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While the Cass manuscripts offer much valuable information, they should be read with care. Many answers are given in the third person or offer derogatory opinions, suggesting that they came from local officials, and not the Delaware. A few answers reflect the tendency of informants to romanticize the distant past: Before whites came to this land, the Shawnee Delawares asserted, "they knew nothing about war that they all lived in perfect peace" (p. 90). Other answers were influenced by the Delawares reticence to address sensitive questions. When asked about any battles they may have engaged in with either Whites or Indians, the Delawares refused to answer—in 1821 there were, no doubt, people still alive who might wish to avenge the loss of a close relative or friend (p. 96). Then, too, the questioners learned nothing (and rightly so) of sexual mores, or as they put it, "the fondness that is manifested after dark" (p. 118).

Other caveats are minor. Weslager's historical narrative, which he carries into the 1970s and is intended to provide a context for the manuscripts, is too romanticized to be of much service to scholars. The editorial gloss on the texts seems haphazard with comments made at whim, rather than according to any systematic design; this is especially unfortunate for Weslager has researched the Delawares for years and his shared knowledge would have enhanced the value of this publication. Finally, Weslager might have been more precise in explaining his editorial procedure for the first document. The original Cass manuscript gives only answers to which Weslager matched Cass's published pamphlet of questions (p. 87). What is left unsaid is whether or not the manuscript's answers follow the same order as the published questions. I suspect that they do, but if the sequence varies, readers should be apprized of that fact. These criticisms, however, are negligible when compared to the service Weslager has rendered in making these documents widely available.

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American Indian Economic Development. Edited by Sam Stanley. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton Publishers, 1978. 609 pp. \$44.00.

In the fall of 1973 several anthropologists, social critics and a development economist presented papers of historical perspectives

on the economic developments of seven American Indian reservations: Passamaquoddy, Papago, Lummi, Pine Ridge Sioux, Morongo Cahuilla, Cherokee, and Navajo. The funds for the preparation of the papers that were read at the IXth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences that was convened in Chicago were in part contributed by the Economic Development Administration's Office of Economic Research. We are in that office's debt. These are good papers.

Two points are especially critical about the focuses of these economic assessments and the scholars who conducted them. The first is that the research is addressed to solid, empirical, ethnographic and historical assessments of Indian reservation communities (The Passamaquoddy of Maine form a community, but antedated reservation formation), the powerless contexts in which they have survived, their real struggles with local, state, and federal governments, their real encounters with businesses—corporate and otherwise—and their lack of information about how to do business. These essays seek to understand the external political and economic forces that have influenced the ubiquitous economic failures experienced by American Indians, and seek to provide understanding among Indians about the causes of the problems that have beset them. Most importantly, many of the essays clearly and explicitly seek Indian views about what they desire from their local economies—how and in what ways they think that such economies should operate.

The focuses of these pieces, then, are to account for how Indian economies came to be as they were in the early 1970s, and to suggest some of the obstacles that must be overcome if Indian desires for their local economies are to be accommodated. In this view, Indians are not clients of economic consultants and applied social scientists. Rather, social scientists and other knowledgeable critics have put their skills to work on behalf of American Indian communities, seeking to answer questions and provide information that members of those communities desire, or that they should learn about in those many instances in which they have not been informed about matters of their vital concern.

The second point is that the authors, with one exception, are not economists. Although in some quarters it is heresy to suggest that economic development can be validly analyzed by anyone other than an economist, nothing is further from the truth. The authors of these essays, being social critics and anthropologists, Anglos and Indians, are, by-and-large, unencumbered by thirty years of pap that has accumulated in the dismal "field" of economic devel-

opment. We are not treated to arid, yet optimistic predictions from cost-benefit analysis, utility curves, multiplier effects, "take-offs," "diffusion," or the like. Moreover, we are not anesthetized by claims about the inhibiting and debilitating effects of "economies of scale," "dual economies," or traditional resistance to economic planning—including resistance to delaying gratification, saving, and investing in infrastructure. Finally, in our current era where contempt is showered upon federal regulations that are said to impede the economy while fueling inflation, and also showered upon federal transfer payments and the welfare dead beats—including Indians, of course—who benefit from those transfers, we are not treated to an analysis of "economic development" which alleges that Indians are (a) the source of Indian problems, (b) partly the source of crippling federal regulations on industries that seek to use Indian and adjacent environments, and (c) also proclaims that the over benevolent government and struggling economy can go no further with environmental regulations or in transferring funds to Indians.

These essays are not ideological; that is to say, the authors do not employ variations of Marxian formulae by Lenin, Baran, Gunder Frank, or a dozen other prominent scholars critical of the effects of Capitalism on undeveloped economies to account for Indian underdevelopment, even though this book is about underdevelopment. Moreover, the authors do not employ the formulae worked out by me, Lamphere, Bee, Robbins, Clemmer, Pratt and others to account for Indian underdevelopment. This is doubly refreshing and in an important way it demonstrates that sensitive scholars with eyes for the facts can analyze similar situations on different reservations and produce compatible and similar analyses of those situations. Indian culture and Indian aspirations are analyzed, not rejected. The historical and contemporary analysis of each reservation community, although not boiled down to explicit generalizations, leads to the inescapable conclusion that each of these Indian societies have been pushed by similar forces to devolve from undeveloped to underdeveloped conditions. That is to say, at earliest European contact each Indian society had viable native economies. They exercised control over their subsistence resources, power over their lives, and were self-sustaining. At different times and places most of their resource bases were expropriated; they became powerless as the federal government usurped power over their communities; the Bureau of Indian Affairs, charged with overseeing federal trust obligations, have clumsily mismanaged

Indian affairs; and as Indian tribes have sought to regain authority over their own affairs and develop their own economies, bureaucratic red tape, inadequate and incomplete information, inadequate capital, differences of opinion and understanding within tribes, and the political and economic powers wielded by corporations, state, and federal governments have made shambles of most attempts by Indians to swim in the economic mainstream.

Capitalism, for reasons not especially clear, creates underdevelopment for some, just as surely as it creates development for others. The two are closely, inextricably related. Indians, through the related processes of expropriation, exploitation (sometimes), domination, and dole, coupled in the past two decades with insufficient capital and insufficient information, have been caught and maintained in the underdeveloped side of the development equation.

To the credit of the scholars who contributed essays to this book, the struggles and obstacles are placed in native contexts and spelled out so clearly that even an economist or a Bureaucrat should get the message.

Let me cite two conclusions to give a flavor of the analyses within this book.

At present Cherokees have neither power nor education nor much wealth. What they do have are strong, resilient, and intact communities, and a vivid sense of the kind of cultural and economic redevelopment they expect to attain (Albert L. Wahrhaftig, p. 506).

And in regards to plunder ("smart business") of Papago mineral resources by American Smelting and Refining Corporation made possible through the auspices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

Instead of converting the mining-lease situation into a tool that could be used to make the Papago aware of the intricacies of Arizona inheritance laws and their own rights and responsibilities as landowners, BIA officials chose a much simpler solution: Papagos were told if they signed the lease agreements, they would get money. On this level of understanding and sophistication the signing of leases proceeded (Henry F. Manuel, Juliann Ramon, and Bernard L. Fontana, p. 553).

Yet nine years later, when the mining company commenced operations (it had speculated on the appreciation of the leases and the minerals during the nine years that it held the leases—in speculating, a capitalist firm leases cheap, with the potential to re-

assign leases or to mine at greater profits later when the price of the ore escalates) the tribe sought to cancel the leases but were thwarted. The tribe initiated a lawsuit, but

Once again, most Papagos who owned shares in the land involved knew nothing of the details of the lawsuit nor of the complex reasons for filing it (Manuel, Ramon, Fontana, p. 555).

These essays are unpretentious, unencumbered by useless theory, sensitive to Indian cultures, analytical, for the most part, of the causes of Indian economic failures, not overly optimistic, certainly not euphoric, and well worth reading.

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The Urban American Indian. By Alan L. Sorkin. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1978. 158 pp. \$16.95.

As a primer text, *The Urban American Indian* offers an overview of the myriad difficulties experienced and the problems of survival encountered in the urban milieu by an increasing proportion of the American Indian population. Meant as a research monograph, the book does, in fact, draw heavily upon an array of data pertaining to urban Indians as published in a relatively small number of cited scholarly journal articles as well as extensive government documents, unpublished resources, and personal interviews initiated by the author with public health service directors and providers. In this regard, the data represent contemporary findings, but one is often left gasping for some meaning to be attached to them. Sorkin fails to provide this meaning. Reference to previously published scholarly work is seldom more than token presentation of the findings of others. No effort is made to summarize such findings which, in turn, leads one to surmise that a noble intent has been aborted.

One major difficulty would seem to be the general lack of detail and coverage of any particular topic. One example may be found on page 55 in which the author presents a *case study* of a Dallas, Texas free health clinic. In a single page the author described the health facilities, made a number of suggestions for enhancing the scope of the health care program, and chastised the lack of available federal funding and the paucity of salaried staff positions.