancers. A prominent Peyotist, John Wilson, who had been a Ghost Dance leader among the Caddo, traveled widely throughout Indian Country. His message enjoined Dine' to seek direct communion with the Great Mystery; to avoid the Bible for purposes of moral instruction; to love family and to avoid alcohol.

The message and the means of conveying the message, were well received among Dine'. Inter-tribal visitation was

an honor and the Peyote movement relied on extensive inter-tribal visitation which was fortified by letter writing, which kept groups in contact. The absence of a centralized organization complemented traditional political organization and promoted flexibility -- a major strength of the movement (Martin, 1981).

The Peyote movement grew quietly and quickly. By 1910, it had spread from the Southwest to Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, and Wisconsin. Everywhere Peyote went families and tribes united in substance free lives. James Mooney, ethnographer studied the Peyote Movement and in 1918 wrote:

> The Indian under the influence of this peyote religion, has given up the idea that he and his tribe are for themselves alone, and is recognizing the fact of the brotherhood of the Indian race particularly...and mankind...Its central idea is human brotherhood...Its cordial precepts are good will and sobriety.... (Hertzberg, 1971).

But the strength of the movement, attracted Christian reformists who became alarmed at this presumed threat to their interests.

Reformists and BIA United to Destroy Dine' Spirituality, Solidarity and Sobriety

The annual Lake Mohonk Conference was the reformists platform for developing Dine' policy. In its 1914 gathering the reformists focused on the "menace" of Peyote (Hertzberg, 1971). A keynote speaker was the Chief of Law and Order Section of the Indian Bureau who delivered a speech on "Liquor and Peyote a Menace to the Indian" (Hertzberg, 1971, p. 254). The purpose of the speech was to solicit the

support of reformists in the effort to legally outlaw peyote. During the discussion, following the speech, peyote was labeled "a dangerous drug" and "a more dangerous and potent substitute for alcohol" (Hertzberg, 1971, p. 254). Peyote people were referred to as mescal friends and in the end the Mohonk reformists resolved:

> It is now well known that the increasing use of the mescal bean, or peyote, is demoralizing in the extreme. We recommended accordingly that the Federal prohibition of intoxicating liquors be extended to include this dangerous drug. (Hertzberg, 1971, p. 254).

From 1914 to 1918 reformists and BIA officials tried through federal legislation and court proceedings to halt the use of peyote. Finally, in 1918, Congressman Hayden (Arizona) introduced a bill revising the 1897 prohibition. This bill (HR2614) included peyote as an intoxicant and outlawed its use by Dine'. The bill did not pass but the controversy around it spurred BIA officials into a frenzied attack against all traditional unification healing ways (Hertzberg, 1971).

In 1921 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs issues Circular 1665 to all Indian agents. This administrative ruling outlawed the practice of traditional healing ways.

> The sun-dances and all other similar dances and so called religious ceremonies are considered "Indian Offenses" under existing regulations, and corrective penalties are provided. I regard such restrictions as applicable to any (religious) dance which involves...the reckless giving away of property...in all such instances the regulations should be enforced. (Hertzberg, 1971, pp. 259, 260-262, 264)

While these restrictions severely inhibited the practice of

ways which mitigated against alcohol, the Commissioner wanted more control and in 1923 tightened the restrictions. The Supplement to Circular 1665 limited the dances to people over fifty years of age; dances could only be held in winter months (a virtual impossibility) and the Supplement recommened, "That a careful propaganda be undertaken to educate public opinion against the dance" (Lummis, 1924). But in 1923, BIA agents relaxed their enforcement -- an election was coming up. An advisor to the Commissioner disclosed that,

> During the pre-election months the Indian Superintendents will deal gently with the Indians. When the national election is behind they will act with full vigor. This will mean crippling or destruction of the tribal religious organizations of a number of Pueblos. The suffocation of the Zuni (Pueblo) tribal religious life meantime goes forward. (Lummis, 1924)

The Indian New Deal, Social Science Generates a Golden Age in Dine' Policy

The suppression of Dine' spirituality (resistance and sobriety) reflected the national struggle for Americanization (Lummis, 1924). The immigration of masses of southern and eastern Europeans triggered a drive to restrict immigration, other efforts were initiated to Americanize foreigners already in the United States. In her text, "The Search for an American Indian Identity", Hertzberg summarizes the issues of the times.

> By the early twenties faith in the melting pot was faltering under attack from diverse quarters. Some believed that America could absorb only immigrants from certain countries...Extremists darkly predicted the triumph of "bad" genes over "good", and talked

> of race suicide, Others believed that it was highly desirable for ethnic groups to remain together as groups, preserving as much as possible of their native cultures. (Hertzberg, 1971, p. 220)

Liberals, scholars, and policy makers divided on the Indian question but generally viewed American Indians as one more alien group needing socialization...until gas and oil deposits were discovered on reservation lands (Hertzberg, 1977). Again business and government joined forces but this time John Collier, a young social scientist opposed their efforts (Hertzberg, 1977).

Although an activist, Collier followed the mainstream of the reform movement until a series of events were initiated against Pueblo nations. In 1921 Senator Burnam of New Mexico introduced a bill to divest Pueblo of their lands His bill complemented the larger administrative policy of exploiting Dine' resources and readily obtained the support of the Secretary of Interior. In addition to backing the Burnam bill, secretary Fall used his administrative powers to support business interests. In 1922 Fall ruled that Executive Order reservations were subject to the General Leasing Act of 1920. This placed two-thirds of unallotted lands (twenty-two million acres) in jeopardy to energy conglomerates (Hertzberg, 1971).

Recalling the 1913 extension of federal jurisdiction over Pueblo (on the basis of their alcoholism) and recent suppression of their spiritual practices, reformists became outraged at such flagrant efforts to expropriate. The movement ignited and this time reformists were joined by

writers, artists, and social scientists. In 1923 these reformists were organized by John Collier, as the American Indian Defense Association. Hertzberg tell us,

> These men and women possessed substantial influence in public and academic circles and all were deeply sympathetic to Indian tribal cultures. Impressed with the insights to be gained by social science they were immediately interested in applying the lessons of 'indirect rule' emergent from the experience of colonial powers in the problems of developing a sense of community and neighborhood in a swiftly urbanizing culture. They were an important new force in Indian affairs. (Hertzberg, 1971, p. 201)

Reformists succeeded in the defeat of Bursam-Fall (Secretary of Interior) divestment scheme and John Collier was thrust into the national spotlight. When Roosevelt was voted into office, he appointed Collier Commissioner of Indian Affairs and charged him with the responsibility of formulating an Indian New Deal. The resultant plan was hailed as a landmark for the American Indian and for social scientists in the United States. For the first time it brought to Indian affairs and to the United States government an explicit use of social science principles.... These principles included two axioms of human behavior:

> First, the recognition of the importance of Indian group life and of the necessity to preserve and encourage native social controls and Indian values as the foundation upon which such changes and innovations as various Indian groups themselves decided were worthwhile should be made.
>
> Second, a recognition that constructive change must not destroy psychological security and must preserve continuity in the lives of both the group and the individual so that personality integration and stability may be maintained. (Hertzberg, 1971, pp. 288-289)

These principles became a part of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. The IRA marked an end to the fifty years of theft of Dine' lands under the guise of individual allotment. Administratively, Collier abolished the Board of Indian Commissioners (organized under Grant), discouraged the transfer of children to boarding schools away from home and encouraged the growth of Indian arts and crafts but in his efforts to prevent interference with Indian spiritual ways and to build tribal governments Collier made powerful enemies. Missionaries accused Collier of promoting irreligion and Senators from western (energy resource) states charged that Collier's support of tribal governments was anti-American and communistic. Historian Talbot argues this point.

> Although Collier, known as a reformer and frequently attacked for his 'socialistic' views was a proponent of cultural pluralism, he nonetheless saw Indian affairs as colonial administration. His objective was to get the government to follow indirect rather than direct rule. (Talbot, 1981, p. 115)

In 1945, Collier was forced to resign and in the end, the IRA was more Collier's idea of what was good for Dine' than what Dine' believed was good. Collier recognized his failure and said of the IRA, "the very act intended to put them on their feet and make them self-governing developed paternalistic and bureaucratic restrictions" (Talbot, 1981, p. 115). The tribal governments set up under IRA, became instrumentalities of the BIA and progressive (assimilationist oriented) Indians. Now, the growing cost

and size of Indian service bureaucracy, combined with the forces of assimilation and set the stage for "termination". The golden era of social science and Indian policy was dead, and so were increasing number of Dine' who struggled and lost the war with alcoholism.

TERMINATION: ABROGATION OF TREATIES AND DIASPORA 1945-1961

In 1924 Congress had passed an act to make all Indians citizens; this was not an act of kindness but merely an example of fastidious law. Indian law expert, Barsh, argues that,

> Indians had to be made citizens so that the great experiment in coercive civilization could continue without legal impediments. Citizenship was conferred to benefit the government not the tribes. (Barsh, 1980. p. 116)

Collier had temporarily slowed these forces, but in his demise Congress vigorously renewed the old way of coercive assimilation and dubbed the new policy, "termination" (Barsh, 1980, p. 96). The legal basis for termination was set forth in Senate Report 310.

310 was a massive attack on federal Indian policy; its findings were so inflammatory, that it led to the removal of John Collier and established the arguments for complete dismantling of the BIA (in this case, tantamount to destroying treaty obligations). Fortunately, the recommendations were not enacted immediately for national attention was focused on the War effort, not on Dine' (Barsh, 1980).

But when World War II ended, big business took over government and the Eisenhower administration became involved in a give-away of Indian resources to the military-industrial complex (Barsh, 1980). The give-away involved several steps. First Indians were encouraged to leave reservation lands. Through a policy of relocation, Dine' seeking employment were subsidized in moving to urban areas; to make the dispora more attractive, the Bureau instituted training centers, housing and training monies to people willing to move. But the assistance worked only one way; if a person wished to return home, there was no such assistance. Diaspora worked well -- by the 1970's nearly half of all Dine' lived in cities (Thornton, 1982). In so doing, they relinquished the special Indian status and its attendant rights.

The second step of the give-away was House Resolution 108 which called for

> the termination of all reservations and the elimination of federal recognition of Indian nationalities. In the name of making Native Americans 'just the same as everybody else' two of the largest reservations were terminated from federal status, along with several smaller groups. (Talbot, 1981, p. 120)

The remaining tribes were scheduled for termination over a schedule of several years.

The tribes that were first terminated were the timber rich tribes; in the post-war wood products boom, this was no coincidence. Historian Talbot records an exchange between Paul Bernal, a Taos Pueblo, who was speaking with Senator

Anderson of New Mexico (Chairman of the Interior Committee). The issue was the sacred Blue Lake area of the Pueblo.

> My people will not sell our Blue Lake that is our church, for $10 million, and accept three thousand acres, when we know that 50,000 acres is ours. We cannot sell what is sacred. It is not ours to sell. I said to Senator Anderson: 'Only God can take it away from us. Washington is not God. The U.S. Senate is not God!'
>
> I said to Senator Anderson: 'Why do you want to steal our sacred land?' Senator Anderson said: 'Paul, I like you. But there is timber on that land, millions of dollars of timber.' (Talbot, 1981, p. 120)

The final step in the give-away was the divestment of federal treaty obligations. Public Law 280 (1953) transferred civil and criminal jurisdiction over tribes, to states who desired to assume such authority. The divestment process accrued further force by transferring Health services out of BIA to Health Education and Welfare. And in 1953 the federal government divested itself of all responsibility for Dine' alcoholism. The prohibition against selling liquor to Dine' was repealed (Talbot, 1981).

Dine', trapped in urban ghettos, did not find the promised jobs or the good life. The impact of termination and alcohol policy of the era has been captured in the words of Acoma Pueblo poet, Simon Ortiz:

RELOCATION

> don't talk to me no words
> don't frighten me
> for i am in the blinding city
> the lights

the cars
the deadened glares
    tear my heart
    and close my mind
who questions my pain
the tight knot of anger
in my breast
i swallow hard and often
and taste my spit
and it does not taste good
who questions my mind
i came here because i was tired
the BIA taught me to cleanse myself
daily to keep a careful account of my time
efficiency was learned in catechism
the sisters spelled me good in white
and i came here to feed myself
corn and potatoes and chili and mutton
did not nourish me it was said
so i agreed to move
i seem walking in sleep
down streets down streets grey with cement
and glaring glass and oily wind
armed with a pint of wine

i cheated the children to buy
i am ashamed
i am tired

i am hungry

i speak words

i am lonely for hills
i am lonely for myself

SELF DETERMINATION 1961-1983

Although prohibition was lifted most tribes continued to ban the sale of alcohol on reservations. This situation produced a new set of problems.[16]

> the economics of border towns surged with the influx of money from Indians who could finally legally purchase liquor. Seedy Indian bars, virtually all of them owned by Anglos became an integral part of every reservation border town in the West. Indians slept off their drunks in garages and city parks and on sidewalks. Many who tried to drive the long miles home never arrived....(Martin, 1981, p. 55)

In the city alcohol problems were equally severe but change had begun. Relocated urban Dine' were freed from oppressive BIA authority and conservative (IRA) tribal councils. Many awoke to a new sense of belonging and place. Through mass media and increased contact with other peoples, the political consciousness of American Indians was raised and hope stirred where so long there had been despair (Maxwell, 1978).

In the context of the civil rights movement and the nationalist liberation movements in Africa and Cuba, Dine' began to organize.[17] The apex of these early efforts was the 1961 Chicago convention. Over 500 Dine' (more than seventy Dine' nations) met at the University of Chicago to forge a "Declaration of Indian Purpose".

This Declaration became a vehicle which united Nations of North, Central and South American in articulating both needs and strategies for indigenous peoples of the Western hemisphere.

The testimony and statements of representatives permitted Dine' to document the appalling conditions of Indians in America. The findings indicated that in the U.S., the wealthiest nation in the world, that Dine' had

> the lowest life expectancy and annual income, and the highest rates of suicide, alcoholism, infant mortality, unemployment and tuberculosis (of any group in the nation).... (Maxwell, 1978, p. 393)

This Chicago convention called for sweeping changes in Indian policy. And recommended a two prong strategy which simultaneously strengthened Indian communities while gradually abolishing the BIA. Among the demands, was the call for Indian designed social policy and local control of health programs.

The timing was good. In 1964 the group persuaded the government to include Dine' under the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). OEO official, Sargent Shriver stated:

> We expect broad participation by Indian and tribal communities all across the nation, in every program there must be strong Indian involvement for consent and development.... We expect tribal groups to be in the forefront of developing Community Action programs. (Maxwell, 1978, p. 394)

This was a significant gain for it meant direct access to funds, agencies and programs not under the BIA. In the drivers seat at last, Dine' turned to face community alcoholism as a top priority. Untreated for two hundred years,[18] alcoholism had become the leading cause of death. This was a direct result of bureaucratic incompetence and indifference. For more than 150 years, the federal government virtually ignored its obligations to provide

health services but even when Congress intended for such care to be given, it was not. For example, the Snyder Act of 1921 and the Transfer Act of 1954 (which established the Indian Health Services - IHS) authorized said agencies to provide health services to Indians anywhere. Yet, "in practice the intent of Congress, reflected in funding has been otherwise" (Leland, 1978, p. 14). BIA/IHS administrators arguing that there was no line item for alcohol services did not provide it. In its retrospective analyses the American Indian Policy Review Commission (1976) found that

> Due to the failure of the Congress to place a specific responsibility on the IHS or any other Federal agency for the treatment of alcoholism among Indians, no Federal agency has undertaken a continuous program for the control and treatment of Indian alcoholism. (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976, p. 63)

Under OEO, tribes did not have to wait for Congress to establish a line item before alcoholism services could be delivered. And, with the first OEO dollars, Dine' established more than fifty alcohol programs, across the country.[19] The early programs were insignificant compared with the need and tended to look a great deal like non-Indian programs -- except for Indian employees (Leatham, 1978,). Nevertheless, the sight of Indians receiving resources stirred jealousy in states with large Dine' populations and incidents of oppression began to occur.

One such conflict involved a Peyote ceremony held in Needles, California. On April 28, 1964, police officers who

had observed part of a Peyote meeting, arrested the leaders charging them with unlawful possession of peyote. The defendants were found guilty but on appeal to the Supreme Court of California, the judgment was reversed. In dicta the Court found that Peyotism acted as a positive force in the life of adherents particularly since it outlawed the use of alcohol (People v. Woody, 1964). But other such acts continued in different parts of the nation and activists continued to protest. These protests were noted by the Administration.

President Johnson responded by including Dine' in a series of Acts, such as:

> --The Highway Safety Act and Decriminalization of 1966 which provided funds for alcohol services and training.
>
> --The Model Cities Act which ordered the training of alcohol counselors and mandated Veterans Administration Hospital services for alcoholics.
>
> --OEO (1967) provided for community based treatment and prevention facilities. (Leathem, 1978, p. 2)

With varying degrees of success tribal groups garnered some of the new funding but it was too little, too late. In 1966 a group of Anishnabeq (many were recovering alcoholics) met in Minneapolis and formed the American Indian Movement (AIM). Red Power was born. AIM activists spearheaded confrontations, and led marches, demonstrations and take-overs -- all directed towards improving conditions of the People. Like earlier Dine' movements, AIM stressed pan-Indian unity, abstinance from substance abuse and a return to traditional spiritual values (Maxwell, 1978;

Ortiz, 1977; Matthiessen, 1983).

The growing militance and numbers of the Red Power Movement prompted a policy statement by Johnson. This statement laid the policy foundation for the next ten years. The concept that the President introduced (1968) was self-determination.

> We must affirm the right of the first Americans to remain Indians while exercising their rights as Americans. We must affirm their rights to freedom of choice and self-determinaton. (McNickle et al., p. 18)

Meanwhile, Indian Health Service (IHS) began to take interest in alcoholism. apparently IHS was able to get "a line item", formed a task force, and conducted a nationwide study of Indian alcoholism. The 1969 study repeated again in 1970 helped "gain Congressional recognition of Indian alcohol problems and influenced the famous Nixon speech to Congress" (Leland, 1978, p. 4).

In his 1970 Message to Conress on Indian Affairs, Nixon set forth the essence of the Self-Determination policy era.

> It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal government began to recognize and build upon the capabilities and insights of the Indian peole. Both as a matter of justice, and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have been telling us. The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and decisions. (Leatham, 1978, pp. 8-9)

Nixon went on to criticize past policy which fluctuated between "two harsh and unacceptable extremes, termination and paternalism" and promised self-determination would not

result in withheld federal funds (Leatham, 1978).

Nixon's message stimulated many different reactions. Indian affairs intellectuals and scholars hailed the policy as "hope that at long last an equitable solution to the Indian problem may be within reach" (Leatham, 1978, p. 9). Within the bureaucracy IHS responed by issuing its third edition of the task force report on alcoholism and a national Indian Commission[20] was formed to advise government on alcoholism priorities and policies. Partly as result of this work and the passage of the Hughes Act which decriminalized alcoholism[21] the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) was founded. Finally it seemed that tribal sovereignty was (treaty rights) were being recognized. A separate Indian Desk and funding were set aside and the OEO alcohol programs (which had just run out of funding) were transferred to NIAAA (Leatham, 1978).

Despite these highly visible successes, big problems were forming between Indians and the Nixon administration. In 1972 a national delegation traveled to Washington D.C. to meet with Nixon. The group wanted to discuss critical health needs of Dine' and to plan needed reforms within the BIA. These needs were defined in the "Twenty Points" document, a position paper which represented eight national Indian organizations and the endorsement of four others. But the representatives were not elected tribal officers (IRA) and Nixon refused a meting. However, the President did agree, through administrative channels, to institute reforms

within BIA (Talbot, 1981).

The reforms did not happen, and one year later, another caravan went across country to talk with the President, who again refused. With the second rebuff activists (led by the AIM) took over the BIA offices. The take-over lasted several days, until new promises of reform had been given. But still, no reforms came (Talbot, 1981).

In 1973 two hundred Oglala Sioux and supporters began a 71-day occupation of Wounded Knee, the site of the 1981 massacre. Talbot notes that the federal reaction to Wounded Knee dispelled illusions about the Self-Determination policy.

> The punitive handling of this protest by the Nixon administration, under the direction of General Alexander Haig, the ruthless condoning of armed vigilante attacks on the protestors, the military overkill philosophy evidenced in the number of armoured personnel carriers, weaponry and troops deployed, the tactics of terror, starvation and murder used, the callous disregard by federal authorities of the solemn agreement mde with the Indians, and finally, the arrest of hundreds on conspiracy and other serious charges, these developments soon exposed the sheer hypocricy of the new policy of 'Indian Self-Determination.' (Talbot, 1981, pp. 30-31)

After Wounded Knee, the Nixon policy became blatantly co-otive. While it pretended to address the concerns of Dine' activists, the official actions merely side-stepped issues. Responding to one of the Twenty Points which called for a complete review of treaty obligations Nixon formed the American Indian Policy Review Commission. Instead of reviewing the treaty relationship, this body was formed to examine the history of federal Indian policy. The

co-optation was furthered by the composition of the Comparison -- six Senators and five conservative Dine' (Talbot, 1981).

Congress also equivocated and threatened the survival of alcohol programs (Dine' thought the programs were guaranteed through treaties vis-a-vis and NIAA Indian Desk). Speaking to this point, the Report of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, U.S. Senate, on the Indian Health Care Improvement Act stated:

> The decision to allocate a portion of NIAAA's funds for Indian programs and to establish an Indian desk within NIAAA to assist in the administration of these programs was purely discretionary, and therefore, neither constitutes a guarantee that alcoholism monies will be available for Indians, nor indicates that the federal government has any responsibility to provide alcoholism programs for Indians. (U.S. Government Printing Office, n 172)

The 151 Indian alcohol programs (99 reservation and 52 urban) could receive NIAAA funding for six years only. Most programs were near their sixth year of funding. Acquiescing to enormous pressure from the field, President Ford extended NIAAA funding for an additional three years. But the fourteen Native drug abuse treatment centers (funded through the National Institute on Drug Abuse) were defunded and many local and state funded services were terminated. For a while, it seemed that all alcohol programs would not survive. Certainly the Director of NIAAA, Chafetz gave credence to the fear,

> There was never an understanding by the Department (of HEW) that support...would be an on-going

> commitment in all categories of project grant support. (Leland, 1978, p. 9)

Dr. Zapp, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Legislation of the Depatment of Health, Education and Welfare agreed with Chafetz.

> At this point, the Federal Government is saying the usefulness and purpose and validity of these projects has been demonstrated, and we feel it is now your (the local Indian communities') responsibility. ((Leland, 1978, p. 9)

Given the poverty of Dine' and the political powerlessness with states, Dine' were compelled to deal on a national level. The AIM and national Indian organizations such as the National Indian Board on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse (NIBADA) and conservative groups such as the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), united to work within and outside of the political system to save the alcohol programs. Finally, Senator Kennedy agreed to help. Chafetz responded to Kennedy's pressure and issued this statement:

> While it is still my position that continued support of time-limited project grants is not an ongoing commitment of this Federal agency under present legislative authority, I also recognize that there are some programs which, for a variety of reasons, will not be able to procure non-federal support upon the expiration of their project period, and that the Federal Government does have a responsibility for their continuation. (Leland, 1978, p. 10)

The struggle to save the programs resulted in the HEW decision to transfer the programs again, from NIAAA to IHS.

This shift was an administrative decision which was opposed by many programs and alcohol groups, who preferred to fight for continuance under NIAAA. Programs, especially in urban areas feared a transfer to IHS because of its

history of insensitivity to the problem and because it was an established bureaucracy with staff that was neither educated nor sensitive to the needs of community alcoholism. Further, IHS was certain to "curtail the relative immunity to control previously enjoyed by the Indian alcohol programs...." (Leland, 1978, p. 16). Finally, people were concerned that in an economic crunch, IHS would sacrifice urban programs (with 50% of the population) for reservation programs.

But the largest issue was the lack of Indian input regarding the transfer. Despite protest the transfer went ahead and alcohol expert, Joy Leland, Rutgers, observed that it remained unclear where the impetus for transfer to IHS had come from, although it had been in the works for several years (Leland, 1978; conversation with Wanda Frogg, 1979). In 1978 IHS established an Office of Alcohol Programs and within three years the surviving 120 NIAAA programs transferred over. Just as NIBADA and programs had feared, the transfer resulted in more bureaucratic control. Programs were ordered to report through area offices (instead of directly to the natonal level as is predicted by treaty). Paper work multiplied and within three years OAP was considering cutting urban programs, in response to New Federalism (Conversations with: Russell Mason and Ernie Turner, 1980-1981).

But with all the problems attending transfer, several positive changes were generated. The programs did continue

and are protected by a new management information system called ATGS-Alcoholism Treatment Guidance System"[22]. This is a culture specfic case management and treatment guidance system which meets all requirements for accountability while requiring little writing and at the same time, recording traditional Dine' treatment. This, in turn, led to another unanticipated benefit. In a recent interview Mary Turner, the IHS Research Coordinator, remarked:

> One of the good things that has happened as a result of ATGS is that programs are getting the idea that traditional spiritual treatment (including Peyote healing ceremonies) is ok. And we are seeing more and more programs reporting culture specific services. (Tyner, Mary, 1981)

ATGS does nothing more than record the traditional treatments, along with western based treatments, yet, in this recognition of culture, the system has received national acclaim by alcohol experts. Yet, the Director of OAP is opposed to the very elements that make the system scientifically sound and specific to the unique sovereign status of American Indians. In a March, 1983 memorandum, the Director wrote:

> I am directing you to change the following items... Item 28 reads 'traditional counseling/treatment, cultural activities (i.e. use of medicine person, sweatlodge, etc.)'. The revision should read 'traditional or native counseling/treatment' period...item 29 that reads 'Native American Treatment (Native American church held for the specific purpose of client treatment); will be completely eliminated....
>
> Secondly, item 71 reads 'family/social/cultural status.' If the question on culture is to determine: 1) where one is on a spectrum of being a traditional to non-traditional Indian, I would then have to take the position that we (IHS) cannot determine this...and 2) if this is to determine how one feels about themselves as an Indian -- good or bad -- I would then have to consider that to be a question of emotional status. 'How do I feel about myself? period...cultural status...item 71 should be changed to 'family/social...' (Mason, Russell, 1983)

ATGS was designed by IHS experts and many Indian representatives from the field nevertheless, the Director proposing unilaterally, changes which threaten the basis for special Indian alcohol programs...that is the Indian aspect of the programs. The result of this in-house IHS struggle remains to be seen but it jeopardizes programs which are already in a precarious position under New Federalism.

Throughout the Reagan administration, Dine' alcohol policy has been an outcome of the budgeting process. Like all citizens, Dine' have little input to this type of policy making but unlike other citizens, this is an abrogation of treaty rights. In his text on tribal political liberty "The Road" lawyer, Barsh examines the phenomena of Dine' policy through the budget process and states:

> There is no doubt that the official emphasis in Washington for several years had been on a decentralization of federal powers, undoing the possible excesses of New Deal enthusiasm. On the other hand, the national revenue system remains largely dominated by the national budget....

And this, Barsh argues, has resulted in even less community control for even the "courts have unquestionably authorized far greater congressional powers over traditionally local matters than the framers (of the Constitution) seem either to have intended or anticipated...." (Barsh, 1980, p. 27). An outcome of this shift in policy was the Indian Civil

Rights Act (1978) which took away, in large part, rights held by tribes. No longer do tribes have exclusive civil or criminal jurisdiction of their people. Thus enforcement of issues connected with alcoholism such as domestic violence became a federal violation requiring federal intervention. Enforcement becomes a bureaucratic mess, with the People footing the bill (Barsh, 1980).

But still Dine' resist. After Wounded Knee, AIM founded the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC). IITC represents 98 Dine' Nations from Canada, the United States, Central and South America, at the United Nations. Through its NGO status, that is non-governmental organization, the Council has been able to present the case of the American Indian before the world[23] (Mestis, 1981). Following the Treaty Council lead, the NIBADA gathered the support of other national Indian organizations to prepare an appeal for assistance from the World Health Organization. This appeal is based on the epidemic proportions of Indian alcoholism and the lack of any meaningful response from the United States govenment. The appeal has not yet been acted upon and Treaty Council spokespeople report that the United States informally discourages response from the international community (Staff, International Indian Treaty Council, 1982, 1983).

Such global unity is imperative, for another invasion looms on the horizon. This time the invasion is for energy resources. Through historical accident reservation lands

hold nearly 35% of the remaining uranium in the U.S. Signiicant amounts of coal, oil and gas reserves are also on Indian land (La Duke, 1981).

On January 24, 1983, President Reagan released his Indian policy statement. Housed in verbage was the message that tribal economies will be developed through private sector investment in Native energy resources. Reagan maintained that the development of "healthy reservation economies" means that tribes will "reduce their dependence on federal funds...." (Reagan, 1983, pp. 1-2). He said that the federal government must move away from this surrogate role, including the provision of health and human services which undermines the concept of self-government.

Although Reagan's policy statement attempts to soft-sell the underlying economic intent, Secretary of Interior, James Watt made the point clear. Watt blamed the poverty and harsh conditions of Dine' life on the federal funds and programs given to tribes. He argued that these funds created socialism which produced the present economic deprivation of the People. The answer according to Watt is federal disentanglement and private sector investment (West, 1983).

Following Watts' comments, Dine' stormed the White House with protests and Indian lawyer Richard West responded publicly in the Washington Post (February 1, 1983).

> ...the Administration did reaffirm a commitment to the goals of Indian political self-determination and self-sufficiency...however the emphasis is...that these objectives should be achieved through an

eradication of federal involvement and entanglement with reservations....(West, 1983,)

West criticized Watts' comments on reservation socialism charging that the remarks were inaccurate, naive and serious misinterpretations of the federal-Indian relationship. West correctly points out that federal services and expenditures are authorized under treaties and other formal obligations reatified by Congress, given in exchange for millions of acres of land that now constitute the United States. West warns that the Secretary's words "If the Indians were allowed to be liberated they'd (be able) to go and get a job -- presumably off the reservation," is simply a 1983 version of the Eisenhower termination/relocation policy (West, 1983).

Termination under federalism is complicated but the results are clear. In Alaska, the State and energy corporations had to settle aboriginal claims before resources -- especially oil -- could be exploited. In return for title to 335 million acres, Natives received 40 million acres, and a cash settlement. The settlement, less than a billion dollars established a network of Native corporations. These corporations were to dole out $462.5 million dollars over an eleven year period, to Native people who were transformed into "shareholders" (Talbot, 1981).

In 1991 the corporation lands become taxable. If the corporations are not making a profit they cannot pay the taxes and will lose the lands. They will also be subject to corporate take over. Since the invasion by the trans-Alaska

pipeline, Alaskan Natives have led the country in alcohol problems. But few villages have access to treatments, neither IHS nor NIAAA has funding available for such health care services. The outcome is clear...termination.

In these times of multinational scrambles for energy resources, Dine' face genocide through private sector investment, truncated federal funding and diminishing alcohol treatment services. With an alcoholism prevalence of 60% to 80% among adults, who will protect the land? Who will protect the children? On skid row, our warriors "Drink to Capitalism".

RETROSPECT AND SUMMARY

It is clear from our review of the history of alcohol policy, that there have been few serious attempts to deal with alcoholism among Dine'. We are dealing instead with policy couched in colonialism. Colonial policy is generally designed by non-Dine' experts, for Dine'; whether by design or intent, the result has always been more alcoholism for the People.

When one attempts to discover why policy has not halted the spread of alcoholism among Dine', an immediate barrier arises. This barrier, characteristic of all colonial empires, is the destruction or diffusion of information around aboriginal issues (Akwesane Notes, 1978). In the case of American Indian alcoholism, information is scattered across several disciplines -- complex international law, history (U.S. history), social policy, sociology, and religion (Prucha, 1977). But the bulk of existing data derives from anthropology, a discipline which places Dine' in an ethnographic present (really some idealized time and state in the past) divorced from forces of economics and history (Ortiz, 1977; Leland, 1978). The contradiction is immediately apparent. Were it not for economic and historical forces, there would be no need for anthropology!

Another difficulty in understanding the alcohol issue among Dine' is that most literature has been written by those who have colonized and continue to provide alcohol to

us. The quality of literature is uneven and often contradictory (Prucha, 1977; Hundley, 1974). Virtually none of it is written in an Indian language, nor does it carry the approval of the people it is written about. Finally, none of the information is taught to Dine', or is even accessible. One must be in advanced professional training to study Indian alcohol policy, even when one is Indian!

This aspect of colonial policy is a great problem for it promotes distortion and myth. Historian Slotkin, examining U.S./Indian relations defines this "mythogenesis" as:

> ...a continuous activity...Myth describes a process credible to its audience by which knowledge is transformed into power; it provides a scenario of prescription for action, defining and limiting the possibilities for human response to the Universe.... (Slotkin, 1973, p. 7)

According to Slotkin, the major American myth (regarding Dine') is that of "regeneration through violence." The nature of this quintessentially American moment, is captured in Bingham's painting of Daniel Boone leading settlers through the Cumberland Gap:

> Behind them lies a settled, civilized world; ahead, the barren uncharted wilderness. (Newsweek, n. 47, p. 45)

There was no thought given to the original inhabitants of the "wilderness"[24] through myth; Americans could hold to the belief that Dine' would disappear. In the 1976 report to Congress, the American Indian Policy Review Commission found that two propositions (derived from the notion of the vanishing Redman) are the foundation of all federal Dine'

policy. These assumptions are:

> 1. The American Indian racial stock lacked biological vigor and would succumb to disease and alcohol.

This was most evident in the Federalism and Extermination policy era:

> 2. The Indian way of life could not compete with the aggressive 'rational' ways of the dominant society and would eventually die.

This proposition was manifested in the Reform and Termination eras (McNickle, 1978).

This policy-mythology has alienated Americans from Dine'. It has mitigated against the recognition of what policy has done and precludes responsible and responsive policy. This is best exemplified in a statement by Justice David Davis (U.S. vs. Forty-three Gallons of Whiskey, 1876):

> It may be that the policy of the government on the subject of Indian affairs has, in some particulars, justly provoked criticism; but it cannot be said that there has not been proper effort, by legislation and treaty, to secure Indian communities against the debasing influence of spiritous liquors. The evils from this source were felt at an early day; and, in order to promote the welfare of the Indians, as well as our political interests, laws were passed and treaties framed, restricting the introduction of liquor among them. That these laws and treaties have not always secured the desired result, is owning more to the force of circumstances which the government could not control, than to any unwillingness to execute them. (Prucha, 1977, p. 102)

But such denial did not end in the nineteenth century. In 1962, Historian Prucha, Harvard University Press, wrote:

> ...Officials in the West were in fact well aware of the whiskey menace, and territorial governors and legislators took action in all sectors of the frontier. That their steps were halting was due more to the dim twilight of authority between federal and local governments and to hesitation to act against the economic interests of the infant communities than to any malice toward the Indian or indifference to this plight.... (Prucha, 1977, p. 103)

At another point Prucha describes Indian alcoholism as "an elemental problem, rooted in uncontrollable human drives -- the Indians' fondness for strong drink and the heartless avarice of the whites. To protect the Indian from his own weakness it was necessary for the government to clamp down on the whiskey dealer" (Prucha, 1977, p. 103).

Again, Slotkin reminds us that, even if humanity would see through the distortion, a new myth would rise to maintain the status quo. Thus, when the paradigm of savagism could no longer account for Wounded Knee or the "Removal Policy," myths of "noble savage," "vanishing Redman" and "plight of the Indian" evolved in its stead.

This in turn suggests a third trend in Dine' alcohol policy, which is the difficulty if not impossibility of communicating across cultures to effect positive alcohol policy. For Slotkin argues,

> a people unaware of its myths is likely to continue living by them though the world around that people may change and demand changes in their psychology, their world view, their ethics and their institutions The myths of the frontier have blinded us.... (Slotkin, 1973)

And we continue to see policy bent on genocide despite all efforts to challenge the system of myths. In 1925 Deskaheh, Iroquois statesman, traveled to the League of Nations to present the case of the American Indian. He was blocked (by

Canada) from speaking, but in subsequent press conferences in Switzerland and the U.S. Deskaheh pointed out,

> ...In some respects we are just like you...There is no difference between us under the skins....You told us you were in great trouble...We helped you...Now we want to tell our troubles to you....
>
> I do not mean that we are calling on your governments -- we are tired of calling on the governments of pale-faced peoples in America and Europe. We have tried that and found it was no use. They deal only in fine words, we want something more than that. We want justice from now on. After all that has happened to us, that is not much to ask. You got half your territory here by warfare upon redmen usually unprovoked, and you got about a quarter of it bribing their chiefs and not over a quarter did you get openly and fairly. You might have gotten a good share of it by fair means if you had tried....(Akwesasne Notes, 1978, p. 27)

Deskaheh concluded, challenging Americans and Canadians to change their social policy. He argued that if they were truly free, they should be able to impact the Dine' policy of their governments. Of course, the challenge was not accepted. The mythogenesis and denial continued. And in 1945, President Conant of Harvard delivered this essential mythology of the vanishing Indian. Conant stated:

> In the first place, this nation, unlike most others, has not evolved from a state founded on a military conquest. As a consequence we have nowhere in our tradition the idea of an aristocracy descended from the conquerors and entitled to rule by right of birth. On the contrary, we have developed our greatness in a period in which a fluid society overran a rich and empty continent.... (Novack, 1979, p. 5)

Such arrogance of power is a fourth trend in Dine' alcohol policy. Thus, each new wave of alcohol policy is designed and implemented by the people who have conquered

us, and is touted as a great humanitarian act. But most Dine' are not deceived. Shortly before his death Deskaheh confronted the U.S. colonial government, saying,

> If this must go on to the bitter end, we would rather that you come with your guns and poison gases and get rid of us that way. Do it openly and above board. Do away with the pretense that you have the right to subjugate us to your will. Akwesasne Notes, 1978, p. 28)

Deskaheh's views and strategy of confrontation were renewed in the activism of the 1970s. This led to the fifth and final trend in Dine' alcohol policy; the trend towards self-reliance and a new history. In 1974, Sioux historian Vine Deloria criticized U.S. historians for ignoring the dispossession of American Indians. He said that such bias reflected a conern for popularity rather than for truth and called for sweeping changes....

> This generation needs to know what experiences their elders have had, what federal policies have existed, what the Indian response to those policies was and why things are the way they are. (Akwesasne Notes, 1978, p. 271)

The passing of ten years have seen some of these recommendations become reality. Non-Indian historians like Talbot, Jennings, Berkhofer, Washburn and Zinn have recorded history that includes the invasion, dispossession and genocide of Dine', as central themes in their work. "Intellectual savages"[25], including Highwater, Dunbar-Ortiz, Churchill, LaDuke, Ortiz and others are reconnecting traditions of the past with the reality of today. Their work strengthens and is strengthened by the efforts of the AIM, IITC, and NIBADA who press for social change in the

national and international political arenas. It is to this effort, that this small step -- a history of Dine' alcohol policy -- is offered.

WHAT EVERY INDIAN KNOWS[26]

Auschwitz ovens
burn bright
in America

twenty-four million
perished in the flame

Nazi
not a people
but
a way

Trail of Tears Humans
ends in Oklahoma
an Indian name for Red Earth

Redder still
soaked in blood
of two hundred
removed tribes

the ovens burn bright
in America
ancestral ashes
sweep th nation
carried in
Prevailing Winds

survivors know
the oven door stands wide

and some like mouse
cat crazed and frenzied
turn
and run into the jaws

at night
the cat calls softly
to the resting
us

SECTION IV

NO ONE MAKES YOU DRINK

It is often assumed (by Indian and non-Indian alike) that genocide of American Indians ended in the closing of the "Indian Wars"[27] but this view does not explain why

> ...the average annual income of an American Indian is less than $2,000...that approximately 30% of all Indian women have been sterilized, that three of five Indian children die in the first year after birth, that 70 percent of all Indian people suffer from malnutrition, that Indian people are imprisond 10 times more often than Whites, that the FBI has admitted to terrorist tactics against the American Indian Movement, that Indian people are losing their landbase at a rate of 45,000 acres a year, <u>every year of this century</u>. (Durham)

The genocide, once overt military action has become covert, institutionalizd processes, seldom seen or understood (Steiner, 1975; Durham, 1975). In this context, American Indians turn to the bottle, believing, as our enemies would have it, that no one makes us drink.

Confusion and Conflict:

In the early days of invasion, the enemy was clear; so was the reason for drinking. Pretty Shield, a Crow Medicine woman, was free until adulthood. In 1932 she told her biographer:

> Ahh, my heart fell down when I began to see dead buffalo scattered all over our beautiful country, killed and skinned, and left to rot by white men,...nobody believed, even then, that the White man could kill all the buffalo...
>
> We believed for a long time that the buffalo would again come to us; but they did not. We grew hungry and sick and afraid, all in one. Not believing their own eyes our hunters rode very far looking for buffalo, so far away that even if they had found a herd we could not have reached it in half a moon.
>
> 'Nothing; we found nothing', they told us; and then, hungry, they stared at the empty plains, as though dreaming. After this their hearts were no good any more....
>
> And then white men began to fence the plains so that we could not travel and anyhow there was now litte good in traveling, nothing to travel for. We began to stay in one place, and to grow lazy and sicker all the time. Our men had fought hard against our enemies, holding them back from our beautiful country by their bravery; but now, with everything else going wrong, we began to be whipped...our leaders began to drink...(Linderman, p. 250-251)

But after the Treaty Era which confined Pretty Shield and many others to reservations, colonialism moved from the realm of overt military action, to the hidden dimensions of psychology and human behavior (Carnoy, 1974). Some Indian leaders perceived the danger in the shift to hidden warfare. Red Cloud, Sioux Chief, warned Indian people:

> Friends it has been our misfortune to welcome the white man. We have been deceived. He brought with him shining things that pleased our eyes; he brought weapons more effective than our own. Above all he brought the spirit-water that made one forget old age, weakness and sorrow. But I wish to say to you that if you wish to possess these things for yourselves, you must begin anew and put away the wisdom of your fathers.... (Latham, p. 17)

As the jug of the empire moved west, the wisdom of the Grandfathers was put away but the decision became less and less a conscious choice. In fact, it was the logical outcome of shrewdly calculated policy.

The deliberate enslavement of the human mind in order to grease the wheel of expansionism, is described by Kenneth Stampp. Stampp, a social scientist examined plantation records of the ante-bellum South[28] and found the written prescription for colonization of the mind:

> ...Here then was the way to produce the perfect slave. Accustom him to rigid discipline, demand from him unconditional submission, impress upon him his innate inferiority, develop in him a paralyzing fear of white men, train him to adopt the colonizers' code of good behavior an instill in him a sense of complete dependence. (Stampp, 1956, p. 148)

Colonization of the Mind, An Artifact of Policy: The Haida Nation a Case in Point:

The covert policy imperative, colonization of the mind, became overt in U.S./Haida Nation relations.[29] The process of identity diffusion entailed:

> Loss of a cultural vision; loss of critical consciousness; destruction of spiritual consciousness and of traditional roles.... (Akwesasne Notes, 1978)

This generated confusion -- "an agent of control". Missionary Sheldon Jackson articulated the plan to destroy Haida identity at the prestigious Lake Mohonk Conference (1897).

> We have no Indians in Alaska; we have Natives.[30] When Alaska began to be developed, some wise man said: what are you going to do with the Natives? Do you want reservations? The answer was No. Do you want agents? No. Do you want those people to be sheltered behind the Indian policy of the government? No. We do not want any Indian government at all. What do you want then? We want citizenship right from the start and that the people should simply be called natives. (Akwesasne Notes, 1978)

Changing tribal names to "native" and "citizen" served two purposes. The name changes were self-deprecating, confusing, and secondly, served the profit motive. Each change in name cost Haida land and resources. For example, the first group of Jackson's mission educated returned home in the early 1900's. Assuming leadership positions the group "decided" to relocate three villages to one centralized site. This centralization had been planned as early as 1881 by Rev. Lindsley, who was eager to establish a self-supporting plantation.[31] But Haida leadership, unaware of these early plans, eagerly anticipated the move.

As one surviving member of this group put it, "All the Haida wanted to move...for a new school and church.[32] And move they did. It was the middle of November; traditioally Haida did not violate the taboo against travel in the extreme weather of autumn. But in this case, Haida left established communities and some even new homes. The people relocated to a site which had not been cleared; some lived in a tent city for over one year. The abandond villages passed into public domain, except that held by the Church! (Haida were not informed of this loss of lands and assumed that it still belonged to the tribe.) (Jackson, 1896)

In 1915, the Territory of Alaska made its move to assume ownership of Haida lands. The Territorial legislature passed a law which defined the political status of natives. This law required Haida to become citizens in order to own land...even that which they lived on! The law

stipulated five white citizens had to certify that a Haida person had, "abandoned all tribal customs" and had "adopted the ways and habits of a civilized life..." (Grant, 1983). Haida, eager for their rights and wanting to hold title to their lands complied with the following statement, signed by village leaders:

> We, the undersigned, Alaskan Natives of Hydaburg, Alaska, hereby declare that we have given up our old tribal relationships; that we recognize no chief of clan or tribal family; that we have given up all claim to or interest in tribal and communal houses; that we live in one family houses in accordance with the customs of civilization; that we observe the marriage laws of the United States; that our children take the name of the father and belong equally to the father and mother, and that the rights of the maternal uncle to direct the children are no longer recognized and that in the case of the death of either parent we recognize the laws of the United States relative to the inheritance of property; that we have discarded the Totem and recognize the Stars and Stripes as our only emblem; and that we are a self-supporting and law abiding people.
>
> We therefore believe we have fulfilled all requirements ncessary to citizenship in the U.S. and we resectfully request the Congress of the United States to pass a law granting to us the full rights of citzenship. (Chapter II[Session Laws of Alaska 24 (1915)

Meanwhile, as the value of Alaskan resources became more visible, the federal government began asserting itself. One of its first acts was to create an Executive Order reservation for Haida people. Thus, an "Indian" identity was briefly promulgated. But in the end, the more immediate interests of the Territory and missionaries prevailed. Haida leadership requested dissolution of the reservation[33] opting for citizenship and the apparent advantages of fee

simple ownership.

In 1926, President Taft complied and the Executive Order was rescinded (Chapter III Session Laws of Alaska 24, 1915). Again, Haida were not advised of the implications in terms of sovereignty or land holdings. The march towards alienation continued with the door wide open for "legal" expropriation.

In 1952, the State walked through the door. In the landmark decision, Libby v. State of Alaska, the Court, using the 1915 Citizenship Act, found that Haida people could not stop a major fish cannery from fishing traditional Haida streams.[34] The Court reasoned that Haida had ceased to be Indian when they became citizens; therefore, could not claim Indian/aboriginal rights. In one fell swoop, the State neatly stole 101 thousand acres of Haida land! (Executive Order, April 17th, 1926, #4421)

The Haida could not appeal to the federal government for redress because its sovereignty had been abandoned when the reservation was abolished. Thus citizenship came at a very high price. But the losses did not stop with natural resources or land; the cumulative effects spilled over into the social fabric of the People. And members of Jackson's first "educated" group, became the first Haida alcoholics (McCloud, 1981). By the third genertion which is today's leadership, the problems of substance abuse equalled those of tribes in the "lower 48" (American Indian Policy Review Task Force, II).

The effectiveness of Jackson's policy, in terms of identity diffusion/alienation is evidenced in the following remarks. Elders of the mission school first generation had this to say about their heritage:

> Indians were so ugly a long time ago, until they got white blood in them.
>
> We should have gone our separate ways(not stayed a tribe).
>
> They (traditional Indians) could break my head open; mix up my brains, put them back in again and I would still be Presbyterian. (Interviews with Haida Elders, 1981-1982)

Speaking of Jackson's harsh boarding school discipline, one aged man said, "They (mission teachers) had to be strict, we were really wild in those days".

In 1971, the name of Haida was changed again. The Alaka Native Land Claims Settlement Act, compensated Natives for lands taken. But the cash settlement was not to the tribe or even per capita. ANCSA created regional and village corporations to pass money through. In this act Haida became "shareholders" (U.S. News & World Report, 1983). Recently, one Native, corporate leader told U.S. News & World Report,

> Our first priority is the bottom line. Without profits, you can't accomplish anything else. (U.S. News & World Report, 1983)

The schism produced in Haida people was documented by Sterns, in her twenty year study -- "Haida Culture in Custody" (1981). Sterns found that the pressure to assimilate, produced a "decapitated culture". Other manifestations of alienation were detailed in the 1983

Social Impact Study of Hydaburg. This effort, conducted by an outside research group, concluded:

> The fact that the Haida culture has been systematically expunged by White institutions throughout recent history makes for a teetering between outright submission to external influence and resentful defiance to them.

The study also demonstrated that the disparate reactions have produced division among the people. Young adult "Traditionals" argue that:

> Many of the current social problems are a result of the deep anger and frustration of a subjected people...Many Haida have lost their sense of identity and feeling of self-worth with the loss of the culture...an increase in cash flow is valuable only if it improves the quality of life and promotes a sense of self-worth. (Community and Systems Analysis, 1983, p. 36)

On the other hand, "Progressives" the elders and their children (age 50 and older) who have dominated tribal politics advocate assimilation and development.

> The critics of the Traditionalists, however, often characterize them as "young radicals" trying to take the community back to times past. "They want us to return to the long house and open pits", is a frequently heard dismissal. The Traditionalists, according to their critics, have romanticized the past and have forgotten the long influence of Christianity on the Haida culture...
>
> Many Progressives in fact comment that the culture is already dead. The Haida language is useless, and the history is irrelevant to most of today's youth. Much of the tradition championed by the Traditionalists would simply confuse the young further about their identity. These critics also note that a return to tribal forms of governance would separate the Haida further from the wealth and power they have sought. In fact, the community would stand to lose some of its funding and regulatory influence if it closed itself off as a reservation" or tribal reserve. (Community and Systems Analysis, 1983, p. 36)

The inherent contraditions in the colonial situation make everyday life insane. For "traditional" is now in the hands of young adults who must fight Elders, the holders of said tradition, in order to continue. Elders, seeking progress must destroy the basis for their progress...their children and grandchidren to attain their goals. And all must contrive to maintain some semblance of balance, in the wake. Devoid of traditional healing and consensus building institutions and lacking new colonial institutions to take up the slack, Haida join continental tribes in the in the juggernaut of alcoholism, suicide, and self-hate.

Dimensions of Alienation:

Fanon spoke to the psychological dimensions of alienation. He found that colonized peoples universally experience a sense of diminished self-worth. A consequence of this is a sense of self-hatred which leads to rage aimed at self and then towards one's peer group (Fanon, 1968).

> Most Indian men with an alcohol problem...consider themselves failures for having let alcohol control their lies. Failures as husbands, as fathers, and on the job. They seem to consider themselves failures because they are Indian. They are not failures as Indians, they are failures as individuals. (Foulks, 1981)

Hayes found a similar behavioral construct among San Carlos Apache. Assimilationist, ruling class Apache were harshly oppressing drinkers (even threatening their food supply) yet the alcoholics made no effort to defend themselves. And Hayes concluded that: "The loud and constant cries of shame are all but wasted on those who only feel but do not understand their guilt" (Hays, 1968).

Foulk's (1981) study among Inupiat -- "Eskimo Capitalists" -- connected economic factors with alcoholic episodes. His research indicated that drinking does not cause shame among Inupiat. It is the failure to meet one's group responsibilities, a direct result of state capitalist invasion, that causes shame; therefore, drinking. An Anishnabeq man, a chronic alcoholic put it this way:

> You know, I'd be going along pretty good for two or three weeks. Maybe even a couple of months (not drinking). Then someone would bump me or look funny at me from a passing bus. The next thing I would know, I was in a bar, lifting a glass to my mouth...and I had been three or four hours....(Interview, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1980)

This profound alienation is exacerbated by alcoholism which in turn is fortified by the great shame that keeps us silent in our dying and serves the interest of those who would see us dead. This perverse aspect of the colonial situation, that the victims participate in their own death, Freire defines as the "culture of silence" (Carnoy, 1974, p. 19). In 1978 the North American Indian Women's Association, published a report on the special needs of Indian women. The research demonstrated a dramatic increase (nationally) in violence (usually alcohol related) against Indian women and children. One of the greatest needs was the need to disclose incidence of violence! (North American Indian Women's Associaion, 1978) Janet McCloud, co-founder of AIM[says, "The reason we don't want to talk about it, is that we know it is not Indian and never was, and we are shamed"[36]

(Conversation with Janet McCloud, 1981). McCloud also points to the Major Crimes Act as a factor in Indian silence. The Act removes jurisdiction over domestic violence from the tribe and gives it to the FBI. Few Indian people want to "bring down the man" on the community. It becomes a decision of individual rights versus group survival; in a tribal context the individual inevitably accedes.

Looking at similar behavior, in Africa, Clignet advances the colonial analysis. He argues that silence is an outcome of the colonizer's efforts to prevent the colonized from understanding his position in time and space and hence from maintaining contact with his own past or with alien cultures. Correspondingly, Clignet say, the colonized is only exposed to the elements of the colonizer's culture likely to facilitate a perpetuation of the colonial order (Clignet, 1971). Indian alcoholics who seek treatment discover how true this observation is.

UNCLE[37]

(Indian relationships under U.S. colonialism)
Frank
the biggest drunk in
town

walks around
spreading hate

today
he stopped to tell us
about last nights party

two young nephews

"trained"

a fifteen year old
Haida girl

some joke

when not drinking
they like to brag
about being Indian

in the old days
the sanction for rape
was

death

I wish it were the old days now

THE POLITICS OF ALCOHOL RECOVERY

Colonialism depends on conquest, control and imposition of new institutions and ways of thought (Memmi, 1965). With more than two hundred years of experience, these colonial forces operate as precision weapons in the context of Indian alcohol treatment. Looking at programs available to Indians today, typically structured to duplicate those of the colonizers, it seems as if American Indians are destined to forget history and to view traditional healing, culture and selves as worthless (Memmi, 1965). Just as the Spanish offered civilization and Christianity in exchange for Indian resources, treatment programs have offered sobriety in exchange for assimilation, really a walking death. But this is not clearly seen; U.S. colonialism, especially in treatment, is not "obvious structurally to the observer" (Steiner, 1975, p. 254).

Alcohol Treatment as Concealed Colonialism: They Always Call it Somthing Else:

The U.S./Indian relationship is chaacterized by "labyrinth of legality".

> There are more than 2,000 regulations, 389 treaties, 5,000 statuses, 2,000 federal court decisions and 500 opinions of the Attorney General which state, interpret, apply or clarify some aspect of Indian law. Additionally, the Bureau of Indian Affairs Manual, which explains and sets forth the procedures and rules that govern Indians, fills 33 volumes which stack some six feet high. (Cahn, 1970, pp. 10-11)

Indian alcohol programs were subject to all these restrictions plus those imposed by the particular federal or state funding agency.[38] Programs were in trouble almost as soon as they were funded. Problematic areas included the requirement to submit written proposals for funding every year (and the concomitant English writing, language and political skills) as well as the demand for fiscal accountability (Cahn, 1970). Usually these structural requirements eliminated traditional efforts in the initial stages. But even when traditional programs were funded, which occasionally happened in the early days of "easy" funding, they tended to be defunded quickly. In 1978, NIAAA reported that a major reason for defunding was that Indian programs have, "a general attitude...that demands Federal support, rather than any form of imposed justification..." (Latham, 1978, p. 21) Traditional Indians understood that treaties obligate the federal government to provide basic health services; moreover, they correctly perceive that the only resources the federal government can give are Indian resources to begin with. Lakota Chief, Matthew King, explains:

> I asked one senator how he was going to pay us.... He said: 'From the U.S. Treasury.' I said: 'That's not your that's our money; that money came from resources you stole from Indian land.' Hee, hee, boy they didn't like that. They think they can buy everything; hee, hee, oh, they're crazy. Wetko. (Weyler, p. 33)

The inherent contradiction of the federal government, funding "Indian" programs which were totally Westernized

became so blatant that the bureaucracy attempted to explain. On the seventh anniversary of the founding of the Indian Desk, and Indian alcohol program initiative, Dr. Latham announced the results of a nationwide evaluation:

> There are few innovative American Indian programs as the Institute had originally hoped would be created by a specialized alcoholism effort for American Indians and Alaskan Natives. Only in rare instances in the use of traditional Indian custom and mdicine an integral part of the treatment methodology of the Indian programs (Latham, 1978, pg. 20-21.

The implication here is that Indians somehow have failed to design the types of traditional treatments that the Institute really wanted. Further, that the tendency of programs to evolve along Western lines, is somehow a natural phenomena. The obfuscation of colonial forces was clouded further when alcoholism became defined as a medical problem -- therefore a matter of technical skill[39] (Freire, 1975). Through this new definition the tenets of epistemology and epidemology emphasized the universality of western medical health care (Clignet, 1971), and permitted the extension of the colonial power into new levels of the treatment process -- level that affected the consciousness of Indian people. Clignet explains that these tenets enable colonists:

> to minimize the significance of the role played by the cultural traditions of colonial people in their acceptance or rejection or the experience attached to the colonial health care system. (The system) will also disregard the significance of eventual variations in the relations developed between colonizing health providers and their patients. (Clignet, 1971, p. 124)

In the end, the alcoholic Indian is deprived of the choices that he should have in terms of his relation to his past and

his present, to himself and to the outside world (Clignet, 1971). So alcohol treatment, far from being neutral, implies values, forms, mentalities and leads to social and political consequences (Freire, 1975). Evidence is presented by Cahn who studied the Indian Health Services and discovered that Western health care treatments[40]:

> attack the Indian's conception of health as bound up with his relation to his family, community and to the moral order of the universe A scientific drug oriented, bio-chemical approach to health constitutes an assault upon a culture where people define themselves in terms of their relationship to others, where they view illness as a sign of being out of harmony with the universe...
>
> The effort is to communicate disdain for the accumulated skills, wisdom and sensitivity of a tradition, undermining tribal leadership and destroying part of a people's identity and pride. This intolerance is self-defeating. It eliminates a potential source of health manpower when the need is critical and when traditional people could easily provide services.... By neglecting the Indian view of health, BIA and IHS make scientific knowledge and medicine available only if Indian people reject their social context and break with their faith. (Cahn, 1970, p. 65)

While Cahn accurately describes the effects of Indian Health services, as it presently operates, he reveals a "culture bound myopia" (Dinges, Trimble, et al., 1980, p. 42). This posture is evident in many efforts of "would be champions" of the Indian plight. Cahn completely misses the colonial intent of such treatment -- the "maintenance of a society that indigenous people know needs changing, the formation of a passive ingeniousness and a view of self as deviant but adjusted through the system" (Freire, 1975). Social critics, such as Gurley have spent a lifetime

exploring the hiddem dimensions of colonialism in state-capitalist societies. These researchers find:

> The surface phenomena of capitalism...appear in forms that often distort and falsify the true relationships of this mode of production. Indeed, it was Marx's contention that capitalism, because of its perverted forms, maximizes illusion and mystification that its essence is more heavily covered by layers of misleading superficial phenomena than that of any previous mode of production, including slavery and feudalism. The outward appearances of capitalism diverge fantastically from its inner laws...and...leads to illusions in the minds of those captivated by its surface data.... (Gurley, 1976, p. 45)

Among those "captivated by its surface data" are the people within the various alcohol service agencies of the government. Their attitudes (shaped by the colonial situation and in turn, shaping the situation), are reflected in the following statemens:

> Alcohol continues to be the downfall of many and will continue to be until programs are established in each and every Indian community to cope with the problem. We cannot go on the assumption that alcohol is not a part of any culture because the problem is here today, and we have to use modern techniques to cope with it. As unpleasant as it may seem to be, in treating the alcohlic we have to discard the ideas of culture, tradition, and beliefs... (Martinez, Indian Field Representative, New Mexico Commission of Alcoholism, June, 1968)

and in 1978, Dr. Noble, Director NIAAA said:

> Fortunately, flexible policies governing Indian alcohol programs have allowed many innovations in services to the problem drinker and those he affects. Although little evaluation has been done.... (Martinez, 1968)

An Indian member of the NIAAA (proposal) review committee, spoke of her decision to not fund a traditional program in a

major U.S. city:

> I was the person who cast the deciding vote. I voted against it because traditional treatment could not work in a city where there are so many different tribes....[41] (Raymond, 1979)

These remarks illustrate how colonialism can shift from the realm of overt political processes (usually between two nations) to the quiet dimensions of psychology, or as Carnoy put it:

> Colonialism becomes a description of the relationships among people rather than nations. The term is used to describe the way one individual relates to another (really one's subjugation of another). These relations are shaped and mediated by colonial institutions.... (Carnoy, 1974, p. 27)

Fannon and Memmi, develop this point by considering the individual and his culture:

> ...exploitation is a universal consequence of certain types of structural relationships which gives birth to patterns of interaction and of ideological representations that vary both with the nature of the particular group to be exploited and with the processes by which individual actors internalize the conflicting demands imposed on them... (Clignet, 1971, p. 128)

Patterns of Interaction and Ideological Representations: On Death Intended:

Presuming and perhaps hoping that the federal government intended to meet its health care commitment to Indian people, tribes and interest groups began to mobilize when promised services did not materialize. Working within the system, the NIBADA (National Indian Board on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse) compiled and presented to Congress, documentation[42] that demonstrated the failure of the government to comply with its obligations. The Report also

addressed problems Indian treatment programs were having:

> --The base dollars (for programs) have remained the same for the past six years, Congress cannot reasonably expect the alcoholism programs to efficiently and effectively operate under these kinds of fiscal constraints.
>
> --According to...documents developed by IHS there is an indication that the current IHS Alcoholism programs are underfunded by at least 20%
>
> --there are 4 million dollars worth of approved but unfunded Indian proposals in NIAAA mental health.
>
> --we are offering an alternative to address the tremendous inflationary cost of traditional medical care...there seems to be a need for cautionary note that the treatment of the disease concept of alcoholism should not be placed within the medical in-patient or out-patient model...at least the preliminary encounter of the alcoholic patient does not necessarily need to be within the medical model...this would place the patient in the proper setting for the treatment of alcoholism...and...should lower the costs of (treatment). (U.S. Government, n. 175, Section III)

The report to Congress concluded with the request that funds be committed to the Indian Health Services so that IHS will provide the services it was directed (by Congress) to provide. And the report observes that withholding an adequate funding base is "setting Indians up to fail".

But the view of NIBADA and other groups which worked within the system, rested on the erroneous assumption that the funding would be released when the funding agencies received accurate information. But colonial forces were not responsible to rational appeals.

Most Indians neither "traditional" nor working within the bureaucracy, understood something at a basic level. Being Indian in America means living a social reality only

anesthesia can mitigate. And while few had heard of "colonialism" one thing was clear:

> We are totally administered. We can experience nothing directly but death. So we have turned to death...by drinking on railroad tracks in Ponca City and greeting our salvation train. We drown ourselves in wine and smother our brains in glue. The only time we are free is when we're drunk. I am speaking of my flesh and blood of this hour. Yet there is another walking death that we are driven to -- social death. (Cahn, 1970, p. 139)

In the social death alcoholism is everyday life. Baba Cooper, director of a major treatment center in California, reported to Congress, in 1976:

> We try to change a person's drinking patterns which is a very difficult thing to do. Those people down there (Los Angeles skid row) are hard drinkers. To them, it's not a game and it's not a way of life. Just like you have to breathe to live, you have to drink to live.... (U.S. Government, n. 175, Section III)

In this context we lash out at each other, sometimes destroying our only hope for sobriety. Steltenkamp, a Catholic Priest, was invited to attend a Native American Church Ceremony (this is a Christianized form of the Peyote Way). He recorded this revealing story about alienation:

> After being seated, Eagle Bear (Roadman or officiate) asked the fire man to bring in more medicine. Once again the same pattern was followed as earlier in the night -- except that the fire man was noticeably absent.
>
> Prior to when the medicine was passed, angry voices could be heard along with the sound of a car motor some distance outside the lodge....
>
> ...Eagle Bear told us about the nature of the disturbance outside. Troublemakers had spotted the teepee and planned to disrupt the meeting. Physical violence erupted.... (Steltenkamp, 1982)

Even the sacral fabric of Indian life is under duress

and this is the heart of the Indian. For we have always been people of spirit. Moreover, ceremonies, especially Peyote, are often the only viable road to recovery. Yet the conflicts of the colonized situation continue to play themselves out. In another Meeting, man asked to pray with a Pipe (Christian Peyotists usually smoke a type of cigarette and do not use the ancient Pipe as part of their prayer):

> ...A young couple had strong misgivings about the presence of the Pipe in a peyote ritual, as it symbolized older practices they thought should be better left alone. They threatened to depart and never return to this fireplace. (Steltenkamp, 1982, pp. 63-64)

In the secular world, the conflict is worse because there are no bounds. Akwesasne Mohawk[43] explains:

> After 500 years of contact, there are many different stages of colonialism Many possibilities for confusion....

Sydney Stone, director of the Indian alcohol program in Portland, Oregon, discusses the outcomes of colonial confusion and the implications for treatmen:

> For years, within Native communities these differences have been viewed from a definition determined by geographic placement, degree of Indian blood (as BIA determined) or life experience. All of these means of communicating differences have caused labeling, negative competition and feelings of alienation from other Native People. For example, Traditional people were seen by Acculturated People as 'unwilling to accept reality,' 'full-bloods,' 'ignorant' and at times, 'militant' and 'reservation Indian,' On the other hand, Acculturated People were viewed as 'Apples,' 'sell-outs,' 'Breeds,' or 'Urban Indians.'
>
> Yet essential to achievement and attainment of sobriety is an inner harmony which is composed, in part, of resolved conflicts in perceiving and dealing with an alien and different world.... (Stone, 1981)

In the colonial context the first step in alcohol recovery is waking in a nightmare:

> despair inspires me, moods guide my hand
> to trap the words upon a page
> untangling thoughts
> making them concrete
>
> sometimes, no one gives a damn
> sometimes, i see that middle-class dream
> of some (not me) fade before my eyes
> and know that i'm gonna die on day
>
> maybe a bullet from the FBI
>
> maybe at my own hands
>
> cause this time the despair was too much.
>
> (Midnight Sun News, 1983)

WHAT WILL YOU DO?

(transcendance under state-capitalism)

condemned by the village
for daring to expose
rape

a neighbor asks
what will you do
if they come for you?

alone in my house
children sleeping
I jump at every sound
and rage against myself

why did I talk why

taut with fear
knowing only that its true
I walk to the kitchen
and take the pistol down
from the cupboard
where I never wanted it to be

and feel
41 magnums cold steel
in my hands
strangely warm
and steady

Raise

Practice Shoot

now
AIM

I am ready

AIM, THE WAR AGAINST ALCOHOLISM --

A Struggle for Unity, Clarity and Commitment

First Wave 1960 to 1974:

An unanticipated outcome of U.S. Indian policy was a partial end to the isolation Indian people had experienced -- geographic and social. Urban relocation, increasing exposure to the "outside world", advances in media all strengthened and unified Indian people in struggles over resources, which began in earnest in the late 1960's and early seventies. Of the many national Indian organizations which were formed, one -- the American Indian Movement -- would attack the problem of alcoholism head on.[44]

While the decision to unite against alcoholism would take many forms, many places, the essential moment is captured in a little known story about Wounded Knee. A group of women requested a meeting with leaders of AIM and a number of Sioux Chiefs. Dennis Banks, AIM leader, recalls:

> ...these Oglala Sioux women only asked that the spirit, that the fighting spirit, return, so that there would be no reason for Indian people to drink themselves to death, so that there'd be no reason for Indian youngsters to be slashing their wrists.
>
> One by one the Oglala Sioux Chiefs stood up and their names will come before you...Names like Fools Crow and Crow Dog, names like Catches...names like Kills Enemy, Iron Cloud...We'd reached a point in history where we could not tolerate that kind of abuse any longer where these women, these parents, these mothers who couldn't tolerate the mistreatment that goes on, on the reservations any longer, they could not see another Indian youngster die. They could not see another Indian man meet death, whether he was in Chicago or Nebrasks or Buffalo Gap.

> Then one of the chiefs said: Go ahead and do it, go to Wounded Knee. You can't get in the BIA office and the tribal office, so take your brothers from the American Indian Movement and go to Wounded Knee an mak your stand there.... (Weyler, p. 76)

We Make Our Stand:

Since alcohol treatment is viewed as an apolitical, medical matter, rarely is the question asked, "Why treat?" (Akwesasne Notes, 1973).

In the early days of AIM, the question of what to do about alcoholism was not even considered in terms of "treatment" or programs. Instead, as the words of Dennis Banks reflect, Indian drinking was seen as a problem of freedom, or rather, lack of it. And it was assumed that the mobilization of the people would curb the problem.

The 1973 Akwesasne publication, "BIA, I'm Not Your Indian Anymore", was one of the first to record the purpose and direction of AIM,

> If there is one characteristic that stands out in the Indian movement, it is its wholistic nature. The essence of the movement is not contained in any set of demands, not tied to any principal organization or dominated by any personality. It is tuned to every aspect of life that touches an Indian person. It aims at a renewal of his culture ending his alienation from Indian traditions and giving him a life of political and economic dignity. (Akwesasne Notes, 1973)

In this initial movement, the enemy was loosely defined as the federal/Indian relationship:

> Indians want to live their lives as Indians, free from federal meddling and free from the inroads of businssmen, missionaries, and politicians who have made the reservation a playground for opportunists...
>
> ...the federal government, for more than a century, has tried to suppress Indian culture and religion, and to mold Indians in the image of white culture....(Akwesasne Notes, 1973)

In regard to alcoholism the Movement demanded that the federal government honor its treaty obligations. This would insure sovereignty, freedom and the provision of essential health and human service needs.

In a 37 page position paper, presidential assistants Garment and Carlucci responded to the "Twenty Points" request, labeling the Points, "wholly backward steps, inappropriate for a nation which is a union" (Akwesasne Notes, 1973). But quietly, the government began to introduce a new interpretation of Indian drinking, calling it "alcoholism" and declaring it an illness. To implement this new understanding were programs and fund. On the surface this was a welcome response; it signalled decriminalization (incarceration) and offered the firt structured apprach to Indian drinking. But this new understanding served other purposes; it furthered the colonial aims of the U.S.; it subverted the efforts of AIM, clouding the reasons for drinking and creating the illusion that the problem was being addresses.

But a movement had begun and the return to culture, advocated by AIM brought puzzling questions to the attention of the people. As young people sought out traditional elders it became obvious that somehow, Indianness was tied to a way of thinking. Furthermore, that the changed thinking of Indian people related to problems with alcohol.

Frank WalksLast told a young man who came to him seeking advice:

> Here, living here, Northern Cheyennes, sometimes we have forgotten our sacred ways, sacred ways of thinking...and we have forgotten...Indian identity through his non-Indian religion.
>
> ...at the present time, we are soft and weak; we suffer, this alcoholic beverage drinking is the cause of this.... (Walkslast, F)

Another elder Cheyenne man told his interviewer:

> I pray many different ways, many different directions going towards Maheo o, to save and make our way of life come out of the darkness, make it a good, gentle way again.
>
> I feel deep pity towards some of the young men, they are related to me. I wish he would not drink I wish he would come to know good.... (Walkslast, F.)

Second Wave 1974 to Present:

By the mid seventies it was clear that somehow the movement for freedom (and freedom from substance dependency) had been subverted. Many of the people most active in issues of alcoholism were bogged down in program activities. Precious time, energy were now committed to begging for funds to continue the bastardized "Indian" treatment programs. Other activists, notably AIM people were struggling with FBI and various state, and local law enforcement agencies (Weyler). It seemed that alcohol programs and AIM were destined for obscurity. Then in 1972, an event occurred which gave new life to the Movement and hope for the substance-dependent Indian. AIM co-founder Eddie Benton and a delegation of traditional Indian leaders, from Alaska to Brazil, attended the UN Environment

Conference in Stockholm, Sweden.

> It was here that the term 'Fourth World,' or global network of indigenous people, was coined. This Fourth World political, philosophical, spiritual movement brought an entirely fresh force to international political diplomacy. (Weyler, p. 213)

In Sweden Indian leaders learned about International politics and with whom to align.

> They found that the Chinese, African, and most Third World governments were as much oriented toward energy-intensive industry as were the Americans and Canadians...and pulled out of the Third World session because, according to Benton, 'The groups were so internalized and so attuned to science and technology that they would not listen to the spiritualism that we were trying to project.'
>
> The Indians from the Western Hemisphee found their closest allies were...the Sami from Lapland, the people of Brittany who caimed independence from Spain and other indigenous land-based people...
>
> 'We feel solidarity with those traditional peoples everywhere,' a Mohawk spokesman said...'these are people who love and respect the earth, who live in harmony with their environment...
>
> Furthermore, the indigenous people of the Western Hemisphere began to build political support among European countries...who were a much more receptive audience to their charges against the U.S. government.... (Weyler, p. 213)

These understandings led to the formation, in 1974, of the International Indian Treaty Council, which by 1977 had NGO status in the U.S. (See Section III, Self-Determination). By 1980, "Indians were already well versed in global politics".

Summary: Alcohol Treatment in Light of the Colonial Analysis:

In the international arena, Indian people found a word

which was at once a framework for analysis of our social reality and a prescription for individual praxis. The word was, "colonialism" and it gave strength and direction to the Movement of Indian people by providing a sense of global unity and protection: "in which, whatever repression did continue...would have to take place in the full light of world scrutiny...." (Weyler, p. 232)

The colonial framework explains alcholism as a consequence of economcic and political forces working to expropriate, confuse and control Indian people (Akwesasne Notes, 1973). This new framework raises the question again, "Why treat?"[45] The answers which constitute the findings of this research, fall into four basic categories.

Findings: If We Don't, They Will: The Profit Motive

Social scientists who introduced (in the 1960's) the model of colonialism (Fannon, Memmi, Manoni), called for a scientific analysis of capitalism as a first step in overcoming its effects (Fanon, 1968; Memmi, 1965; Deere, 1983). In 1978, the IITC defined our movement as:

> The struggle to decolonize, to break free, to stand back and view the source of the confusion, in order to develop or resume ways of living that prove to be non-destructive, healthy for the people at one with the creative power of Nature. (Deere, 1983, p. 71).

But the analysis is not easy because the colonial forces strongly resist such efforts and the understandings are "rendered nearly impossible" (Zaher, 1974; Gurley, 1976). Even though Durham (1974) defined our problem, in print, "we are within the most oppressive colonization the world has

ever seen...and it is a process going on internally and seldom seen or understood..." (Durham, 1974). It was difficult to apply to the problem of drinking. The facts were not easy to come by. But the search for the truth around Indian drinking continued. Finally, in 1979, the efforts paid off. Research by the Ontario Native Council on Justice, yielded the followig information:

> ...the minimum clear profit received by the government from the sales of alcohol to Natives was 25 million dollars. Only 4%, $5.50 per capita was returned to Native alcohol treatment centers.
>
> ...an intensive study of 368 Canadian alcohol treatment facilities in 1976...found that funding for Native people is substantially lower on a per capita basis than it is for whites...by about one-half.
>
> Native alcoholics have become a profitable 'natural resource,' and are exploited as a business. They justify thousands of jobs in treatment facilities and correctional centers. Self-determination and independence for Native people would mean profit loss and unemployment for these 'professionals.'
>
> Most alcohol counselors, both Indian and White, conduct programs based on European concepts of rehabilitation. This further contributes to the process of acculturation and the loss of our identity and independence.
>
> Treatments rooted in European philosophies cannot restore self-sufficiency to Native people. It is the traditional Medicine People and the elders who have the knowledge, who teach us what was lost to us through cultural genocide. (Brant, 1983, pp. 69-70)

These findings, foreshadowed the major alcohol research of the century -- research which may never reach the public eye.

In 1981, the World Health Organization, commissioned a study which connects the spiralling increase in

alcoholism[46] (especially for the Third World, women and youth) with corporate power. Twenty expert WHO advisors agreed that there is growing evidence of a link between alcohol abuse and health and social problems that inevitably focuses attention on the global alcohol business -- which spends more than two billion dollars annually, just on advertising!(Nader, 1983)

According to the authors of "Alcoholic Beverages: Dimensions of Coporate Power: the problems generated by alcohol consumption, cannot be grasped without far-reaching analysis of the roughly $170 billion a year alcohol market.

The WHO study connects the struggle of Indian drinking with the international community of humans who are now undergoing a similar invasion by the "jug". WHO found that as the developed nations became "saturated", major alcohol companies turned to the Third World. For example, Heineken, which set up 36 breweries outside of its home base, established 25 of them in developing nations. These nations increased their imports of acohol from $325 million per year in 1970-72 to $1.3 billion in 1980 (Nader, 1983).

In Zambia, this meant that consumption went from roughly 11 gallons per year in 1961 to 40 gallons in 1976. Entire populations have begun to change their drinking habits, switching from traditional alcoholic beverages to Western alcohol drinks (and presumably the manner of drinking). There is enormous profit in this expansion. Six types of Scotch whiskey, basically the same quality,

exported to different markets, had a price variance of 247% depending where the product was sold! (Nader, 1983)

> The report concludes that:
>
> ...the challenge to the international community is tangible; in the cause of health interests some type of international regulation of the liquor trade must become a matter for urgent consideration. The world's health cannot...safely be left to the mercies of an unfettered pursuit of profit.... (Nader, 1983).

Expert advisors, after reviewing drafts twice, recommended commercial publication and prepared to launch a second phase of the project which called for translating some of the research into action: "...encouraging public health awareness, promoting stricter regulation of advertising, and reviewing trade agreements involving alcohol (Nader, 1983). After the study was accepted for publication by Oxford University Press, the report was abruptly recalled:

> After the acceptance letter was received from Oxford, the report was circulated at a very high level at WHO and it's clear that some read it for the first time. It's also clear they were worried that the report could present problems for WHO with countries like the U.S..... (Nader, 1983).

While the nations have assembled for battle on the issue of publication, the report remains on the shelf, although portions of it have appeared in the Paris, Le Monde and the Washington Post. But as one of the staff members notes:

> Corporate control over the production and marketing of these products has had an adverse affect on the lives of tens of millions the world over. It is at the core of both the problem and any real solution. (Nader, 1983)

WHO denies political pressure, but the report flies in the face of the economic interests of its major member who also happens to be WHO's largest contributors. So Indian alcoholism -- consumption and treatment mean profit to non-Indian global alcohol interests. Seen in this light, we cannot reasonably expect healing from these same interests but we can expect death.

They Cannot Solve Their Own Problem:

In his research on alcoholism, Churchill discovered that majority substance abuse programs have a uniformly dismal record of failure. He notes that illegal drug traffic in America:

> ...ranks alongside Exxon as one of the primary money makers in America...Legal consumption in 1978 included 1.8 trillion pills of various kinds, 190 million cases of hard liquor, 160 million cases of wine and over 350 million cases of beer. Such a generalized rate of consumption on the part of a population barely exceeding 200 million indicates substance abuse considerations of truly astronomical proportions and the overall ineffectiveness of all officially sanctioned efforts to offset or counter the problem.... (Churchill & Larsen)

With this highly evident failure of the mainstream to deal with its own substance problems, it is clear that turning towards the established approaches towards substance treatment, is not a viable strategy for American Indians.

What They Call Treatment is Death:

Alcohol treatment was brought to us as part of the colonial empire. It takes us out of our traditions and puts us into the capitalist hierarchy. While the medical treatment of Indian alcoholism does have aspects of healing

and liberation, it includes powerful elements of alienation and dependency (Carnoy, 1974).

In his study of Eskimo capitalists, Foulks tracked Inupiat drinkers through the North Slope alcohol treatment continuum and found its exploitative aspects to be the most prevailing feature. Briefly, Foulks, like Zahar, saw that the western alcohol treatment system has intervened in the internal conditions of our nations (Foulks, 1981). It has modified our social, health and economic structures in such a way that whole systems of relationships between the U.S. (bent on capitalist expansion) and Indian nations (the colonial dependent) has developed (Carnoy, 1974).

Moreover, Zahr, Memmi and other leading scholars of colonialism point to the fact that even the best quality care of the colonizer subverts its positive effects. In the end:

> ...alienation manifests itself both through the fact that my means of recovery belongs to another, that the object of my desire (in this case sobriety) is the inaccessible property of another, and through the fact that each object as well as my own activity is alien to itself, since everything and everybody, the capitalists not excluded is dominated by an inhuman fee... (Zaher, p. 5)

Simply put, in western alcohol treatment, even when we recover, we die!

When We Treat, It's Good! Healing and Liberating:

In western alcohol treatment and western dominated Indian alcohol programs, we are offered sobriety in exchange

for our culture, traditions, self-esteem and resources. But sobriety was ours before these helpers came! It is not theirs to give away but rather ours, to take and live.

Alcoholism is expropriation; even in medical terms. Dr. Kellerman, writing for Alcoholics Anonymous writes:

> The nature of alcoholism produces losses for the alcoholic. There are several forms of alcoholism but for the great majority of persons, it is a progressive illness which brings on greater losses as the person continues to drink over the years.... (Kellerman, 1973)

Among the losses cited are the ability to stop drinking, the loss of control over one's life, the loss of self-respect, the loss of spouse, family and income. Dr. Andre, of Indian Health Services, also reminds us of pernicious physiological effects:

> Heavy drinking over a few years almost always results in some degree of permanent damage to the brain and other parts of the nervous system.... (Andre, 1978)

He also cites a laundry list of the dangers alcohol, as a depressant, elicits:

> Blackouts, withdrawal syndromes, alcoholic hallucinosis, alcohol paranoid state, pathological intoxication, alcohol dementia, Wernickes encephalopathy, and Korsakoffs psychosis.... (Andre, 1978)

In this context, sobriety becomes a liberation strategy, because it is the dialectical opposite of the colonization process. This is even more true when the treatment for alcoholism is derived from locally based culture.

As Rodriquez argues, culture specific treatment is a

sovereign action. Most liberation efforts recreate in some form the dependency which they sought to replace, but treatment given by Indian people frees us from dependency on the government and a health care system that seeks the power of profit. Traditional treatment brings us close to resources since the methods and philosophy of healing rely on nature Furthermore, treatment of Indian origin means consistency; there is no mind/body split that occurs in non-Indian healing systems.

Culture specific treatment provides historical continuity which addresses the many-leveled alienation experienced in the colonial context. Finally, treatment by Indians for Indians, promotes unity, clarity and commitment. Our spiritually based healing promotes the development of critical consciousness because:

> To speak of an alienated society is to speak of people robbed of their culture, always so that some political system can exploit them. That is what makes culture so important to liberation and that is why it can never be considered a separate piece of human activity...

"Good Way" of thinking Indian people have been deceived, believing that the only way to sobriety is assimilation. Sobriety requires peace of mind. But in the words of Marcuse: "Peace can never be the imagination of those who are possessed by the images of domination and death...." (Marcuse, 1964). Leighton posed the same argument in a conservative framework. In "Culture and Curing", he questioned:

> What have we to offer from our own traditions that

> will enable them to live in the desert on an income of $100 per year with the pride and self respect they have now? ... Are we prepared to give them back better land or tax ourselves to support them? Considering our medical practice itself. Can we justly claim that it adequately cares for the uneasiness, fear and difficulties...associated with ill health?

Modern capitalist societies dedicate themselves to the proposition of scarcity... "inadequacy of economic means is the first principle of the world's wealthiest peoples... Given material abundance, scarcity must be a function of boundaries". Traditional Indian alcohol treatment requires only our labor, thus challenges this most basic operative statement of U.S. capitalism. Under the guidance and healing of our own people, we renew and are reminded of the most liberating aspect of the American Indian world view:

> Life is renewable and all the things which support life are renewable and they are renewed by a force greater than any government, greater than any living or historical thing. A consciousness of the web that holds all things together. The spiritual element that connects us to present in the existence of an eagle or a mountain snowfall, that consciousness was the first thing which was destroyed by the colonizers....

Summary and Discussion:

The "recovery of self and of autonomous dignity" is the great promise of traditional Indian alcohol treatment. But decolonization/respiritualization is a complicated process fraught with many difficulties stemming from the advanced stages of colonialism; the mystification of capitalism, and the real fear that Indian people live under.

Even the international forum that has opened to us

under the second wave "colonial analysis" offers no magic solutions. For neither the IITC (Treaty Council) nor any other Indian nation, harbors the illusions that the United States, Guatemala or other dominant powers will "recoil in shame at the exposure of their misdeeds". In fact, the U.S. government quite openly acknowledges Indian participation in the U.N. forum.

In his recent book, "Columbus Day", AIM activist Jimmy Durham writes that when he testified before the U.N. Human Rights Commission on the conditions of Native Americans, the U.S. representive, Mr. Mezvinsky, replied that American Indian people were free to criticize their government. Durham observed: "Under the circumstances, that is like saying that Indian people are free to scream under torture" (Durham). In fact, the genocidal policies of the U.S. government have been so devastating, that Adolf Hitler referred to it as a model for the "final solution".

But transcendence of the colonial solution requires that the:

> ...possibilities must be within the reach of the respective society; they must be definable goals of practice...and abstraction from the established institutions must be expressive of an actual tendency -- that is, their transformation must be the real need of the underlying population.... (Marcuse, 1964, p. x)

And there is hope in this It is as Blauner noted, in 1972:

> The fact that we have no historical models for decolonization in the American context does not alter the objective realities. Decolonization is an insistent and irreversible project of Third World groups...although its contents and forms are at present unclear and will be worked out only in the

> course of an extended period of political and social conflict. (Blauner, 1972, p. 72)

In 1978, a national report was compiled on the mental health problems of American Indians. The report found:

> Without reservation...alcoholism and alcohol abuse affects directly and indirectly the entire national Indian community...and, the concept of the colonized and colonizer relationship found in Indian countries is probably the most appropriate way to view these issues.... (Blauner, 1972, p. 75)

This report would not be surprising if it were issued by the Movement, but the report was submitted to the President's Commission on Mental Health! The panel further argued that an Indian run and managed alcohol treatment "no matter how critical non-Indians are of it, is more desirable and necessary than any service provided by non-Indians". The panel also notes that any treatment that does not involve traditional Indian practitioners will be limited in success if not voided (Blauner, 1972, p. 75).

Thus the tendency and the possibiliies that Marcuse speaks of are not only within reach of Indian people but a part of evolving praxis. In the newly evolving approach to Indian alcoholism, which is united political and spiritual action, we are seeing large gatherings of Indian people, across the nation who come to hear traditional practitioners, who are also active in AIM, speak. And the message is one of healing. Philip Deere, Muskogee Creek spiritual leader, addressed the 1983 International Indian Treaty Council gathering of several hundred Indian people from South, Central and North America. He explained why

Indians must be involved in international struggle and defined colonialism.

> Colonialism is like being in a building, me and my friends will watch out for you and take care of you. All the time we're watching we're looking for weakness. Then we will take a break and ask who will take our place for we know that the weak will grab the gun and take our place. We will return with little treats and gifts as we go to all the other buildings and do the same thing, and then we will have everything. Pretty soon, we will be policing our own people. People watching their own people with guns under other people's control for small gifts. (Deere, 1983)

Philip Deere concluded with a call for international unity through the AIM and the spiritual ways that connect all tribal people to and of that earth. This message is the sine qua non of Indian recovery. For example, when the Iroquois Confederacy had begun to crumble, in the late 1700's, a group of Onondagas completely quit drinking. A local trader asked them what had happened and why they had not quit earlier since they were aware of the ruinous consequences of alcoholism and often had been urged to quit.

> One of the Onondagas replied, they had no power (to do so) but when the Great Spirit forbid such conduct (through a spiritual healer) he gave them the power to comply with their request.... (Deere, 1983)

For this and many other reasons it makes good sense to re-empower the traditional medicine institutions. In so doing, we begin to develop a critique of the process of colonization and to find strategies to liberate ourselves from each of the aspects of that process which destroy our freedoms of choice -- incuding the choice of sobriety.

While the road to decolonization is dangerous, it is lss so than doing nothing. Churchill warns:

> The indirect method of war that characterizes the U.S. Indian policy potentially as effective as the more direct means, under certain conditions, but is consideraby less obvious. It is the propagandist/polemicist's dream: Instead of discussing the reasons behind the war, what's at stake for the forces involved, people argue over whether or not the war actually exists.... (Deere, 1983)

And we are in a strong position in the international arena:

> Treaties are the universal language of co-existence in the world today. It is for this reason that our case is so strong in the international community. It is for this reason that when we make charges against the United States and other oppressive governments of the Western Hemisphere, they can find no voice to answer us.... (Deere, 1983)

And Philip Deere reminds us, "If you can recognize the enemy, you will never lose in a thousand battles" (Deere, 198).

While this process of consciousness raising offers much in the way of healing Indian alcoholics, the short term struggle will be greatly aided by those programs which offer elements of traditional healing. Among the few,are those in Portland, Seattle, San Juan and the one AIM program in Milwaukee. Only the Milwaukee program has a defined political component to its recovery but the others provide access to traditional practitioners and thereby afford the possibility for liberation.

These are not overnight solutions and there are certain to be many errors made as we assume responsibility for the treatment of acoholism through the newly evolving

traditional/political praxis but:

> ...in the long run the success of the revolution depends on whether or not developments of consciousness have been set in motion in the oppressed during the first phase of the revolution... (Deere, 1983)

To bring colonialism and Indian alcoholism to an end requires individual and collective effort; structural and cultural, social, psychological and spiritual forces. It requires a new defiition of universality which takes into account the "equality and diversity of individual actors as well as the differentiation between optimal objective conditions for their concerted action and the subjective conditions underlying individual commitment to a new order...." (Deere, 1983)

In the final analysis, the future rests in the hands of the people. At the U.N. hearing in Geneva, Switzerland, the people heard the stories of indigenous people from all over the globe:

> And over and over this story had told itself, was documented, was specified. And it was the same in the Bolivian highlands as it was in Pine Ridge, in South Dakota; in the Paraguayan Chaco as in Akwesasne. And the people could see that now, there was no doubt.... (Akwesasne Notes, 1978, p. 55)

DIRECTION PRAYER

so you see
the young Black man
concluded
people
of color
know how
to live without hope

and the Red man
said
let us pray
on it
and we shall
see

and the Yellow man
said
East
East
Sun rises
in the People

turning
to each other
it was clear
where Hopes
White color
should be
we shall see
we shall see

METHODOLOGY[47]

This research addresses the question, "What makes Indians drink?" and tests the hypothesis that culture specific treatment is the most effective, efficient and acceptable treatment. The research design is bicultural and qualitative. This makes sense; Indian alcoholism occurs in a bicultural context and the research, to have validity, must address the needs of both Indian and non-Indian scientific communitis.

Efforts to integrate traditional American Indian science and western social science methods are nascent and much work, begun in the early 1970's met with total failure. Inevitably one culture was short-changed and usually it was the Indian culture (Bergman; Westermeyer 1972, 1974; Trimble et al., 1979). Alcoholism is the number one killer of Indian people; this researcher is American Indian and a social scientist; so the research question was a critical matter requiring serious study. Also, lacking any integrative model to follow, the research took a long time -- seven years.

Traditional American Indian Science:

The framework, which is not a frame at all,but a circle, is the Medicine Wheel. The wheel consists of four quadrants, which are congruent with the four cardinal directions -- North, South, East and West. In addition, there are three other directions: Earth, the Great Power

and Self. Truth is found when balance exists in each of the seven directions.

For purposes of cross-cultural discussion, the directions may be understood as follows (Brown):

West (Black) -- introspection, history

North (White) -- purification, knowledge

East (Yellow) -- birth, illumination, questions

South (Red) -- direction of course of action, renewal

The tools of Indian science are ceremonies. When I began this study, in 1975, I had never been to a ceremony and was alienated from my history, culture and traditions. Then, an instructor from Brandeis, Dr. Robert Washington, encouraged me to work within the Milwaukee Indian community (as part of a Master's program). Through this placement, in an Indian alcohol program, I would come to face myself and embark on a course of cultural and spiritual revitalization, in short, a decolonization which is this dissertation.

Beginnings:

In the spring of 1975, I was invited to attend a traditional Indian Pipe ceremony. In this, my first ceremony, I was told that I would be attending a Ph.D. program, and would become a "Two Pipe Woman"[48]. That is, one who is versed in a two world way -- Indian and western European scientific traditions. This was so, I was told, because the world as we know it, is near great crisis. Therefore, a group of Indian people would be trained biculturally to communicate the Great Message of Peace (that

is native to America), with those who would destroy the natual world, and its people. Before this time, it was not permissable for Indian people to speak of great matters of spirit.

Vision Quest:

For Indian science to have validity, it must be based on truth found by the individual who follows a certain sequence of truth seeking ways. In this research, I have followed these ways:

Pipe

Sweat Lodge

Peyote Ceremonies

Vision Fast

I have also sought out and followed the advice of traditional elders from the Nations of Anishnabeq, Apache, Lakota, Seneca, Hope, Haida and of course my own Oneida nation. In the same experiential way, I received training from Velma Jackie Hoover, ACSW, Boston College who is a mental health practitioner with a primarily Black population. Ms. Hoover worked with me from September 1977 to January 1978. In addition, I completed two study fellowships (each one month long) to the People's Republic of China. The purpose of the study was to assess the impact of the Revolution on opium and alcohol addiction among tribal people.

The various drafts of this dissertaion have been reviewed by many Indian people, but the primary critic has

been Herbert Powless, co-founder of the American Indian Movement, who advised me to "put yourself in your work" and had allowed me to present my work to groups of Indian people going through the treatment program he directs.

Finally, I live the life. The issues in this dissertation are my social context. Indian people, reviewing it, will know.

Vision:

The traditional findings are: Balance in my own life; sobriety and the Blessing Way. The gift of poetry was given to me as a result of the traditional inquiry. Then, there is the understanding recorded in this study that the cause of Indian drinking is colonialism, and the cure is re-tribalization, re-spiritualization. This is not a return to a narrow, limited nationalism or a romantic escape to the past. Instead, it is an understanding of self in relation to the global community.

Renewal:

The reader of this dissertation will follow my healing and will see that we are people struggling under colonial empire. This analysis, based in the colonial framework, links us with the rest of the world and at long last, jerks our culture and nations out of an historical paralysis into the twentieth century. And it imparts a sense of how important our message of the natural or Fourth World is to the rest of humanity. And, last but not least, it is continuity and renewal. Nearly 1,000 years ago, our separate

Indian nations began to unite in Confederacies, as a way to peace. This movement was disrupted for nearly three hundred years. Now we move forward.

Metakuyeayasi (all my relations)

Western Science:

This qualitative analysis uses a level of analysis approach which allows for a triangulation of data (Stoffle, 1981). The levels are:

1. A review of the Indian alcoholism literature.
2. A review of five hundred years of Indian policy.
3. Interviews with Indian alcoholics and community traditional experts.
4. Field work, including two study tours to the People's Republic of China and a six month work experience in a mental health therapy designed to liberate enslaved consciousness.

The primary data sources are observation, interviews, historical documents and records. The historical evidence is particularly powerful because much of it is the actual voice of the people, not someone's record of an event (Geertz, 1975). Another primary data source is the poetry which introduces each section. Although this is an unusual data source it is reflective of a growing movement in the social sciences to embrace aesthetic elements of social reality. To borrow a term from anthropology, this research is "thick description" it seeks,

> ..to aid us in gaining access to the conceptual world in which our subjects live so that we can, in some extended sense of the term, converse with them.

(Geertz, 1975, p. 24)

The basis for this approach can be traced to Boas' idea that the main task of the scientist was, "the adoption of an informant's mode of thought while retaining full use of his own critical faculties...." (Sanday, 1979). This goal was furthered by the researcher being Indian, trained in Western social science methodoloy.

The thick description model was chosen because, quasi-experimental designs first of all cannot be used. There would have to be many Indian alcohol treatment programs offering culture specific treatment, in order to compare. But, secondly, the more quantitative research designs would have to undergo "major revisions before they can be used in Indian communities". As applied, they have met with uniform failure to define or positively impact Indian alcoholism; furthermore, such research has met with increased resistance in Indian communities and has "created an image of the Indian far removed from actual life-styles". Finally, these designs are generally cumbersome and inadequate in the field and natural group settings, and tend "to produce more of the same problem it sought to eliminate...." (Trimble et al., 1979, p. 48)

Though thick description has been widely "discussed and admired, it is less frequently applied than the different uses of ethnomethodology. The reason for this may be that...it takes more than method to do thick description. It requires an almost artistic insight which can be

perfected in those who have it but which cannot be taught" (Geertz, 1975, p. 24).

Summary:

The bicultural, Medicine Wheel/Thick Description-qualitative research design, offers both western objectivity and Indian individual participation in truth seeking. It also demonstrates the flexibility of both sciences to embrace foreign methods, structures and findings. In a time when western science struggles for its next revolution (as evidenced by split brain theorist De Lacoste -- Columbia University, and physicists dealing with the hologram, as the cutting edge of science (Batterman -- Cornell), Indian scholars argue that traditional Indian science has much to contribute (Churchill, 1982).

Of course this is a beginning effort and it is subject to great scrutiny. But in this research the convergence of the findings in both the Indian methodology and the western scientific analysis speak to the rigor and power of cross-culturally/integrative modes of inquiry.

Research Recommendations: Tools for Recovery:

An unanticipated outcome of the Medicine Wheel inquiry towards Pimadaziwn (good life, lived to its fullest) or balance, was the emergence of a series of tools for sobriety. Corresponding with the Directions, they are:

1. West, Black -- psychotherapeutic issues for decolonization.
2. North, White -- unifying language.
3. East, Yellow -- an example of hope.

4. South, Red -- a traditional analysis of Indian drinking and traditional words towards sobriety.

North: Unifying Language:

While the colonization of American Indians and much of the global indigenous people has brought us to a world wide crisis; it has also provided the means for international communication through a common language. In the case of the American Indian, it has also served to continue a process of inter-tribal unification that began prior to invasion. Finally, the White color, North, teaches us through the Sami people of Lapland (Means, 1982) that the Fourth World philosophy, of the natural world is not alien to those of European ancestry. In this knowledge lies strength.

East: China, the example of Revolution:

In the People's Republic of China, ten million drug addicts "kicked the habit" in three years. Following the Revolution, the people of China undertook a "Ban Opium" Movement which consisted of education, community organization and mutual support networks, in short, the exact same strategies that American Indians use. But the movement was successful in China, only when the oppressive foreign domination was removed (U.S. China People's Friendship Association, Section).

Nevertheless, the experience of visiting with tribal people from more than ten distinct groups, across the Asian continent validated the American Indian belief that it is possible to cleanse a nation of its colonial problems of

addiction. A traditional Indian Medicine person who visited China remarkd:

> In my heart, I wanted to believe that it was possible for people to free themselves from addiction but in my mind, I could not imagine it. Now I see it! (Conversation with Philip Cassadore, 1980).

The international arena can thus give hope and direction to the Movement on the part of American Indians, for substance free lies.

West: Decolonization of the Mind -- A Psychotherapeutic Approach:

The following five points are taken from Kenneth Stampp's work, "The Peculiar Institution," (1956) and may be used as a tool for decolonizing the mind. The application of these issues to psychotherapy was coneived by Jacqueline Hoover, ACSW, Boston College, who uses Stampp's historical findings to spring the mind from its colonized tracks. These are powerful issues[49] most helpful in drawing out anger and in raising consciousness. As such the therapy is a critical link between psychological and institutional analytical frameworks and it "links processes of consciousness with a political line of action". Ms. Hoover uses the points with a predominanly Black population; the language is tailored therefore, to more closely fit Indian reality.

1. Establish and maintain strict discipline with unconditional submission. The Indian should know that the white man is to govern absolutely and he is to obey implicitly. That he is never for a moment to exercise

either his will or judgement in opposition to a positive order.

2. Implant in the Indian a consciousness of personal inferiority, "to know and keep their places" to "feel the difference between the White man and Indian. To feel that ancestry taints and that color is a badge of degradation.

3. Awe them with a sense of the whiteman's enormous power. "The only principle upon which slavery/colonization can be maintained is the principle of fear. We have to rely more and more on the power of fear.

4. Persuade the Indian to take an interest in the white man's enterprise and to accept his standards of good conduct. "The colonizer should make it his business to show his Indians that the advancement of his individual interest is the same time an advancement of theirs. Once they feel this, it will require little compulsion to make them act as becomes them."

5. To impress Indians with their helplessness, to create in them a habit of perfect dependence upon their colonizers. (Stamp, 1956)

A Traditional Analysis by Frank WalksLast (Northern Cheyenne Manuscript Collection):

> Here, living here us Northern Cheyennes, sometimes we have forgotten our sacred ways, sacred ways of thinking...and we have forgotten the Indian identity through this non-Indian religion. Then some time ago, these young grown ups reminded us of this...They have urged us...elders to come back...to try and get to knowing and reorganizing our sacred ceremonial ways.
>
> Perhaps this will ease the tensions of our way of life here...We will regain good health strength again if we learn and get back our sacred and spiritual ways, here. It is something very realistic...one living in the past was very strong and healthy. He managed to live many years. Live a long time and died at an old age...very old age. At the present time, we are very soft and weak...We suffer from any minor thing...This alcoholic beverage drinking is the cause of this....
>
> All of these problems if we jointly talk about them, come out in open discussion to try and convey this to our younger people, maybe they will recognize our

voice....

...at times I talk to some young men..try to quiet him and what little I know of good -- good ways, how to think good, I remind them, 'Love one another, help one another,try to make a living -- you have families; have a home. At this time work is our livelihood try to work. Do not be saying bad things to one another; this is nothing this bad talk. We should learn how to handle, to do good things of our lives. We are learning more and more how to handle the no good things, actions and words.

That's it.

Only I wish I could remind the people of something good as I say these things. Something good about the course of our lives here. Getting back to teaching Indian ways to the child...By this our language can be carried on for a long period of time and thus our sacred ceremonials may not be forgotten. May make him strong and healthy.

The White man is teaching us and the way he talks; we are all talking like that, although at times we do not know quite how to use it. We should learn how to use it and how to handle our way of life. That is what I had in mind. It is good...

We all know here the Journey of our Life. We see in plain sight what is no good, that is going on...When these young men drink, that is the start of something no good, something bad.

We have too much no good going around; should try and erase this, and let only good come to surface. That's all, so we can be happy and can multiply in this respect among our Tribe...Learn how to recognize each other, learn the good, gentle ways again.

...It is no good this drinking, takes or leads you to no-good places; no-good happenings. The only things it works is hardship, sorrow to you. Leads you to jail, scars you up, makes you sick makes you die. Should learn to quit then.

We pray

I say this to you

You are my relatives

I love you

We are all Indian

In the past men used to talk to their people, remind them the Way of Life. No one says anything or reminds us anything anymore. We are on our own, do what we like or as we please.

We like to do things, go get baptized, become non-Indian Christians, many denominations, Indian people join them, then they turn around and go against their very own Indian beliefs, sacred ceremonials, they denounce their own origin; their own people.

Now I would like to see Indians come to realize -- on both sides -- this is real. The Indian origin the Indian way of life, and these churches are good. We as human being love in us to contradict, denounce things, but in realiy there is only One that made everything for the human race...

Regardless of our different religions, we should try to love one another; learn to live together, talk things over, in unity. Remind one another of Mahaeo o and his teachings...and/or the Ten Commandments.

Some of the Indian Christians do not speak good of us; our own friends dislike our ceremonials. I go into church and join them in their good thoughts; good intentions...

WE ARE GOING TO GUIDE OUR WAY OF LIFE TOWARD THIS WAY AGAIN; try and bring it back on the right course and direction. I have tried to say these things, although I do not know anything, but only can speak within the limits of my knowledge. Perhaps I should be afraid to talk, as I am poor and have a hard time making a living, but on the other hand, some people urge me to speak and some of my People have respect for me. I always do my best.

I depend on Maheo o

I pray to him

Pray to him.

The Old Ones Speak:

The following words towards the Good Way are from traditional, spiritual people. These words may be incorporated into the treatment process. They are many different things -- principles of living, steps to work through in recovery or life time goals. How they are interpreted and applied, will make the character of the program, movement or individual. They will heal. They will heal.

1. The power is not lost, you are.
2. You could be happy, you could be Indian.
3. You have the Power, you must take care of it.
4. Hold your place.
5. Take care of your garden.
6. That Indian is going to survive.
7. Walk on Your Prayers.

MORNING WATER
(Peyote prayer song)

God said

in the beginning

Let there Be

Light

He meant it

for

You

Hey Ah Nah

Hey Nay

Oh Way

This younger generation sure is different,

some of them drink water!

(skid row alcoholic, Alaska, 1981)

REFERENCE NOTES

1. Paint, refers to the Plains Indian skinpainting, a symbolic art form of sacred significance which often refers to visions, protections, and the power.

2. Alcoholism: While there is no general agreement on a definition of alcoholism, I will be using Indian Health Service's: "a disease or disorder of behavior, characterized by repeated drinking of alcoholic beverages, which interferes with the drinker's health, interpersonal relations or economic functioning.

3. "Native American": a term referring to the original inhabitants and their descendents of the American continents. This term will be used interchangeably with, "Native", Dine' (Navajo for the people) and People.

4. Ferrotype: to give a gloss to a photographic print, especially a tintype plate

5. ...Eat Grass... Little Crow, Chief of Mdewkantons, demanded that the government honor its treaty agreement to feed the People, who had agreed to live on a reservation; Andrew Myrick, a trader responded, "so far as I'm concerned, if they are hungry, let them eat grass or their own dung."

6. Seward Totem: Secretary of the Interior broke his promise to the Tlinget nation (to keep non Dine' out of their lands. To break such a promise is demonstrating that one is not related to anything, therefore, a ridicule pole was erected; it now stands in Saxman, Alaska.

7. This individual was not accepted into a university and subsequently has returned to skid row.

8. Runner: in groups of skid row Indian drinkers, there is one man selected to run for a new bottle. The

Runner must be trustworthy and sober enough to take the pan handled money, make it to the liquor store and back to the group without drinking or getting lost along the way.

9. "Wasichu": Sioux for fat taker or greedy person.

10. "in your own way": when Indian people consume substance in a non-traditional way, we are imitating the way we have learned from non-Indians.

11. The French invasion of Dine' was largely unsuccessful. Under the policy of Francization, the French attempted to convert the People to civilization and Catholicism so that Dine' would be more amenable to exploitation but the policy did not call for placing Dine' on reservations (nor is it likely that such an effort would have been successful sine the balance of power was clearly in the hands of Dine'). Without this power, te French were not able to maintain against the British. Source: Berkhofer, White Man's Indian. 1975:128.

12. This economic triangle involved a process of capturing slaves in Africa; trading slaves (as plantation labor) in the Carribean islands for sugar; using sugar to produce rum for exploiting the colonies (that is Dine' resources).

13. "Vanishing American": With the collapse of the Confederacy, many Six Nations people were removed to Wisconsin, Oklahoma and Canada. The geographical removal was but one aspect of vanishing. From 1840 until the Red Power movement of the 60's, Iroquois effectively disappeared from historical and political literature.

14. These drugs appeared with the coolie labor, brought in to work the fish canneries. The British opium and rum triangles had now met! Source: George McLeod, Octagenarian, raised among Haida in Southeast Alaska interviews in 1983.

15. In its book, the "Destruction of American Indian Families," the Association on Indian Affairs documents government kidnapping of Navajo children (1929) for boarding school placement.

16. Many villages (Native settlements) in Alaska

permitted the sale of alcohol but in the lst two years have rescinded. In villages that are "dry" again, there has been a 50% reduction in alcohol related incidents. Source: Alcohol Beverage Control Commission, Anchorage, Alaska, interview, 1981.

17. Herzberg notes that Indian activist leadership emerged from young people with some training in the social sciences. Urbanization and federal funding provided the first opportunity for Dine' to enter higher education.

18. It has often been argued that Dine' (especially in cities) have the same access to treatment as other Americans. In fact, this has not been true. Between 1975 and 1977, ten Dine' died on the streets of Boston. There were hundreds of treatment possibilities but none were community-based. Furthermore, this argument is specious; it ignores the treaty obligation of the federal government to provide such health care servies.

19. While the number of programs was small it represents a major commitment by Dine'. Under OEO tribes could have used the funds for almost any of the numerous problems of the People; yet first priority was given alcoholism.

20. The Commission was a dynamic mix of Dine' alcohol service providers. Most were recovering alcholics, many were members of AIM while others were conservative tribal employees of professional human service providers.

21. As a result of the Hughes Act, Oklahoma arrests of Dine' on criminal charges, decreased by two-thirds. American Indian Policy Review Commission, Task Force Report.

22. A major reason for defunding programs was lack of accountability. In the most traditional programs, English was a second language and the reporting requirements were neither understood nor complied with. As a result the programs most strongly "Indian" were often terminated or had funding reductions, such as the Bessie Oklahoma Program, mentioned in the literature review.

23. While Iroquois disappeared from history books, the resistance continued. In 1921 Deskaheh, Tuscarora, Iroquois conceived of the idea of seeking international assistance. He attempted to get help first from the British and then

from the League of Nations. Two years in Europe resulted in good press coverage but the League refused to hear him or to allow him to listen in as they considered the case of the Iroquois. Returning home, the Canadian government refused to allow him into the country. While his struggle did not achieve what he had intended, Deskaheh set a powerful example for Dine', and the world. (Basic Call to Consciousness, Akwesasne Notes, 1978).

24. Chief Oren Lyons reminds us that in most Indian languages, there is no word like "wilderness". The closest approximation we have is "freedom".

25. Jamake Highwater, Blackfeet author of The Primal Mind devised this term to cynically refer to the old myths and at the same time establish the new Indian intellectual.

26. There is great debate among scholars over the actual population decline of American Indians in the "civilizing" of America but the American Indian Movement conservatively estimates 24 million.

27. Churchill, the Trial of Leonard Peltier (1983) clarifies the term: "There is no historical record of any war between the tribes and the U.S. which was initiated by the Indians. Each known outbreak of open warfare was predicated upon documentable invasion of defined (or definable) Indian lands by U.S. citizenry. The defensive nature of Indian participation in these wars is thus clear. Logically, they should thus be termed 'settlers wars' or, more accurately, 'wars of conquest'.

28. While Stampp writes specifically of the Black experience in America, his analysis is applicable to the Indian situation because the process was essentially the same, as this section demonstrates and also because many American Indian people were enslaved in the South, in the same time period.

29. The Haida Nation is selected because the psychological processes of alienation is very clear. Unlike continental tribes the alienation of Haida is documented (although the information is hidden in archives outside of the state!). The entire process occurred in less than 90 years; this is a manageable study. Finally, survivors exist from the initial colonial efforts.

30. It will be recalled from Section II that Jackson was quite secure in his ability to implement such policy. Haida had been threatened with Navy gunboats; decimated with alcohol, disease and destruction of traditional healers/knowledge. Jackson, a friend of President McKinley's, had the political and military backing to do almost anything he wished. In addition, Jackson had already set up the military-mission boarding schools and the first generation of Haida were enrolled. No "Natives" had input in this policy directive.

31. See Section III, "A United Front Implements Christian Expansionism policy"

32. Actually a few people did not favor the move, and perceived the intent behind the move. These people remained behind but with their death, the remaining land fell to public domain.

33. This is a brief summary, actually the reservation existed and then didn't exist three times!

34. Fish streams were held by specific families and passed through the generations based on strict rules of inheritance.

35. Traditionalists see a chance to "re-tribalize"; to regain "reservation status" and Federal Trusteeship as a possible way of preventing expropriation by the state and energy conglomerates. This group is young, representing the few, first generation college educated, but it lacks resources and contacts. It is also beset with alcohol and drug problems which severely limit effectiveness.

36. Another aspect of "silence" which may be unique among American Indians, is the value of not discussing the "negative". This value functions to maintain balance by not giving weight to things not good. In a sense, this is an act of Faith. For example, Pretty Shield's biorapher tried more than a year to discuss the defeat and concentration of the Crow Nation but:

> Like the old men Pretty-Shield would not talk at any length of the days when her people were readjusting themselves to the changed conditions brought on by the disappearance of the buffalo.

37. Uncle, refers to that other Way; not the Good Way. Used to be that Uncle was the beloved father.

38. Shortly after the federal goverment funded Indian programs states which usually provided no support, asserted their control requiring state "certification" of all alcohol counselors. This meant Indians who treated Indians had to submit to one or two years of Western alcohol counselor "training".

39. This is essentially the same phenomena as the "objectifying of scentific research in Indian alcoholism," described in Part II. Again the only people to profit from the new definition were the non-Indian health experts. There were no new Program dollars or even new arrangements of services.

40. Until the Reagan administration, IHS could proudly point to its achievement in reducing tuberculosis and Indian infant mortality but no such claim could be made in alcoholism. Of course IHS has been in control of alcohol programs for only a few years but NIAAA which controlled programs for seven years, and is a strong advocate of medicalization of alcohol treatment could show no tangible results.

41. Because of this vote, the City of Milwaukee, with nearly 15,000 American Indians, has no inpatient treatment facility for Indian alcoholics -- no half-way house, detox residential care.

42. Testimony of the NIBAOA, RE: Appropriations for PHS, IHS, and Indian Alcoholism Programs, presented to the Senate Appropriations subcommittee for the Interior and Related Agencies, March 7, 1979.

43. A basic call to consciousness, Akwesasne notes, Rooseveltown, NY, 1978, p. 50.

44. It is important to recall that AIM was a continuation of the struggle Indian people had been waging from the beginnings of invasion. But it gained prominance because it was a formal closing of the "gap in strategy" that the end of the Wars of Conquest wrought.

45. Zaher, discussing consciousness and political

praxis, speaks to the need for the masses to realize the importance of operating on their own. This section is geared to this axiom.

46. The study grew out of a 1979 World Health Assembly resolution authorizing the existing alcohol program to consider "trade practices and agreements relating to alcohol."

47. Methodology is presented at the end of the research because a basic tenet of Indian science is faith that all that is needed is provided in each moment. No Indian would claim to prove or disprove anything but could relate "findings" when an effort is completed. For example, a man who needs food for his family does not say, "I'm going hunting," instead picks up his gun and says, "I'm going for a walk." Since presenting the methodology at the end of the dissertation does not degrade the western analysis, it is here included.

48. In 1959, my grandfather dying of cancer, sent for me. He told me two things, "go to college and remember the Pipe." As I was only 12, I forgot his words until 1975 when applying for admission. I was later informed that it was this story that convinced admissions and the Ford Foundation to support my work.

49. I presented the points as part of Indian studies course work to graduate and undergraduate classes at the University of Wisconsin -- Milwaukee, 1982. Reactions were strong; one or two students in each denied that this applied to the Indian situation at all, but most reported strong insights and understandings. One Oneida grandmother said, "I always knew something was going on but I didn't know what it was. This is it. Other people used to tell me I was crazy to think this way!

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