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crystal clear the fact that the failure of either Indians or bureaucrats to resolve this problem continues to doom all efforts to find a place for American Indians in today's world.

Vine Deloria, Jr.  
University of Arizona

**Political Organization of Native North Americans.** Edited by Ernest L. Schusky. Washington: University Press of America, 1980. 298 pp. Pap. \$11.25.

In spite of the fact that the persistent encounter between native and European peoples dominates scholarly writing on American Indians and has done so since the first contacts, little has been done on the overall political organization of native peoples of North America. In *Political Organization of Native North Americans*, Schusky has gathered together political assessments of United States and Canadian native communities from an anthropological perspective. The work is an outgrowth of a Bicentennial Project of the American Anthropological Association. The unique aspect of the collection is that the chapters are from the native viewpoint, carrying on the tradition of Schusky's 1970 *The Right to Be Indian*. Why native authors were not used to discuss political organization is not explained.

The theme of the volume is that the natives became "encysted within an encompassing, dominating system, their lives and livelihoods in critical ways shaped and controlled by alien, largely unheeding forces" (p. 223). Whether discussing the historical background, a specific tribal group, or an organization involving native peoples, all of the authors are concerned with the smothering national presence among the continent's first inhabitants. The Preface is simplistic but sympathetic to the native. Chapters one through five discuss historical and chronological aspects in the changing relationships of Indians to North American governments. The editor in the first chapter discusses early federal dealings with Indians, marked by efforts for their assimilation and extinction as separate peoples. Not a little attention is given to the Vietnam War period in American history and parallels with nascent Indian policy. Although Bernard Sheehan and Robert Berkhofer have

done a better job, Schusky gives a concise treatment of the Indian in emerging American intellectual thought and the evolution of the special relationship of the native to the United States. Willard Walker, Gregory Buesing, and Robert Conkling assess changes in the societies and cultures of Indians in northern New England, the Maritime Provinces, and eastern Quebec who formed the Wabanaki Confederacy. The myriad alterations and buffetings of the historical relationships within the Confederacy are traced from the coming of the French through the 1700 treaty ending the Algonkian-Iroquois wars, the creation of the Great Council Fire in 1749, and the American Revolutionary intrusions. Then the three authors discuss the treaty cessions with American colonists and the factionalization of the tribes, under which Wabanaki unity lay dormant for a century into the present era.

Sharlotte Neely is given to understatement but surveys the cultural destruction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs education process among the Eastern Cherokee before the Indian New Deal. Neely raises the intriguing question that the shift from the "Quaker Policy" to BIA policy was marked by mistrust and racism toward the Cherokee. She also speculates that the visit of a young John Collier to the boarding school horrors may have planted in his mind the seed for later BIA changes. In "The Indian New Deal as Mirror of the Future", D'Arcy McNickle raises some of the same issues about the Indian New Deal as do Graham Taylor, Kenneth Philp, and Lawrence Kelly, but only cites the latter. On the outside for so long, Collier suddenly found himself in charge of what he had so bitterly criticized. McNickle makes the point that in an era of environmental conservation, Indians made some gains under the New Deal. Margot Liberty talks around the political organization of the Northern Cheyenne, but she does not discuss the dynamics of reservation political developments for that tribe. Liberty does present the symbolic and political importance of the Battle of the Little Big Horn for all American Indians as a focus of attention on the past glories of Indians and the symbolic defeat of the white, corporate giant that desires to gouge and mine the earth.

The second half of the book deals in a variety of ways with contemporary Indian political organization. Merwyn Garbarino builds upon his fine *Big Cypress* book for a chapter underscoring the development of Florida Seminoles' stifling dependence on federal agencies. In a tightly woven chapter filled with insights, Garbarino gives a view of BIA intrusion into the lives of the

Seminole and the strangulation of the Indians' decision-making autonomy. He portrays well the BIA policies of built-in dependency as "self-fulfilling prophecies" of continued dependence. Research leads the author to the too hasty conclusion that the Seminole have all but given up the struggle for self-determination in the face of federal pressure against their autonomy. It is an overstatement of the resilience of one of the more historically resistant native peoples. Fred Voget examines the sources of cultural persistence among the Montana Crow and how that cultural persistence has left no need for identity by way of political activism like that of the American Indian Movement, as has been the case on other reservations. Voget's chapter is optimistic in that he feels that as old cultural traditions fade with new changes, new traditions arise building upon the old ways. He points out the survivals of reciprocal exchanges among kinsmen, as seen in the "give away" and other ceremonies. W. Ken Barger catalogs recent cultural changes and adaptations of the Inuit and Cree of the Far North through a focus upon the Great Whale River village. Barger points to the internal Eurocanadian colonialism and the resultant attempted native adjustments. In his discussion of internal controls, Barger reveals the subtle discrimination that Eurocanadians practice against native peoples as well as the development of Inuit and Cree syncretism in northern Quebec.

Drawing upon long acquaintance with the Canadian Dene peoples and drawing upon her own 1976 essay on the Dene, June Helm focuses more closely here on the recent onslaught on native culture. In the process of being "helped" by way of programs in the post-World War II years, Dene were actually sedentarized, micro-urbanized, and made subservient to the Eurocanadians. In response to the manipulation from the outside, the Dene formed their first national government and leadership, abandoning the extended family, band, and village structure for a more cohesive, more centralized, and more vulnerable government under a "chief" to the detriment of the old consensus rule that gives way to "majority rule" over land issues. Ann McElroy demonstrates the recentness of political unification among the Inuit in the Canadian Arctic. In the development process, an interethnic interdependence has developed in that region and the politics of negotiation differ from the politics of confrontation that developed in the Lower '48. Inuit Tapirisat's "activism" is tame in comparison. McElroy offers an historical background then treats the 1971 founding and contemporary status of Inuit Tapirisat. A photograph of Michael Amarook

is needed because of his crucial role. A hint of militancy is in the air in recent years as northern natives face hard choices with enormous consequences for the Arctic and its peoples.

A distinguished anthropologist, Fred Eggan, ends the volume with a summary of each of the chapters in an attempt to tie the work together into a whole. Eggan takes the reader through a maze of policy shifts, protests, government investigations and blue-ribbon reports, and an ever-increasing pile of verbiage, noting that nothing has succeeded in solving Indians' problems in federal-Indian relations. Only Indians can start to solve their problems. Eggan advocates "interdependence" for natives and not total "independence" that would cut them off from skills, technology, and mutual benefits. Eggan's review of the second half chapters in the book is done with an eye toward such interaction and he believes that both self-determination and independence will result in altering traditional leadership and consensus roles.

The format of the type is such as to keep the cost of the work reasonable and the publisher has succeeded in a modestly-priced volume. However, the work suffers from some typographical errors and a lack of an index. The volume would be more useful and the information in the text more accessible if it had an index. The map at the end of the book purports to locate tribes mentioned in the body of the text, but the map omits the Mikasuki of the Garbarino chapter and the Indians mentioned in Schusky's introduction. The choice of what to include in an edited volume is always difficult, especially in an area as diverse as that dealing with American Indians. There is mention of sovereignty and treaties issues in the Introduction and in the separate chapters, but there is no single chapter dealing with those crucial subjects. Similarly, the whole area of law and the native peoples of North America, alluded to in several chapters, is not dealt with in a chapter of its own, giving that most important area the attention it deserves. Good, wide coverage of the continent is offered, but large areas are not examined, such as the area of the West Coast and the American Southwest. In spite of its omissions, the Schusky book is a rare look into the political culture of the natives of the continent. The scholarly community ought not to wait for the Tricentennial of the nation to undertake more.

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