NATIVE NATIONS OF NORTH AMERICA
An Indigenous Perspective

Steve Talbot
Oregon State University
On the cover: A sacred eagle feather carries a circle representing the four directions with clouds holding life-giving rain. Behind the feather are symbols of corn, birds, water and rain, dragonfly, land and culture. It is a representation that all Native cultures are interconnected with the world and must be treated with respect and dignity.

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This book is dedicated to the memory of

Jack D. Forbes
1934–2011

Mentor, Colleague, Friend

Photo courtesy of Carolyn Forbes.
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In February, 2011, Jack Forbes passed to the Spirit World, but his immense academic contribution to Native American and Indigenous Studies will remain an enduring legacy. Several Indian publications were quick to include tributes to him, and undoubtedly there will be more as his academic work is fully noted and evaluated. In reading the initial tributes, however, I was struck by the omission of his early contributions to our paradigm. Jack was a major founder of the field of Native American Studies in California, and an important contributor to the discipline as a whole. The following reminiscences will serve to demonstrate this assertion.

I was Jack’s project assistant in the multicultural program at the Far West Laboratory for Educational and Research Development from 1967 to 1969. This government facility was located in the historic Claremont Hotel in Berkeley, California, and Jack was one of its four directors. At the Lab, he wrote ethnic handbooks, including “Native Americans in the Far West” as a pilot project for public schools. Jack’s academic training was in history and anthropology, but he took a revisionist approach to these disciplines and employed ethnohistory when it came to the subject of Native peoples. This is demonstrated in his early works, among which are *Apache, Navajo, and Spaniard* (1960), *The Indian in America’s Past* (1964), *The Yumas of the Quechan Nation and Their Neighbors* (1965), *Nevada Indians Speak* (1967), and *Native Americans of California and Nevada* (1969).

For a time, the national headquarters of the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) was also located at the Claremont Hotel. The NIYC was an early Indian protest organization, a forerunner of the 1960s Red Power Movement. Jack’s typist was the wife of a NIYC officer. Jack interacted with NIYC Indian leaders whenever they were in town. Indian elders from the San Francisco Bay area urban community also visited Jack at the Lab. I believe that it was about this time that he began working with Dave Risling and the California Indian Education Association. It was at the Lab where I first met Lehman Brightman, an Indian student at UC Berkeley, who later headed up the United Native Americans (UNA). Jack organized the founding meeting of UNA, and helped Lee, myself, and others to produce the UNA publication *Warpath*.

Jack’s daily routine at the Far West Lab often began in the morning at a nearby café where he routinely wrote fifteen to twenty manuscript pages daily for his various academic projects. Remarkably, his manuscript drafts required little if any editing. He displayed a broad knowledge of Indigenous peoples worldwide. One of the tasks he assigned to me was to undertake a comparative survey of the world’s Indigenous peoples and national education policy, thereby anticipating the founding of the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association (NAISA) several decades later in 2009.

When I entered the Ph.D. program in anthropology at UC Berkeley in 1968, I continued my association with Jack. On the Berkeley campus he helped the Indian students “liberate” a room where they could meet. One of the organizing meetings for the Indian student occupation of Alcatraz in November, 1969, took place in this room. During the Third World Strike for an ethnic studies college at UC Berkeley, Jack met with student strike leaders to draft courses for the proposed curriculum. He worked with Berkeley Indian students Patty (Silvas) LaPlant, LaNada (Means) Boyer, among others, to found a Native American Studies (NAS) program on the Berkeley campus. Lehman Brightman (Lakota-Creek) became the first program coordinator.

One of Jack’s Indian courses was “Native American Liberation,” which I taught as a teaching associate in anthropology at UC Berkeley. The Indian students, about one-third of the class, left in the middle of the 1969 Fall term to occupy Alcatraz Island. The course content included Jack’s research on Alcatraz concerning the history of persecution and imprisonment of...
Indian “freedom fighters” in the past. One of the students in a class report wrote: “We considered many plans, many programs. We felt the only positive way to create self-determination was to do it.”

Jack was not directly involved in the Indian occupation of Alcatraz, although he served on the academic support committee, which I headed up for the island’s Indians of All Tribes Council. He and Dave Risling (Hupa) were busy leading the Indian and Chicano protest that created D-Q University, a California Indian tribal college, and the founding of a Native American Studies program at UC Davis.

Jack served as a member of my Ph.D. dissertation committee and made helpful suggestions to my dissertation, which was later published as Roots of Oppression in 1981. The book received very favorable reviews, including praise from the late Vine Deloria, Jr., who is considered the dean of American Indian academic writing.

It’s my understanding that Jack was offered a tenure track position at UC Berkeley but tuned it down for UC Davis instead, where his efforts led to the establishment of the Native American Studies program on that campus. Today, the Native American Studies Department at Davis offers an extensive academic program including a Ph.D.

In the fall of 1971 I joined the NAS program at UC Berkeley as an acting assistant professor, where I taught many of Jack’s courses that became the core curricula. They included Indian cultural heritage, tribal government, political movements, contemporary Native Americans, Southwest Indians, and world’s Indigenous peoples, among others. One of Jack’s publications that became immensely useful as one of the texts for our NAS classes at Berkeley and Davis was his edited volume, The Indian in America’s Past (1964). Inspired and informed by Jack’s research and writing about the Indian heritage of America, I wrote “Why the Native American Heritage Should Be Taught in College,” which was published in the Indian Historian, vol. 7, no. 1 (Winter 1974).

In 1974 I resigned my faculty position in Native American Studies at Berkeley. Jack offered me a tenure track faculty position in the then developing NAS program at UC Davis, but I turned it down in order to accompany my wife overseas where she had been offered a job with a United Nations-related nongovernmental organization (NGO) based in Finland. I taught Indian courses, which included Jack’s research and writing, for Turku and Helsinki Universities, and guest lectured in Denmark, the Netherlands, Germany, and the former Soviet Union. I later joined Jack in England for a Native American Studies symposium at the University of Warrick. Europeans, especially Germans, have always been fascinated by the American Indian story. The New Indian or Red Power Movement of the 1960s–70s and the development of Native American Studies greatly interested them. I believe Jack had several stints of visiting lectureships in Europe.

A decade later, after my return to the United States, Jack recruited me for a visiting lectureship in the Native American Studies department at UC Davis, 1988–90, where I again taught many of Jack’s classes and continued to learn from him. In 1990, when funding became problematic for the NAS program, I resigned my position at Davis to accept a tenure track position at San Joaquin Delta Community College. My colleague, Susan Lobo, took over some of my former classes at UC Davis. Inspired by Jack’s contribution to the NAS field, and the programs at both UC Berkeley and UC Davis, Dr. Lobo and I submitted a proposal for a “reader” in Native American Studies to HarperCollins, which became Addison Wesley Longman. This was the first edition of Native American Voices: A Reader, which came out in 1998. In the most recent, third edition of this popular textbook published by Pearson (as Prentice-Hall), Dr. Lobo and I were joined by coeditor Traci L. Morris (Chickasaw).

These are among the many reasons why the current textbook, Native Nations of North America: An Indigenous Perspective, is dedicated to Jack Forbes’ memory. The new book is a further examination of the themes presented in the 2010 edition of the Native American Voices reader, and is yet another journey on the “good Red Road” that Jack envisioned. His legacy lives on.

NOTE

The points of view and interests of Indigenous peoples are not well acknowledged or fully understood by contemporary government policymakers, academics, and the general public. For many, Indigenous peoples are believed to be doomed for eventual cultural extinguishment, if they have not already vanished, and economic marginalization unless they assimilate into the national culture and its institutions. The story of Indigenous peoples is one of centuries of struggle, resistance, survival, and renewal. When the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 2007, the international community acknowledged the continued presence and human rights needs of Indigenous peoples around the world. Yet there is considerable need for greater understanding and recognition of Indigenous perspectives. The best way to achieve better knowledge and understanding of Indigenous nations is through the Indigenous Studies intellectual paradigm or method of study. An Indigenous paradigm should include the history, contemporary and future beliefs, actions, perspectives, and interests of Indigenous nations and their goals in maintaining self-government, cultural autonomy, and territorial integrity. The present book moves toward establishing an Indigenous paradigm through the presentation of a systematic analysis about the history, struggles, and achievements of selected Indigenous peoples of North America.

Much of the present-day intellectual discourse about Indigenous peoples has focused on colonization that sees Indigenous nations as casualties of history with little independent future. Indigenous peoples are externally characterized as marginalized, ethnic, race-based persons or groups whose destiny at best is described by their ultimate assimilation into multicultural nation-states where equal opportunity and civil rights are extended to all genders, sexualities, races, classes, and peoples. Many diplomats at the United Nations see the twenty-first century as a time where onetime monocultural nation-states will evolve toward multicultural nations, where citizens agree to democratic political institutions, while respecting diversity in culture, race, and ethnicity. The conception of multicultural nations is certainly progress and is worthy of wide support, including the support by Indigenous peoples. In many ways the intellectual underpinnings for the future vision of multicultural nations are the contemporary academic perspectives on postmodern, postcolonial, multicultural, gender, cultural studies, and gay rights. All these viewpoints address widespread forms of oppression against various subordinated or discriminated groups and identities. The road to wholeness or full citizenship requires greater understanding, respect, and national inclusion within nation-state legal and normative rules for acceptance, assimilation, and integration, at least at the normative, legal, and political levels. Current activist movements therefore seek expanded definitions of human and civil rights, and greater acknowledgement and inclusion within the protections and values of democratic nation-states.

The vision and work to achieve more inclusive and diversified national communities is important and in many ways a logical extension of the present theory of liberal democratic nation-states to extend full citizenship and civil rights to the diverse range of identities, peoples, and individuals within the larger nation. Political equality, equal opportunity, civil rights, and individual and collective human rights are ideal core values of contemporary democratic nation-states and the movement for international human rights. Groups that struggle for inclusion and equality base their arguments on the view that the inclusion of greater diversity is a core value for democratic nations. Contemporary intellectual and social movements are looking for greater inclusion within and protection by the central political and legal institutions and core values of democratic nation-states.
FOREWORD

Indigenous peoples currently are not full participants in the diversity democratic nation-state movement. As citizens of nation-states, most Indigenous persons want equal civil and human rights. However, Indigenous peoples or nations are not primarily interested in assimilation and integration into even a diversified nation-state, let alone a monocultural nation-state which still dominates the nations of the world. For Indigenous nations, a democratic and diversified nation-state is still an external political system that wishes to incorporate them as citizens, while dismantling their own governments and territorial places that are informed by their cultural traditions. For example, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, despite many important guarantees, does not have a definition of Indigenous peoples, and does not recognize Indigenous nations and territories outside the policies and laws of the established nation-states. The multicultural or diversified nation-state possibility is premised on acceptance of the legal and political processes of the nation-state. The participants in the diversified nation-state movement want and will accept civil rights and human rights within the nation-state, if the nation-state will uphold their rights to equality and equal opportunity. In the diversified nation-state interpretation, Indigenous peoples are viewed as ethnic groups who are citizens, and who, at least in principle, have the same rights and obligations as other citizens.

A primary goal of Indigenous nations, however, is to preserve their own forms of government, political processes, territories, and cultural orientations that are often closely tied to specific political forms and territorial places. Indigenous people believe that their governments pre-date the formation of contemporary nation-states. Indigenous nations managed their own governments from time immemorial and often from the time of creation within their own traditions.

Indigenous governments have a different form than present-day nation-states. The government of indigenous peoples generally included management of not only internal political, cultural, and social affairs, but also management of relations with other human and nonhuman nations, as well as all the different power beings that formed the cosmic order. In some traditions, every species of plant or animal formed a recognizable nation of power beings, which Indigenous peoples had to honor and respect. Relations with the power beings of the cosmic order such as the sun, moon, and stars had also to be respected and managed to ensure the well-being of the Indigenous nation. Since all forces in the universe or cosmos are interdependent with the people and nations, relations needed to be kept in balance and reciprocity. If relations with other human or nonhuman nations of the cosmos were upset, then specific ceremonies and often negotiations were necessary to restore order and well-being. Government within Indigenous communities usually meant managing relations with all the power beings of the universe.

The original Indigenous governments, laws, social and political groups, and ceremonies are given directly to the people by the creator in the creation as gifts and teachings. The creator made the people, made the land, and gave the ceremonies and rituals, rules of government and social behavior. No other entity is allowed or entitled by the creator to intervene in the national affairs of the people, or to redefine their political order and relations. The government, territory, and the laws given to the people usually are not changed without some spiritual sign or intervention from the creator. The relation between the Indigenous nation and the creator is direct, and no other authority has power to interfere. For example, among many North American Indigenous peoples, political councilors usually smoked a sacred pipe before the beginning of discussions so that the smoke would rise to the sky and inform the creator of the works and thoughts that were exchanged among the people. The mode of Indigenous government, community, and spiritual obligations often is upheld and carried on to the present, in respect for the gifts of the creator, and in thankfulness for the gifts of land, life, and cosmic resources.

Many Indigenous nations believe they have a collective goal and purpose to perform in the cosmic order, otherwise the creator would not have made them. The gifts of consensual politics, respect for the land and cosmic order, spiritual holism, and continuity of ancient wisdom are some of the gifts Indigenous nations believe can benefit all mankind. Indigenous peoples have long-standing beliefs that require them to retain their government, cultures, identities, land, and relations to the cosmic order. Hence, most Indigenous nations have been strongly resistant to colonization and social change. Despite hundreds of years of colonization and domination, many Indigenous nations continue to survive and will do so for the foreseeable future. Indigenous nations believe they have a rightful place among the nations of the world and have been strongly resistant to incorporation and integration into present-day nation-states.
Most nation-states have now granted citizenship to Indigenous peoples, and expect Indigenous peoples to act as citizens and exercise only the rights of citizenship. Some argue that any rights beyond the rights allowed to all other nation-state citizens are special rights that defy the rules of equality. Hence, Indigenous claims to self-government, territory, and cultural autonomy are seen as extra citizenship rights, and therefore counter to nation-state constitutions and national values. Indigenous peoples, on the other hand, generally see themselves as captive nations and captive “citizens,” since they often have not consented to nation-state citizenship or to surrendering their rights to self-government. In the United States and Canada, Indigenous peoples are recognized as members or citizens of both Indigenous and nation-state governments. Rather than citizens-plus with special rights, they see themselves as citizens-plural with rights within both the nation-state and rights as members or citizens of Indigenous nations.

The conflict between Indigenous peoples and nation-states cannot be reduced to race, ethnicity, or class. Indigenous nations do not comprise a single race, ethnicity, culture, or nation. In Africa, and in Scandinavia, many Indigenous nations continue to struggle for political, cultural, and territorial autonomy from nation-states, but are from the same racial group. Indigenous peoples exist in many places around the world and have many different forms of political, cultural, and economic organization. Treating Indigenous peoples as racial, ethnic, or class groups enables nation-states to address Indigenous peoples as citizens who are underprivileged and seeking economic and political inclusion. Civil rights approaches at best are a partial solution for Indigenous nations, who continue to seek relations and redress from nation-states that satisfies their own values of self-government, territorial control, and cultural autonomy.

Indigenous nations do not fit well into the visions and current practices of nation-states, and are not well conceptualized by the present-day diversity movement theories and activism that strive for assimilation and integration into nation-state political processes and extension of civil rights. The intellectual tools for indigenous nations, their history, continuity, and futures, are not well understood or analyzed by present-day nation-state policies and critical theories of diversity. The outlier character of Indigenous nations requires its own methods of analysis, and theories of relations to nation-states and the international community, as well as to other Indigenous nations and with the diversity movements and their intellectual infrastructure. Contemporary theories, policies, and human understanding will not be complete until Indigenous nations are conceptualized and understood as participants in the past, present, and future world. Rather than ignored in policy and theory, Indigenous nations need to be recognized on their own terms, and their views and interests included in future intellectual, policy, national, and international fora. The tools for a critical analysis of Indigenous nations will not be measures of the degree of nation-state acceptance and inclusion, but rather by the extent to which Indigenous nations realize their own goals of self-government, cultural organization, and territorial integrity.

An Indigenous paradigm should foster the goals and values of Indigenous nations and communities in the same way that present-day nation-state intellectual institutions and policy foster national goals and interests. An Indigenous paradigm would take the point of view of Indigenous peoples themselves and develop knowledge and understanding that will sustain and empower Indigenous peoples to realize their political, cultural, and economic goals within local, national, and international arenas. Indigenous nations will be around for the indefinite future. Nation-states should move to make democratic and mutually beneficial relations and understandings about the role and place of Indigenous nations within nation-states and the international civil society and community. An Indigenous paradigm should provide an intellectual infrastructure for Indigenous and nation-state negotiations, policies, and actions that enable Indigenous nations to realize their goals of self-government, cultural autonomy, and territorial rights, as well as to develop respectful and mutually beneficial relations with the nation-states of the world on government-to-government bases.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This book is the result of a number of years of research, participant observation, and academic activism in the disciplines of action anthropology and Native American and Indigenous Studies. The various chapters are the product of lectures and published articles and reviews, and my interaction with Indigenous friends and colleagues in the Indian movement, interspersed by periods of research. It was in the early 1970s, when I and my Indian colleagues were endeavoring to implement the new Native American Studies curriculum at the University of California, Berkeley, that Faithkeeper Oren Lyons (Onondaga) addressed one of my large Indian classes, at which he presented an overview of the Native American struggle. After his presentation I told him that it was the best overview of the subject I had ever heard. “I can’t believe that you got everything in,” I said enthusiastically. Puzzled, he replied: “That wasn’t the hard part. The hard part is to know what to leave out.” This has been the challenge I have faced in writing the present book. How to tell the story of nine Indigenous nations and their urban relatives within a limited number of pages. I leave it to the reader to judge whether I have succeeded.

There are so many people and institutions to thank for this book that it is difficult to know where to begin. I have dedicated this volume to Jack D. Forbes, to whom I owe a great intellectual debt (see my dedication). My colleague and longtime friend, Susan Lobo, coeditor of the Native American Voices: A Reader, must also be thanked at the outset. I owe her an immense debt for many years of academic collaboration. I wish also to acknowledge with great appreciation Nancy Roberts, Pearson editor and publisher, for her continuing support of the Native American and Indigenous Studies paradigm. A special thank you goes to editorial assistant Molly White and copy editor Irene Vartanoff for their infinite patience with me during the production process. I also thank the reviewers of the manuscript for their many helpful comments and suggestions: Tamara Cheshire, Sacramento City College; Vine Deloria, Jr., University of Colorado; Robert Hill, Tulane University; Amanda Paskey, Cosumnes River College; John Phinney, Southern Methodist University; Melissa Rinehart, Miami University; Stephen Saraydar, State University of New York; Joseph Wilson, University of New Haven; and Katharine Woodhouse-Beyer, Rutgers University-New Brunswick. I am especially pleased that Gerald Dawavendewa (Hopi/Cherokee), who did the beautiful book cover and other artwork for the third edition of Native American Voices: A Reader, has also agreed to do the cover art for the new book.

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STEVE TALBOT is the author of several books, and many reviews and articles dealing with Native Americans. His books include the acclaimed Roots of Oppression: The American Indian Question (1985), Indianer in den US (1988), and coeditor of Native American Voices: A Reader, now in its third (2010) edition with Pearson (as Prentice-Hall). He received a Masters Degree in anthropology and community development in 1967 from the University of Arizona, and a Ph.D. in anthropology in 1974 from the University of California, Berkeley. His research and publications have focused on government Indian policy, Native American religions and spirituality, the Native struggle and resistance movement, and the academic field of Native American Studies.

Talbot has had extensive experience working in both reservation and Indian urban communities. In the 1950s and 1960s he was a state social worker assigned to the Tohono O’Odahm Reservation in Arizona; a field researcher for the Bureau of Ethnic Research at the University of Arizona; and a fieldworker in Indian community development on the San Carlos Apache Reservation, a project sponsored by the tribe in cooperation with the American Friends Service Committee. In the mid-1960s he moved to the San Francisco Bay Area of California, where he served for two years on the board of the Oakland Intertribal Friendship House. He joined the School of Criminology at the University of California, Berkeley in 1965 as an applied anthropologist, and in 1967 became a research assistant in the multicultural program of the Far West Laboratory in Berkeley, California. Next, as a doctoral student and Teaching Associate in anthropology at the University of California, he was closely associated with the development of the Native American Studies program on that campus, and the 1969 Indian occupation of Alcatraz. From 1969 to 1971 he held a career fellowship from the National Institute of Mental Health in support of research in Alaska on the impact of the oil discovery and impending pipeline construction on Alaska Natives. From 1971 to 1974 he was an acting assistant professor in the Native American Studies program at UC Berkeley. Upon leaving the NAS program he was honored with an eagle feather award for his teaching and advocacy.

In the mid-1970s Talbot lived in Finland where he taught Native American Studies courses at Helsinki University and gave invited lectures in The Netherlands, Demark, Germany, England, and the former Soviet Union. He helped organize, and was a delegate to the historic international Conference on Discrimination Against the Indigenous Populations in the Americas meeting in September, 1977, at the United Nations headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland. This international conference was sponsored by the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) at the United Nations and was the first world gathering of Indigenous peoples. It was also a precursor to negotiations culminating in the United Nations 2007 Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

From 1977 to 1983 Talbot was chairperson of the sociology and anthropology department at the University of the District of Columbia. In the summers of 1981 and 1986 he was a Visiting Scholar in the Summer Seminar for Teachers sponsored by the National Endowment for the Humanities, first at the University of Arizona and then at Stanford University, where he continued his research of Native American issues, resulting in published articles. Later, in the 1980s he taught courses at Oregon State University and the University of Oregon. In the 1980s he was an active member of the Desecration Committee of the International Indian Treaty Council, the first Indigenous NGO at the United Nations. He has conducted field research in Indian country throughout every Indigenous region of North America covered by the scope of the present book, with the exception of Canada.
From 1988 to 1990 he was a lecturer in Native American Studies at UC Davis before accepting a position with San Joaquin Delta College in California where he taught sociology, anthropology, and Native American Studies. In 1999 he retired from the California community college system but continued to teach courses as an adjunct professor of anthropology at Oregon State University, and as an instructor in sociology and Native American Studies for Lane Community College. He currently resides with his wife in the coastal city of Florence, Oregon.

The author, Steve Talbot, at work. Photo courtesy of Susan Lobo.
ABOUT THE ARTIST

GERALD DAWAVENDEWA (Hopi/Cherokee) grew up in the Hopi village of Munqapi, located in northern Arizona. He attended the University of Arizona, receiving a Bachelor’s degree in Fine Arts. His work has been shown in museums and galleries throughout the United States.

Dawavendewa has worked with the Arizona State Museum as an exhibit specialist in the development and construction of a ten thousand square foot exhibit entitled “Paths of Life; American Indians of the Southwest.” In addition, he was commissioned to create a mural depicting the Hopi world for the exhibit, and the exhibit’s logo became the official logo of the Arizona State Museum. Other experience includes an internship with the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, in Washington, DC.

His artwork includes a piece on deerskin that was sent aboard the Space Shuttle Endeavor, launched in 1994. He also designed a mural measuring seven feet by eighty-five feet long that depicts Tucson, Arizona’s cultural heritage. The mural was painted by members of the Tucson Artist Group on a building in downtown Tucson. He also authored and illustrated a children’s book entitled *The Butterfly Dance*. Other artwork includes a series of forty-nine metal panels containing cutout native imagery that forms the main staircase of the University of Arizona Memorial Student Union Bookstore. One of his latest works is a six-foot-tall sculpture depicting a parrot that illuminates from within. He designed the cover of the third edition of *Native American Voices: A Reader*, published in 2010 by Pearson (as Prentice-Hall).

Through his artwork Gerald hopes to educate the public about the rich heritage of Native cultures and promote a greater understanding of the Indigenous world.