

SUMMER 1975

CIVIL RIGHTS DIGEST



HALF THE WORLD



2

IN THIS ISSUE . . . we have a new look. We are increasing our page size and varying the layout to provide you with a better-looking and more readable magazine. We're pleased with the result and hope you concur.

Our first article, in honor of International Women's Year, describes the plight of the vast majority of the world's women, who live unequally in poverty. Maryellen Fullam reports that present development plans often make life worse for rural women by emphasizing cash crops, increasing male migration to cities, and sometimes adding to daily chores. Meanwhile, female illiteracy is rising faster than male illiteracy.

Voting rights need continued attention, according to author Janet Wells, who documents the first 10 years of the Voting Rights Act. Local officials still erect barriers to black participation, while Federal enforcement has been inadequate. Renewal of the Voting Rights Act will still not enfranchise 2.5 million blacks unless the Federal commitment is strengthened.

Only eight percent of America's doctors are women. Beverly and Wendy Jacobson explain how this came to pass by examining the history of medicine in this country, from the colonial women healers to the modern male surgeon. Needless to say, they find that the current situation is not accidental.

The report from Pine Ridge is adapted from a study made by a special committee appointed by the Secretary of the Interior. The full report, including recommendations, may be obtained from the Office of Communications of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of the Interior, 1951 Constitution Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20245. Quantities are extremely limited.

For more copies of the *Digest* or inclusion on our free mailing list, please write to the Editor, *Civil Rights Digest*, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C. 20425.

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The articles in the *Digest* do not necessarily represent Commission policy but are offered to stimulate ideas and interest on various current issues concerning civil rights.



29

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3 HALF THE WORLD

Women and Economic Development
By Maryellen Fullam

13 VOTING RIGHTS IN 1975

Why Minorities Still Need Federal Protection
By Janet Wells

20 ONLY EIGHT PERCENT

A Look at Women in Medicine
By Beverly Jacobson and Wendy Jacobson

28 A REPORT FROM PINE RIDGE

Conditions on the Oglala Sioux Reservation

39 READING AND VIEWING

Books Received

CREDITS: Joseph Swanson—cover; United Nations—2, 8, 9, 10, 11; Black Star—5, 6, 7, 13, 17, 18, 19, 29, inside back cover; Del Harrod—21, 22–23, 24–25; George Tames, 31, 32, 34, 36; Archie Allen—12, 15.

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is a temporary, independent, bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957 to:

- Investigate complaints alleging denial of the right to vote by reason of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or by reason of fraudulent practices;
- Study and collect information concerning legal developments constituting a denial of equal protection of the laws under the Constitution because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Appraise Federal laws and policies with respect to the denial of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, or in the administration of justice;
- Serve as a national clearinghouse for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; and
- Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and Congress.



Half the World

The day the International Women's Year conference opens in Mexico City will be just another day for a woman in rural Zambia. She will rise at 5 a.m. and 50 minutes later will be at work in the fields one or two kilometers away from her home, a baby on her back. Until 3 p.m. she will plant, plough, hoe, or weed, pausing only to eat a snack. Then she will walk home again, stopping to collect firewood on the way. The journey and the gathering will take an hour.

Once at home, she will spend another hour and a half pounding or grinding grain or legumes, a further three-quarters of an hour fetching water from a source one or two kilometers away. Lighting a fire and cooking the family meal will absorb another hour. The last hour of her working day will be spent bathing the children, herself, and perhaps washing some clothes. She will go to bed at 9 p.m. after working 15 hours with only one hour for rest and meals.

She probably does not know that this is International Women's Year. It is even more unlikely that her life and the lives of thousands like her will have changed one year hence because the United Nations designated 1975 as a year to "stimulate new initiatives and set in mo-

WOMEN IN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

By Maryellen Fullam

tion dynamic action programmes to advance the status of women," by promoting equality between men and women, fully integrating women into the total development effort, and recognizing the importance of women's increased contribution to the strengthening of world peace.

If the operative part of that admirable though ponderous statement of objectives is advancing the status of women, it might be useful to start with a definition of status and some attempt to describe what it actually means for the majority of women in the world.

When the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women set up its study of women's status and family planning, it reckoned that the nearest to a culture-free definition was the actual control people have over their own lives. To what extent, the commission asked, do women as compared with men have

access to knowledge, economic resources, and political power, and what degree of personal autonomy do these resources permit? Using this definition there is little doubt that the majority of women are disadvantaged compared with men.

This fact is well documented in the developed world and the 198 million "economically active" women in those countries will be heavily represented—and vocal—at Mexico City. It is doubtful whether the 363 million "working" women from the developing world, of whom the Zambian farmer is one, will be heard as clearly. Most of them live in rural areas; few have had the education which might enable them to gain entry to international conference circles. Many are simply concerned with struggling for survival.

Little comprehensive factual information exists about rural women in the developing world. Conditions vary from country to country, making generalizations dangerous. But there are certain common-denominators, according to Elwya Elwy, a regional home economics officer for the U.N. Food

This article is reprinted with permission from the International Women's Year issue of People, Volume 2, Number 2. Maryellen Fullam is a staff-writer for People, which is published by the International Planned Parenthood Federation, 18-20 Lower Regent Street, London, England.

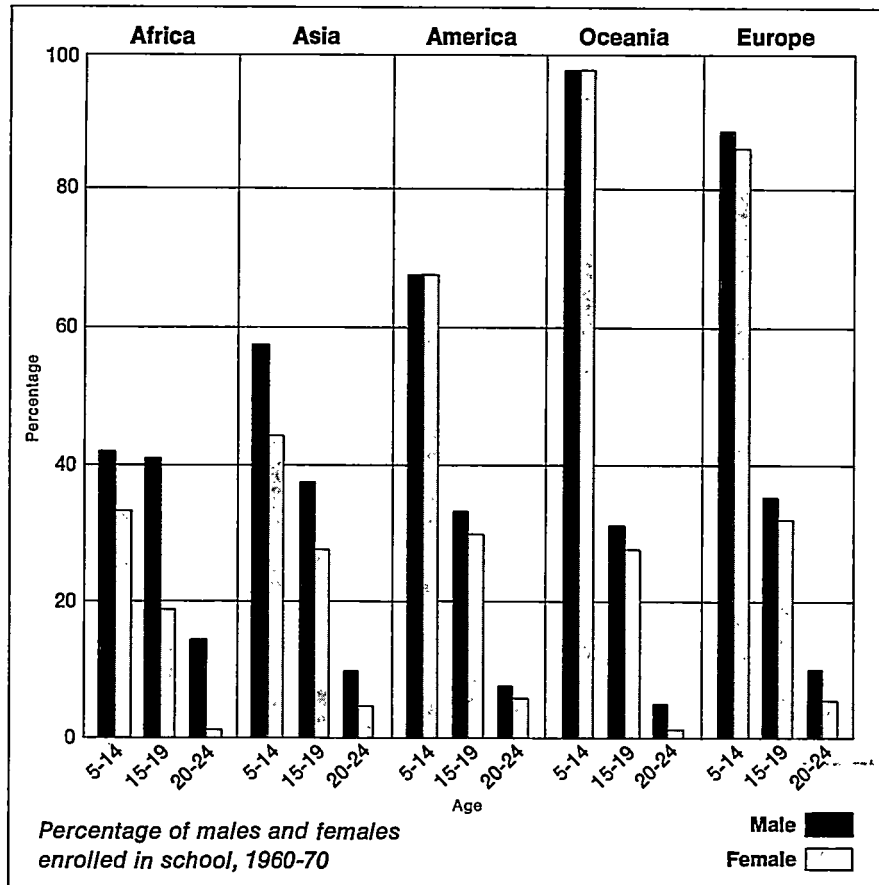
and Agriculture Organization. She told a conference on women and development in Cairo in November:

"The position of rural women in developing countries is more or less the same from the point of view of social isolation, prevailing lack of education, overwork, malnutrition and ill health, adherence to old customs and traditions such as early marriage and repeated child bearing. Rural women divide their time between the home and the farm—still use primitive equipment both in their homes and in agriculture. They shoulder numerous heavy duties and responsibilities but they do not get the help, education, recognition, and opportunities they deserve in order to develop their status."

At its most basic level status is simply a matter of life or death. The U.N. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific found that the female population of the region has been growing more slowly than the male. ESCAP estimated the male population in 1970 at 1,009 million and the female at 983 million and concluded, "The difference is mainly because of the higher rate of mortality of females, which suggests that female children are more neglected than male children."

At a 1973 seminar organized by ESCAP (then ECAFE) on the status of women and family planning, Dr. S. Anandalakshmy, a child development expert from Delhi, noted that there is a ratio of 930 females to 1,000 males in India. "In a country where infant mortality is high, female infant mortality is significantly higher than the male although physiologically it is known that the male of the species is more vulnerable, especially in early years."

He quoted figures from the Indian census of 1971, giving the fol-



lowing mortality rates per thousand for the 0-4 age group:

	MALE	FEMALE
1968	59.1	66.8
1969	58.3	70.2

Observing that 95 out of 100 infants abandoned in Delhi are girls, he concluded, "Even the right to survive seems to be denied the female."

Data obtained from studies made in Egypt and Jordan show that infant males are better nourished than females and therefore have a lower death rate. Muslim women in rural areas were found to nurse their sons longer than their daughters because of the greater value placed on the boys. Sexual discrimination begins in the early months of life.

When access to life itself is not

denied to women, what access have they to instruments of autonomy such as the two universally accepted status symbols of education and employment?

The graph on this page shows clearly that fewer girls than boys are enrolled in school and even fewer go on to secondary and university levels. The main obstacle to education for women is still the prejudice which holds that girls do not need education to become wives and mothers.

Ironically women themselves perpetuate the myth. A survey conducted in Egypt showed that 33 percent of mothers interviewed thought education for their daughters was unnecessary. Only 4 percent thought their sons needed none. Forty-one percent wanted their sons to go to university; only



21 percent had the same aspirations for their daughters. A similar study in Lebanon revealed that mothers' hopes for their sons' futures related to education and employment; aspirations for their daughters related to marriage. An analysis of educational facilities available in Sudan presented to the Cairo conference mentioned earlier indicated that 94.2 percent of all educational opportunities were available to boys, only 5.8 percent to girls.

A curious paradox of this attitude towards education for women is revealed in a study by the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, which shows that the performance of children in school is related positively to the educational level of the mother rather than the father.

Dr. Anandalakshmy, quoted earlier, said at the same ESCAP seminar that girls in rural India who attend high school do not have time to make an effective contribution to their families by their labour or to establish their worth as workers in home and fields. "It is reported," he said, "that in areas where a bride price is generally paid, the education of girls has gradually necessitated the bride's providing a dowry."

The most obvious consequence of the failure to take girls seriously as students is a high rate of illiteracy among women. An International Labour Organization study, *Population and Labour*, published in 1973, concludes that the number of illiterates in the world is rising, partly because adults fall back into illiteracy after inadequate schooling and partly because of population pressures on available educational facilities. Women suffer most.

In 1960, 307 million men and 428 million women were classed as illiterates. By 1970 the number of illiterate men had risen by a fur-

ther 8 million, but there were a further 40 million illiterate women. "With population growth placing such a strain on educational resources," the ILO notes, "girls tend to find themselves at the back of the queue."

Latin America is a case in point. In a 20-country survey the U.N. Children's Fund found that illiterate women outnumbered men and in several instances comprised two-thirds of the illiterate population. In rural areas more than 90 percent of the female population had little or no access to basic education.

Women also lose out when it comes to vocational training. At the Cairo conference it was pointed out that there is a heavy concentration of women in agriculture in the Near East. In Egypt 46.9 percent of working women are engaged in agriculture; in Sudan the figure is 78 percent. All vegetable crops are harvested by women, who are responsible for the care and feeding of livestock and maintenance of fruit and vegetable gardens. Yet rural extension programmes are almost nonexistent for women and the content of home economics programmes is "usually planned with



no clear objectives or consideration of the existing cultures.”

In a report prepared to coincide with Women's Year entitled *Equality of Opportunity and Treatment for Women Workers*, the ILO observes that what training is available in the developing world for jobs in the modern sector is mostly for occupations from which women are traditionally excluded.

“The various training patterns for the modern sector tend to follow the sex role stereotypes of the old world and often fail to reflect the traditions of the countries of the third world. Few girls are engaged in training for the slowly growing industrial sector. Training opportunities are expanding for service occupations, but slowly. And in agriculture, where the bulk of work is often done by women, training is seldom given to girls and women, either for agriculture proper or for related rural activities and crafts.”

Left behind in the educational stakes, it is no surprise to find women doing poorly in the working world. To begin with they are often not even counted in the “economically active population,” which the ILO defines as the total of employed people, including self-employed, wage earners, and unpaid family workers, but excluding women engaged solely in domestic duties.

The Economic Commission for Africa gathered statistics on 22 countries and found that women form an average 11.9 percent of their economically-active population. But it is generally accepted that women do 60 to 80 percent of agricultural work in Africa, producing and processing most of the food.

In some countries of West Africa more than 80 percent of small traders are women. In Kenya the



government estimates that women provide more than 80 percent of the “self-help labour,” building roads, schools, and village centers. In Lesotho women build 90 percent of the roads under food-for-work and other programs.

Development planners do not always appreciate the value of this contribution. The ECA notes that emphasis on economic growth has been at the expense of food production—usually carried out by women. Emphasis on cash crops has led in many cases to poorer nutrition for families and harder work for women than when traditional agriculture was general in Africa.

Male migration to the cities has left thousands of women in charge of households—in Kenya more than one-third of rural households are headed by women. But women are ill prepared to cope with the responsibility. They do not have ready access to the tools of development—extension services, loans, labour-saving machinery, marketing cooperatives.

If there is one single factor above all others which is responsible for the low status of women it is possibly uncontrolled fertility. And there is growing evidence that fertility control is related to educational achievement and employment opportunities.





The U.N. Commission on the Status of Women, in its report on status and family planning, concludes that the educational level of women appears to be one of the most important factors influencing family size and birth rates. Such widely differing countries as Egypt, Finland, Guatemala, India, Jamaica, the Philippines, Singapore, Syria, Turkey, and Yugoslavia reported that the average number of children was smaller among women with higher education.

A study made in Turkey confirms this. Illiterate men and women had an average of 4.3 and 4.2 live born children respectively. There was no difference in the average family size of illiterate men and those with some primary schooling, but the family size of women with some primary education was 24 percent lower than that of their uneducated counterparts. Men who completed primary school had 14 percent

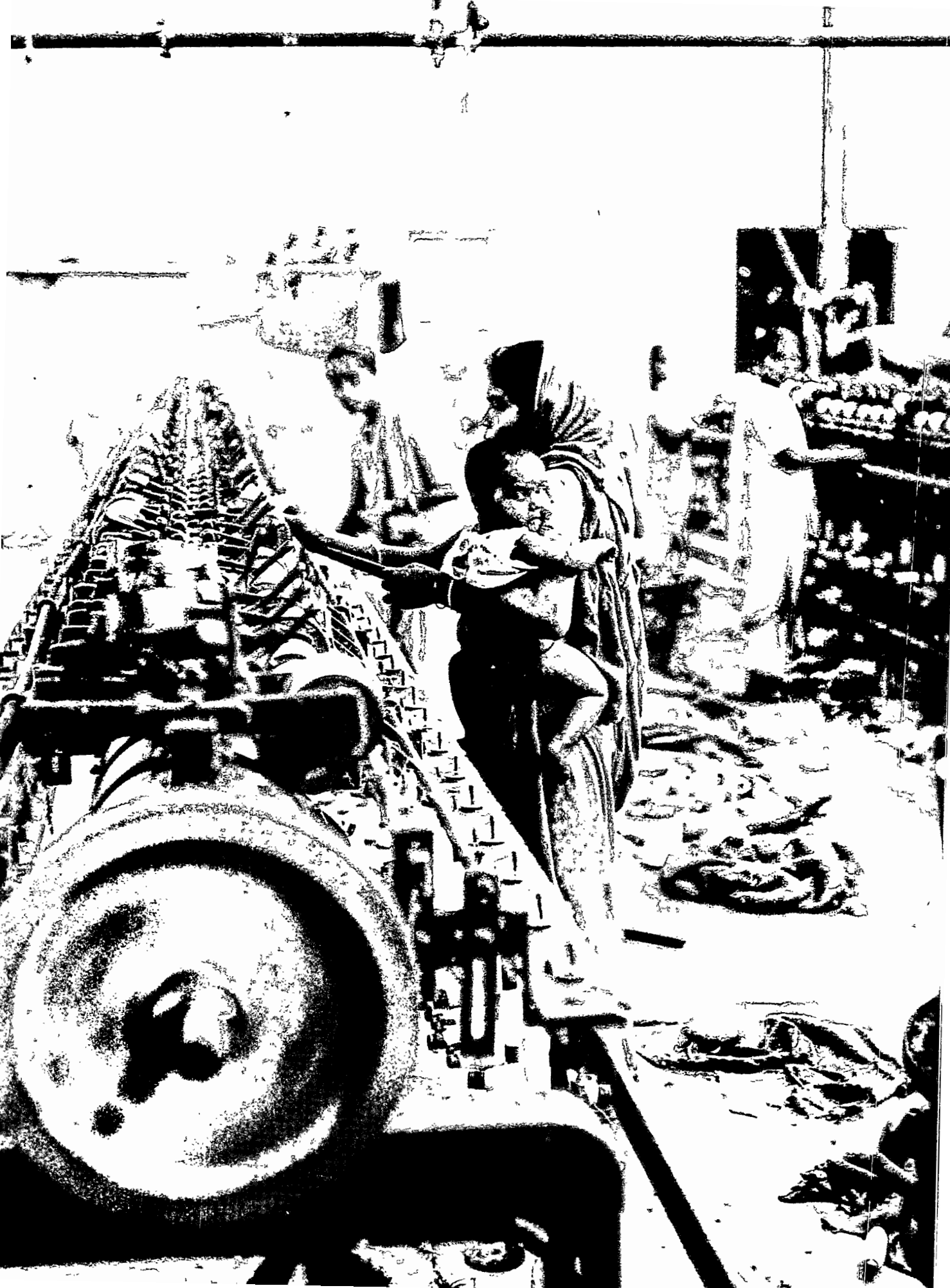
fewer children than illiterates, women 33 percent fewer. Men with secondary education (8 years of schooling) had 28 percent fewer children than illiterate men, women 50 percent fewer than illiterate women. The figures for *lycée* graduates (12 years of schooling) were 37 percent and 52 percent. At the top of the scale, male university graduates had 2.3 live born children, a 47 percent reduction compared with illiterate men; women university graduates had 1.4 live born children, 67 percent fewer than illiterate women.

As a result of a study made during the 1960s, the World Bank found a statistically significant correlation between effective literacy and fertility in 64 developed and developing countries. In 13 countries with a gross reproduction rate of between 2 and 2.49 percent, female literacy was 40.1 percent. In 38 countries with a gross reproduction rate of between 2.5 and

3.09, only 31.6 percent of women were literate. In countries with a rate of 3.1 or more, literacy was 29.5 percent.

The U.N. Status of Women report found that under some conditions the employment of women appears to have a marked influence on family size and family planning. But subsistence level agriculture or nonagricultural pursuits at this level of poverty are not alternatives to child bearing. "More often than not," the report concluded, "high fertility is not a matter of choice of the individual. It usually goes hand in hand with the low status of women, lack of education and employment opportunities, and conditions of poverty, overwork, and drudgery which prevail in many of the world's rural and urban slums."

A very good indication of the fact that many women do not choose high fertility is the prevalence of abortion. The U.N. Educational, Scientific, and Cultural



Organization estimates that there are now 5 million abortions performed every year in Latin America. One-third of the hospital beds intended for obstetrical services are now used to care for women suffering from complications caused by illegal abortions. These are often performed by people with little medical education, using rudimentary or traditional techniques with little attention to antiseptic procedures.

The vicious circle of poverty and high fertility seems bound to continue unbroken for some time.

Apart from Latin America's other vast social needs, it has been estimated that the cost of providing contraceptive services to 60 million women unable to pay for them would be \$300 million a year.

ESCAP estimates that the population of its region will maintain a growth rate of 2 percent in the second half of the century compared with 0.7 percent in the first half. This will have serious implications for women, not least because it is they who carry the burden of frequent child bearing which will produce about 2,700 million

babies from 1970 to 2000.

Women, who already have a larger proportion of illiterates in their ranks and also have poorer employment opportunities, stand to suffer more than men from the pressure of rapid population growth. Although ESCAP reckons that health facilities in the region will improve, cutting the female mortality rate, one likely result will be an increasing number of uneducated and jobless women. Fewer female deaths could also lead to an acceleration of the birth rate, making things even worse.

The ECA offers an equally gloomy prognosis. Africa's population will double by the year 2000 despite the current low life expectancy. "Under conditions of extreme competition for scarce resources, women, already disadvantaged, would suffer greater disabilities than at present. Family resources would have to be stretched further—and it is usually women who sacrifice for other members."

The need for larger food supplies for a larger population would, under present conditions of food production, place extra demands on already overworked women. If the present pattern of employing men and assisting them with income-producing activities continues, women could become even more marginal to the modern economy. This implies that girls would continue to marry at a young age in order to be supported and consequently fertility rates could increase.

The ECA concludes, "The cycle of poverty would be perpetuated. There is no question that this cycle of poverty, influenced by rapid population growth, is the basic issue of development." If that message penetrates the corridors of power during International Women's Year, then perhaps the year will have achieved its objective.





VOTE
HERE

Voting Rights In 1975

WHY MINORITIES STILL NEED
FEDERAL PROTECTION

By Janet Wells

Ten years ago a 53-year-old black woman named Ardies Mauldin signed a voting certificate in Selma, Alabama, and launched a decade of increased black political participation in the South that has been called "the quiet revolution."

Ardies Mauldin was the first of 155,000 blacks registered by Federal examiners in 60 Southern counties and parishes between 1965 and 1974 under what has often been called the most effective civil rights legislation of the 1960s, the Voting Rights Act of 1965. More than 1.25 million other black Southerners, assured of the nation's commitment to their right to vote, registered with local registrars and began to elect black officials.

The Voting Rights Act was passed because President Johnson and the Congress, like Mrs. Mauldin, were appalled by the violence against civil rights workers who tried to register black voters in south Alabama in 1964 and 1965. Four murders were linked to the voting rights movement in Dallas County, and the world was stunned by pictures of Sheriff Jim Clark's mounted posse clubbing young marchers at the Edmund Pettus Bridge on Selma's "Bloody Sunday," March 7, 1965.

The act automatically covered seven Southern States—Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi,

South Carolina, Virginia, and about half the counties in North Carolina—because they had used literacy tests and other devices prerequisite to registration and had had less than a 50 percent turnout in the



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1964 general election. Primarily, the act provided for the abolition of literacy tests, the authorization of Federal registrars and election observers, and review by the U.S. Attorney General or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia of any changes in election practices by jurisdictions covered by the legislation.

In Dallas County, 2 percent of the eligible blacks were registered as of Bloody Sunday. Today, 70 percent are registered, and they have long since defeated Sheriff Clark and elected five blacks to the 10-member Selma City Council.

John Lewis, whose skull was fractured by a deputy's club at the Edmund Pettus Bridge and who today is executive director of the Voter Education Project, says of Selma, "There've been changes, tremendous changes. You no longer have the pervasive atmosphere of violence and intimidation and harassment. To me—and I stayed there a great deal in 1965—there's a greater sense of hope, there's a greater sense of optimism there today."

This sense of optimism is found throughout the Old Confederacy, where the number of black elected officials has increased in 10 years from 72 to 1,588—1,115 of them in the States covered by the Voting Rights Act. These officials include three members of Congress, 95 State legislators, 180 county councilmen, 56 mayors, 636 city councilmen and 372 local school board members.

Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act, which requires Federal preclearance of election or voting procedure changes, has to a great extent precluded a political retreat in the seven covered States. Where changes have been reported to the Attorney General, he has been notably effective in preventing whites from changing the rules of the game when blacks started to win.

In 1971, for example, the Georgia legislature passed a congressional redistricting law which reduced the State's Fifth District from 39.5 to 35 percent black. To underscore its intent, the legislature gerrymandered aspiring black congressional candidate Andrew Young by two city blocks into a heavily white district. Before a Federal suit could be decided, the Attorney General disapproved the plan under Section 5. The district was redrawn so that it was still majority white but with enough blacks to give Young, now back in the Fifth District, reasonable assurance of election. The former aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected in 1972—the first black Congressman from the Deep South since Reconstruction.

The Attorney General also declined to approve an annexation plan in Petersburg, Virginia, in 1971 which reduced the black population ratio from 55 to 46 per cent as long as municipal elections were required to be at large. The U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia subsequently ruled that city elections in Petersburg must be from single-member districts. Blacks won a majority of the city council seats in June 1973.

With the Voting Rights Act up for renewal August 6, 1975 became a year for remembering Selma and the violence throughout the South which inspired the law. It was a time to acknowledge tremendous changes and to remind the country that times have still not changed that much. And it was time for those still engaged in the struggle for political representation to beg the government for a stronger enforcement of the law's protections.

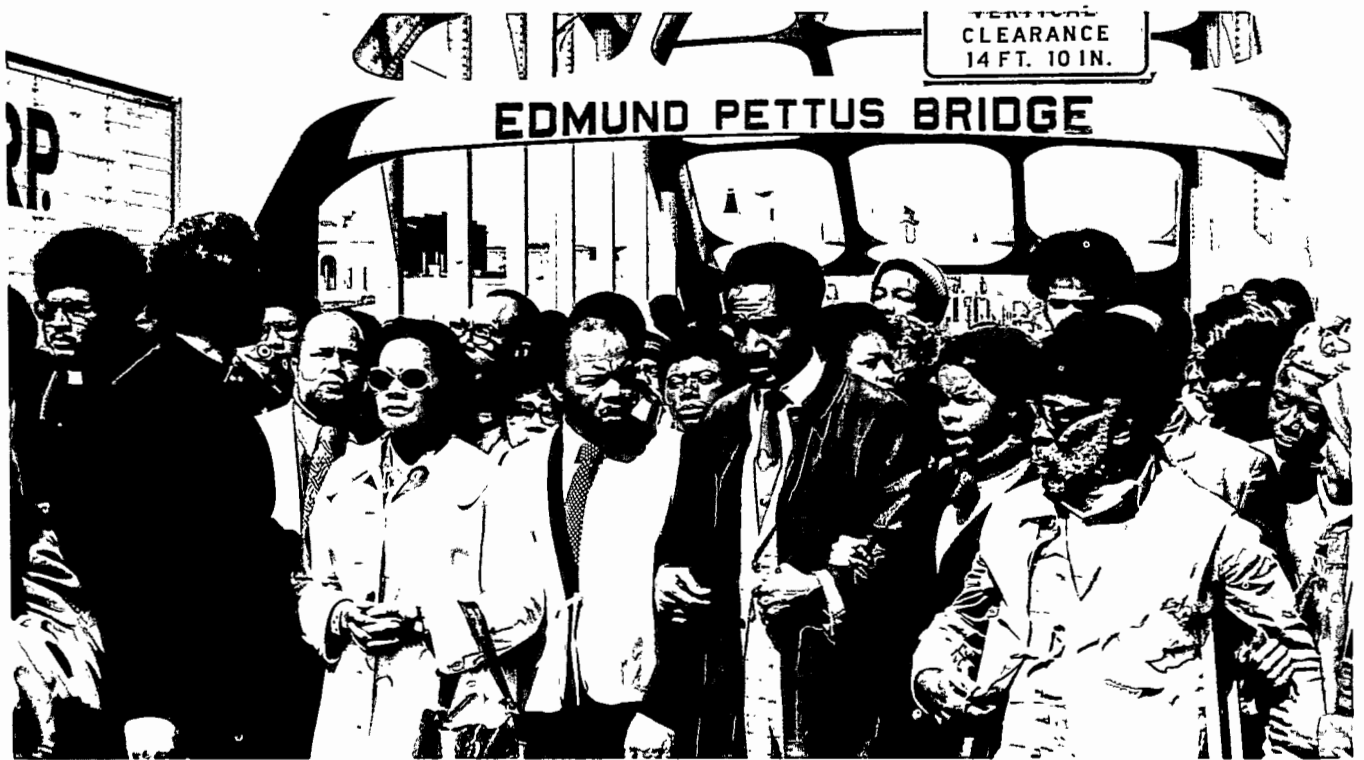
As in 1970, the Congress found that it was too early to allow the law to die. With greater ease than had been expected, it renewed the Voting Rights Act for another 7 years and extended its coverage to other minorities in the hope that the next few years would see a full flowering of minority political participation throughout the Nation.

The record in the South gives reason for optimism, but the history of the Voting Rights Act is full of contradictions. The law can be measured by its great success, due largely to the courage and determination of Southern blacks—or by its failures, resulting from frequent lapses of conscience in the Department of Justice and continuing local resistance to social and political change.

In spite of tremendous increases in black voter registration, the record shows that two and a half million eligible blacks still are not registered in the 11 Southern States. While great numbers of blacks have been enfranchised by Federal examiners, the vast majority have registered with the assistance of private organizations—organizations now ironically seriously curtailed by provisions of the 1969 Tax Reform Act.

Although the list of black office-holders is impressive, they represent only 2 percent of the elected officials in the region while their race comprises 20 percent of the population. Blacks control the governments of only 6 of the 101 Southern counties with majority black populations, and 362 majority black municipalities with populations of more than 1,000 have not yet elected one black official.

And although Section 5 is widely considered the most effective and best-enforced provision of the act,



hundreds of politically damaging election practices have been instituted without preclearance.

The Quiet Revolution

The real message brought to Congress in 1975 was that the quiet revolution was far from over.

John Lewis toured Mississippi this June and found extant most of the barriers to voter registration he had confronted as head of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the '60s.

"You see very little physical violence," he said when he returned to Atlanta. "It's not physical and overt and open. But at several of the meetings and rallies in Mississippi we heard people saying the boss man told them they didn't need to vote, they didn't need to register. People on the farms, the plantations are afraid to come in to register."

"The violence is gone but the fear of violence is still there," echoed VEP Field Director Sherrill Marcus.

Even when blacks withstand threats to their livelihoods—jobs, welfare, food stamps—and sometimes, still, to their lives, overwhelming obstacles to political participation often remain.

A 1962 Mississippi law requires at-large voting in municipal elections—legislation obviously calculated to keep blacks from winning city council seats. A

majority of the counties in the State require dual registration for city and county elections, a fact many blacks learn only on election day.

Although literacy tests and other devices which impede voter registration were outlawed by the Voting Rights Act, the Mississippi legislature in 1972 adopted without Justice Department objection a voter application form which prohibited many rural blacks from registering.

The "long form" required registrants to reveal conviction of crimes ranging from murder to bigamy and such other irrelevant information as motor vehicle tag numbers, income tax filing address, location of real property, location of homestead exemption, place of employment, and location of church or other religious affiliations.

Sherrill Marcus found otherwise willing applicants refusing to register when confronted with these questions.

"The long form plays on the pervasive fear of minorities that they will be victims of retaliation if they register to vote," John Lewis said in a July 1 letter to Attorney General Edward H. Levi calling for Federal registrars in the State before the 1975 municipal elections. "In a State where blacks have been fired from their jobs and evicted from their homes, the requirement to list places of employment

on voter registration applications rekindles old and very real fears."

As part of a campaign to improve its "image," the Mississippi legislature recently repealed use of the long form. But its effects remain: many black Mississippians are still unregistered and afraid. VEP had little hope that the Justice Department would respond to its plea to intervene.

"Perhaps more than anything else," Lewis said recently, "local officials—members of election boards, registrars, white elected officials in the small towns and rural communities—really do not do anything to encourage greater political participation, and they do as much as possible to discourage it."

Although it has been handicapped since 1969 by Tax Reform Act limitations on the registration activities of tax-exempt organizations, the Voter Education Project remains the most active Southern institution supporting minority registration and citizenship education. It is credited with the registration of hundreds of thousands of the South's black voters through direct assistance to more than 1,000 local political education organizations.

The VEP's files in Atlanta repeatedly prove that in many parts of the South, little has changed since the early '60s except the determination of black people to register, vote, and run for office because of—and often in spite of—Justice Department jurisdiction under the Voting Rights Act.

Obstacles in Mississippi

"There was more intimidation and harassment in the Hollandale voter registration drive than I have seen since before 1965," reported the director of a VEP-funded group in Mississippi in 1973.

The man reported spending many hours with illiterates, practicing marking the names on the sample ballot given them by election officials. A few days before the election, the officials issued a new ballot with the names in a different order, largely nullifying his effort. And on election day, it turned out that Hollandale had conducted reregistration without Justice Department approval and without the knowledge of the black community.

"It appeared that some of our people registered on the old books, some on the new books," wrote the VEP correspondent. "Many names could not be found on either book. We wonder now how many sets of books they did have."

Pace, Mississippi, with a population of 500, mostly black, was typical in 1973 of the rural areas where registration officials' indifference or interference

have made registering difficult and often impossible for the poor.

"There was a problem with the registration of the town folk," reported a field worker, "because there is no town registration book and the town clerk claims that it was misplaced. The office is never open during regular hours because the clerk claims that his position is a voluntary one and he is not required to keep regular hours."

The Justice Department intervened, allowing all county registrants who claimed to live in Pace to vote in the city election with reregistration required after the election. (Blacks ultimately reregistered in greater numbers than whites.) The clerk reluctantly qualified black candidates, and Pace elected a black mayor, Robert Leflore, who promised to improve the living conditions of Pace's black majority.

A community resident reported, "This is the first election that the folks of Pace have been allowed to participate in. Up until now the 'leaders' of the community would get together and decide who would be mayor."

In Jonestown, Mississippi, in the same election year, the voting machines were rigged so that votes cast for the black mayoral candidate were counted for the white incumbent, who was declared the winner. The indifference of the Justice Department incensed the black community and increased their determination to reclaim the election.

"It proved to be more the pressure of the community than the actions of the Justice Department which forced the election commission to declare the black candidate the winner," said a local leader.

Holmes County, Mississippi, has one of the longest records of shootings and burnings in the history of the voting rights movement. The violence has subsided and the county has elected 14 black officials since 1967, including the State's only black representative, Robert Clark. Still, black citizens say they lack "any real sense of control."

White officials have politely told them they are welcome to information on the county budget and expenditures, revenue sharing and other vital public information, but it is always unavailable for some reason at the time it is requested.

"This is a new form of discrimination in Mississippi," says a black leader.

And finally a 1975 report from voter registration workers in Madison County, Mississippi:

"Over the years black residents of Madison County have found it extremely difficult to register to vote," they wrote. "Most of the residents are working peo-



ple and find that having the circuit clerk's office closed at 5 p.m. each day and closed on Saturday not convenient for them. Those who take off from work to go register often complain of rudeness or intimidation by the circuit clerk."

On a recent day, the report alleged, a local official pulled a gun on three voter registration workers.

Barriers in Georgia

Blacks' discouragement in a 1973 election in Talbot County, Georgia, illustrates the multiple problems many minority voters and office-seekers still encounter and the corresponding failure of the Justice Department to live up to the requirements of the Voting Rights Act.

Black J. B. King, Jr., who had been a principal for 17 of his 40 years as an educator, ran for superintendent of schools in a special election against a white teacher, Evelyn Rowe. Talbot County, in southwest Georgia, was 68 percent black and had a 52 percent black voting majority, so King's candidacy had a strong chance of success.

On election day, 3 of the county's 11 polling places were on public property. The other eight sites were a white church, a white barber shop, a tool shed in a white family's yard, two white private homes, a segregated white club, and two white-owned grocery stores. (The polling place at the church was moved there after a black man bought the store in which it had previously been housed.)

Robert Mants, a VEP field worker who observed the election, complained, "One fellow had the polling place on his front porch and no voting booth and no privacy and as you approached the house, there was a big barking Dalmatian dog."

There were other problems—names of blacks who had registered the year before were omitted from the voting lists; there was only one black election official; an election observer was physically abused; and blacks were not allowed to assist illiterate voters. But in the end, King's loss to Mrs. Rowe by 91 votes seemed largely attributable to a remarkable turnout of 102 absentee voters, mostly white, in the 2 weeks between the filing deadline and the election. One absentee vote was cast by a man reported to be in Greece.

An FBI agent from nearby Columbus investigated blacks' charges of irregularities. Several blacks were reluctant to be questioned by the agent because of his evident ties with the local white community, and apparently with good cause.

In 1969 the agent had taken sworn statements





from some of the same people after they made similar charges in another Talbot County election. A week later, a black registration worker was confronted by the county registrar with charges blacks had made against him in "confidential" FBI statements.

The Justice Department never reported the results of its investigation into the voting irregularities. Bob Mants found his voter education activities in Talbot County hampered by blacks' despondence over the Federal Government's failure to register a protest of the election and its disinterest in the coming year's city elections.

In a bitter postscript to the election 9 months later, King was terminated in the 41st year of his career.

In Fort Valley, a 50 percent black central Georgia city where the Justice Department has repeatedly investigated voting irregularities, white Mayor Paul Reehling told an Atlanta *Constitution* reporter in 1974, "I used to think that the Justice Department really wanted to make sure black militants were elected in every town in the South. Now, after dealing with them, I've found them to be a great bunch of people. They're all right."

Justice Department officials' tactful regard for the entrenched Southern political structure may be "all right" for those with political power. But it is not

"all right" for those who have suffered billy clubs, police dogs, and bombings to see the right to vote still stolen before the very eyes of those who were pledged to protect it.

Enforcement is Weak

Repeated Federal retreats in communities like Talbot County and Jonestown in themselves have taken a toll on black political participation. In spite of perpetual election abuses, the Attorney General has sent Federal examiners into the South sparingly and only twice since 1971. Although Justice's record on Section 5 preclearance is better, hundreds of voting procedure changes have slipped by because the department has no system for reviewing them.

"I'm convinced," says John Lewis, "that if we didn't ask for Federal registrars and observers—I don't care what happened between now and 1985—there would never be again in the history of the act Federal examiners in the South. I don't think it's fair for the burden to be on private organizations."

Even during Lyndon Johnson's administration, when commitment to voting rights was highly touted, enforcement was meager.

"During the Johnson administration, we did have some people we could talk with," Lewis recalls. "During the Nixon and Ford years, we just haven't had anything. But for the most part, it's not a vast difference."

"I think more than anything else," he goes on, "the administration—whether it's a Democratic administration, whether it's a Republican administration—does not want to have any conflict with the local politicians in the South, particularly those with power and seniority in the Senate and the House of Representatives."

"Justice officials have got the word to walk softly and leave the big stick at home," Sherrill Marcus puts it more bluntly.

Like many civil rights laws, the Voting Rights Act works as much in spite of as because of government enforcement. Congressman Young suggested during House debate on the act this year that it had worked because local registrars would rather register blacks themselves than to risk inviting Federal examiners.

But without stronger Federal commitment, there is little hope of enfranchising most of the two and one-half million black people who, to date, are afraid or have seen no promise in the electoral process.

"You know," said Lewis, "it is one thing to get the act renewed, it's one thing to have the law on the books, but it's another to make it real."

ONLY EIGHT PERCENT

A LOOK AT WOMEN IN MEDICINE

By Beverly Jacobson and Wendy Jacobson

A Riddle

A father and son were badly injured in an auto accident. They were rushed to the hospital. The doctor who was to treat the boy went to the operating room, but upon seeing him lying there said, "I cannot operate: that is my son."

How can this be?

Many people do not see the very obvious solution to this riddle—that the doctor is the boy's mother. The reason is simple. Ninety-two percent of all doctors in the United States are men. Only 8 percent are women. This figure is lower than in all of the countries of western Europe, except Spain. In Great Britain, where the women's movement is less vocal than in the U.S., one-quarter of all physicians are women, and in the Soviet Union the figure stands at 75 percent.

Although women are now being admitted to medical schools in much higher proportions (20 to 30 percent), very few are in policy making positions.

While 4,000 women serve on teaching staffs nationally (half on a full-time basis), only 2 percent of medical school full professors are women. Last year 20 of the 272 faculty members at Stanford were women, and only five of them had tenure. A study made last year at the University of California (San Francisco) shows that male doctors made \$7,000 more a year than females with the same experience, training, and productivity.

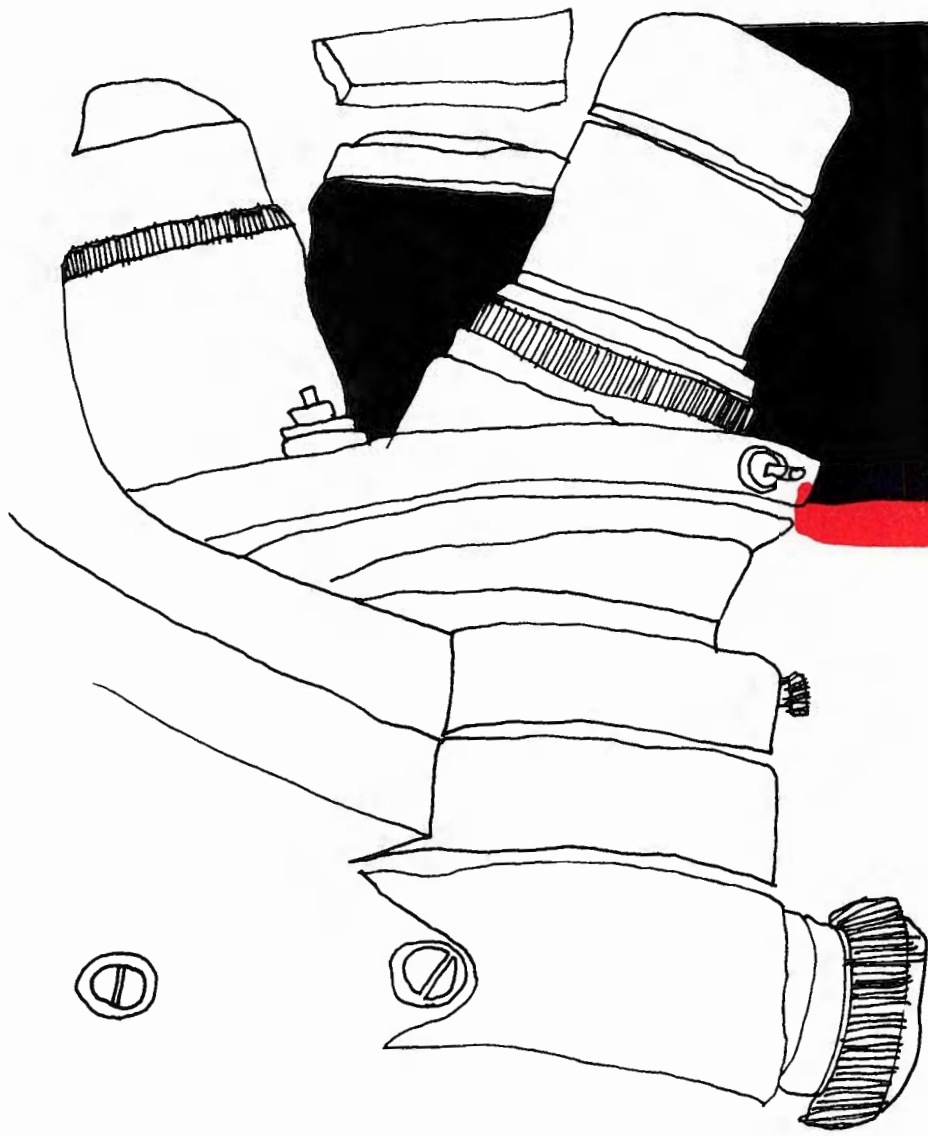
Women doctors do not earn as much as men do elsewhere either. A 1969 study by the American Medical Association (AMA) showed that women earned 54 percent of what men earned that year. And in 1973 the American Association for the Advancement of Science reported that female doctors had a median income of \$10,000 while male doctors earned \$25,000.

It has been argued that women doctors are less productive than men because they work fewer hours per week. Several studies have reached this conclusion, but Carol Lopate in her book *Women in Medicine* points out that women doctors live an average of 7 years longer than men and practice longer. Only 15 percent of all male physicians are active at age 60; the figure for women is 50 percent.

Not surprisingly, there is not a single woman in the AMA's House of Delegates, and only one who acts as alternate.

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The story of the virtual elimination of women as healers reflects deeply ingrained American views about women—how they saw themselves, and how they were seen by men.

It was not always so. In colonial times women took to healing as a matter of course. Few trained doctors emigrated to the New World, and even rudimentary medical schools did not appear in the colonies until the mid-18th century. A kind of people's medicine prevailed—whoever seemed talented in the healing arts became the healer. Sex did not matter. The colonists were pragmatic: if the patient lived the doctor was a success. And no Puritan woman would allow a male to deliver her infants.

Medical historian Richard Shryock says: "Both men and women engaged in medical practice at will, often combining it with other pursuits." He adds that the favorite remedies practiced by a well-known clergyman of the time were borrowed from a Hartford blacksmith.

These early healers learned their medicine at their mother's knee, from books, and from other doctors. Thus the apprentice system was born—a method of medical education which survived until the end of the 19th century. Young people who wanted to learn medicine attached themselves to practicing physicians, at first in the capacity of near servants—cleaning equipment, mixing medicines, running errands. As they gained experience they started caring for patients, and eventually were able to set up practice on their own. Since there were few licensing procedures in the early days of the Republic, almost anyone could proclaim himself a doctor.

The establishment of university-connected medical schools paral-

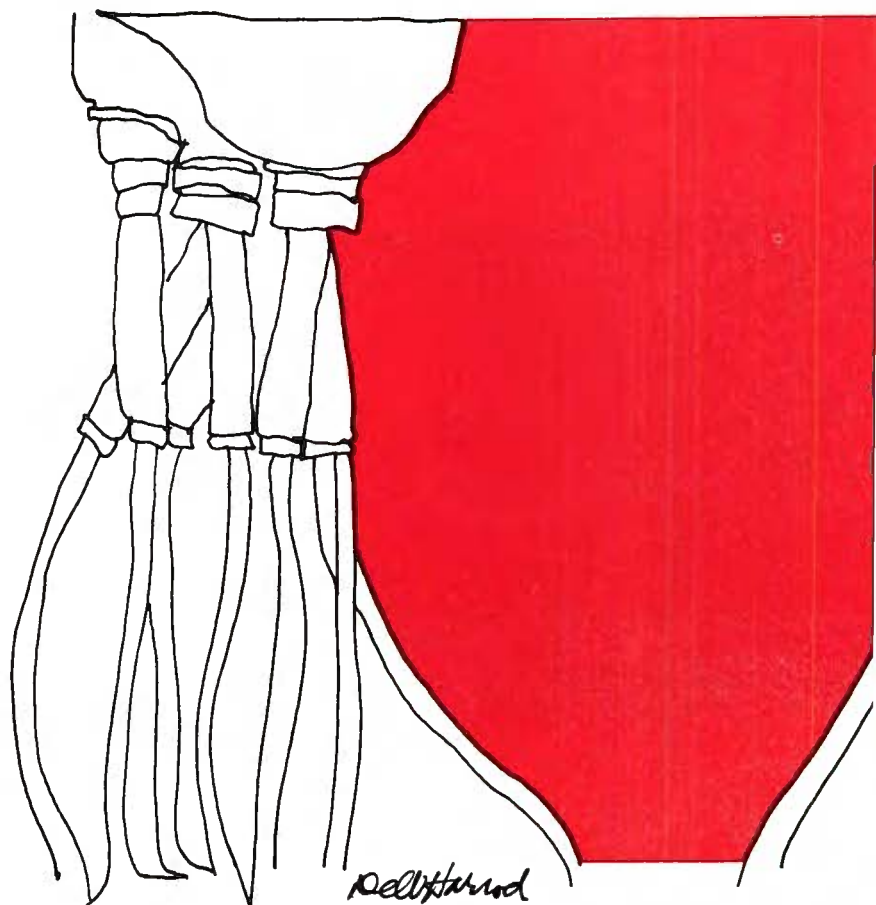
leled development of the apprentice system. Physicians graduating from them were called "regulars." In 1765 Dr. John Morgan founded the first American medical school in Philadelphia, which later became the University of Pennsylvania. The present day College of Physicians and Surgeons started in New York at Kings College (Columbia University) just before the Revolution, and Harvard set up a medical department in the 1780s. All were staffed by university-trained, upper class white males, educated at the great medical centers of Germany, France, and Britain.

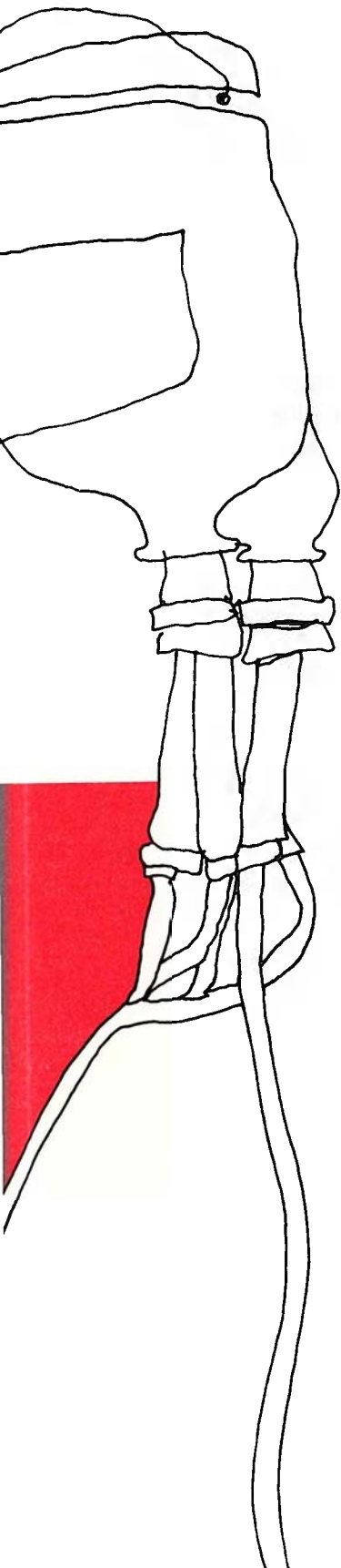
None of these schools admitted women, although Dr. William Shippen gave a famous course for midwives in Philadelphia in the 1760s. Indeed few women would have been in a position to apply,

since intellectually capable females rarely found their way into the universities.

After observing American society for several years, Alexis de Tocqueville concluded in 1840 that while young women were encouraged to lead self-reliant, active girlhoods, they were at the same time expected to marry early, surrender their independence, and become appendages of their husbands. Their homes became their cloister. Victorians believed that thinking was bad for women: one theory held that too much intellectual activity adversely affected their reproductive organs.

Most women believed what they were told and conformed to the expected pattern, but a few questioned the arrangement and attempted to lead different lives. For this they were ostracized and in-





sulted. They had to be tough-minded to continue. Harriot and Sarah Hunt were such women, self-trained Boston physicians who apprenticed themselves to a pair of British doctors. Attacked by their neighbors for “trusting in foreigners” and “resorting to quacks,” Harriot remarked: “We were not of the mettle to mind such nonsense.” Sarah married and raised a family, but Harriot continued to practice, periodically applying to Harvard. She was rejected three times on the grounds of “inexpediency”; it was never even hinted that she might be unqualified. Finally in 1850, after she had been a doctor for 18 years, she was admitted. She never attended Harvard because the all-male class of 1851 threatened to close down the school if women (and blacks, who were also at issue) were allowed to matriculate.

Elizabeth Blackwell, who received medical training equal to that of her male contemporaries, also faced endless obstacles. Her experience illustrates the rough time even the handful of well-trained women had to face. In 1849 the Medical College of Geneva University became the first “regular” school to award a medical degree to a woman, an action which prompted the New York State Medical Association to censure the school. The point was made; when Elizabeth’s younger sister Emily applied several years later she was denied admission. She subsequently received her M.D. from Western Reserve and spent 3 years of post-graduate study in Scotland.

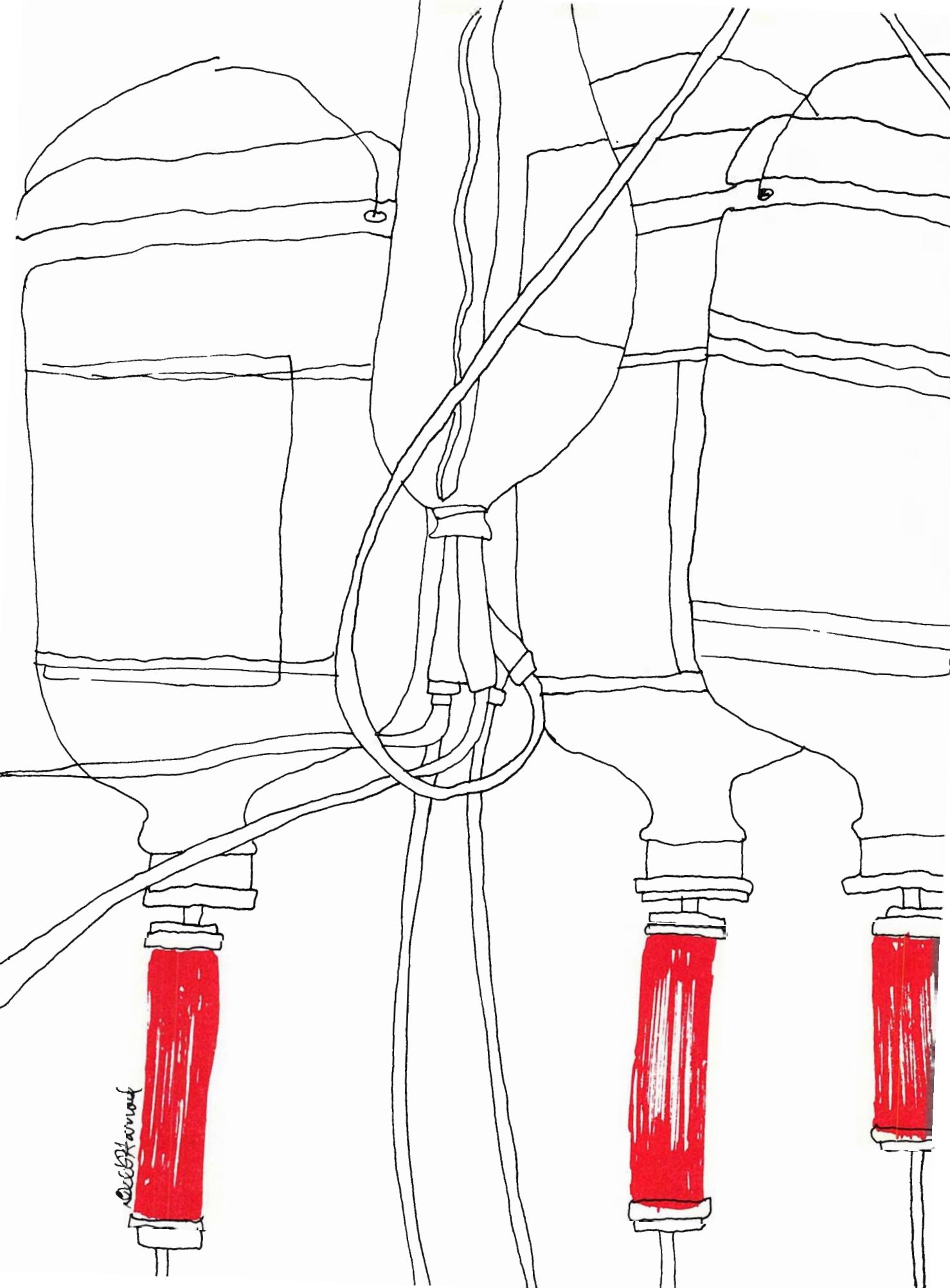
After graduation, Elizabeth, following the custom of the times, went to study abroad, only to find herself rejected by every hospital, clinic, and dispensary in France. She was finally accepted at La

Maternité, where she studied midwifery. Later she trained at Saint Bartholomew’s Hospital in London. When she returned to New York in 1851 no hospital would accept her on its staff. She established an office but male colleagues would not refer patients. It was only after she gave a series of private lectures that a few socially prominent families consulted her, thereby starting her on her way.

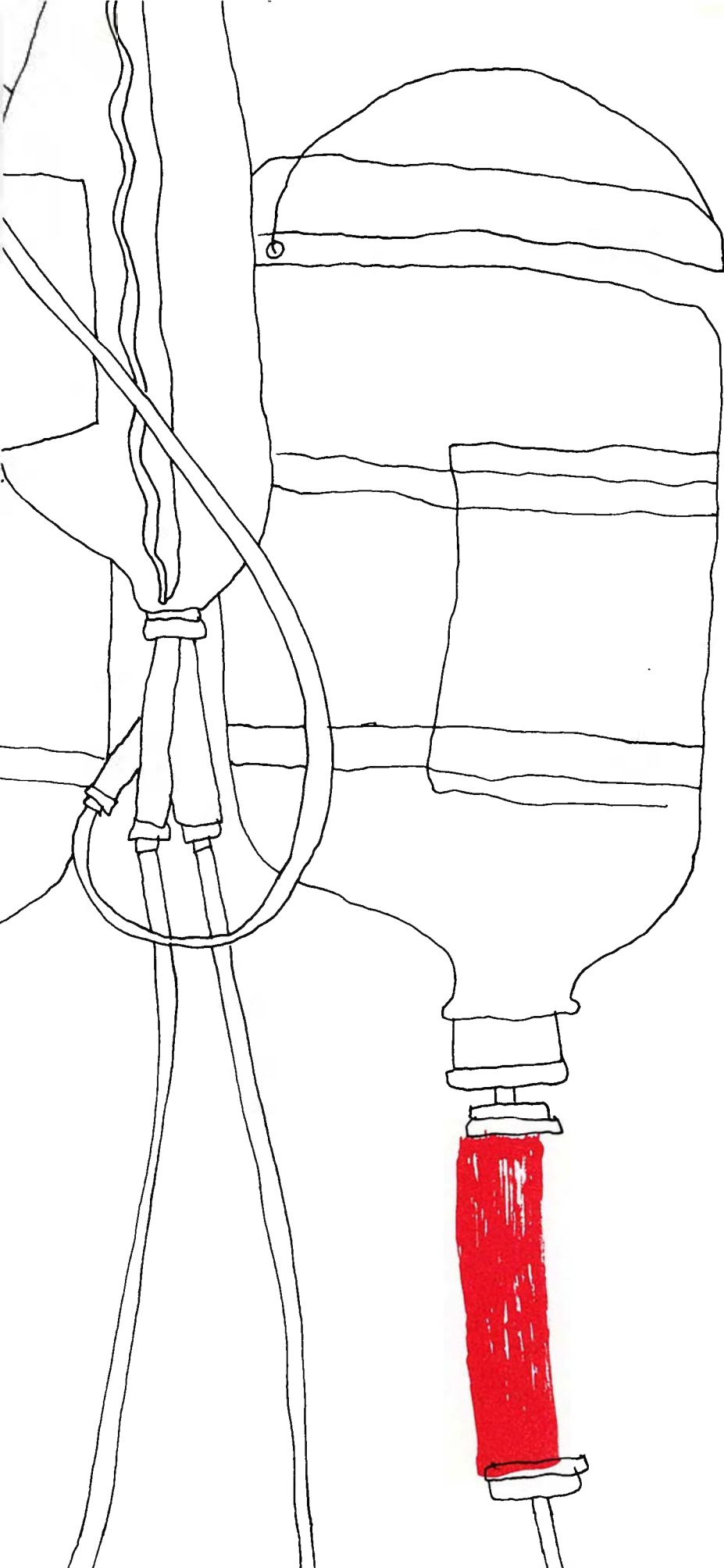
In 1857 Elizabeth and Emily started the New York Infirmiry for Women. It was there that Elizabeth instituted a kind of rudimentary medical social service, visiting indigent patients in their homes and instructing them in basic hygiene. Her philosophy was so sound that it became the model for Lillian Wald’s Henry Street settlement. The Blackwells were able to attract high caliber male and female colleagues and in 1868 opened the Women’s Medical College of the New York Infirmiry.

The Blackwell success story should not obscure the difficulties faced by 19th century women who decided to enter the medical profession. Few had the intellectual and financial resources of the Blackwell sisters. Those who were accepted by medical schools had to endure harassment by their fellow students and professors. If they made it through they were barred from hospital appointments and medical societies. Other doctors did not refer patients to them, and most could not start their own hospitals as did the Blackwells.

If women were eliminated from medicine on the grounds that the training was too intellectually demanding, a look at that training shows the absurdity of this idea. Essentially there was little science to learn. Treatment tended to be hit or miss. Most university-trained physicians used the so-



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called “heroic” methods—bleeding and purging—to contend with the little understood illnesses of the time.

While no one can prove that the cure was worse than the disease, even standard medical histories indicate that sickness was not the only cause of high mortality rates. Shryock says: “Just how fatal medical practice itself was, we do not know, since therapy was never listed among the causes of death.” And Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., an excellent physician himself, thought that if all the medicines used by the regular doctors were thrown into the sea it would be far better for men, though worse for the fishes.

To be fair, some good came out of the attempts of university-trained doctors to fathom disease. As early as 1721 Cotton Mather and Dr. Zabdiel Boylston reduced smallpox mortality in Boston from 15 to 2 percent by inoculating people with the disease virus—78 years before Edward Jenner came up with his admittedly safer method. And the regulars did make attempts at self-control, setting up short-lived licensing procedures State by State in the mid-18th century. Advances in medicine, particularly in pathology, provided new information about disease. Improvements in instrumentation (e.g., the stethoscope) and in recordkeeping allowed doctors to be less speculative in their diagnoses. Heroic measures were discredited.

By and large however, medicine was a freewheeling profession. In the 19th century sectarian schools proliferated the field in geometric progression. They flaunted their various systems as cure-alls. For example, the homeopaths, who followed the German physician Samuel Hahnemann, claimed that “like cures like”; that is, diseases

which exhibit certain symptoms can be cured by giving the patient drugs which mimic those symptoms. Thomsonianism used mild vegetable cures. Grahamism recommended proper diet, loose clothing, and frequent bathing.

Whatever the rationale, the cures were far gentler than massive bleeding or huge doses of laxatives. The sectarians were popular, perhaps because they preached common sense and relatively painless remedies. Since they probably did not kill patients in any greater numbers than the regulars, schools spreading their various programs sprang up by the dozens. Some were fairly good; others were dreadful. Many were patently commercial, graduating all students who could pay their fees in terms ranging from 6 months to 2 years. Since the tenuous licensing attempts of the 18th century had disappeared by this time, a diploma from any school became authority to practice.

The ease with which medical schools started in the 19th century had several effects on the profession as a whole and on women in particular. For a time it allowed women a toehold; a number of sectarian schools admitted females. By 1850 three women's medical colleges had also been established—one each in Boston, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.

But too many schools led to an oversupply of physicians, who were by and large of poor quality. By the end of the century the national average was one doctor for every 650 people, an insupportable ratio. The harsh economic realities of the situation caused competition and unprofessional conduct. The need for reform was obvious.

Several other things happened simultaneously which made regulation of the medical profession possible. European scientists dis-

covered that germs cause disease. For the first time a rational approach toward the prevention and cure of illness was available; now there was something to study at medical school. A small elite of American doctors rushed to Europe to learn the new science. They returned determined to start a German-style institution, stressing high quality teaching and research.

Meanwhile, enormous industrial fortunes had accumulated, resulting in philanthropy of the Rockefeller and Carnegie variety. Johns Hopkins, a Baltimore magnate, left \$7 million to start a university and hospital in his home town. No strings were attached to his bequest, but the theory behind Hopkins' gift was to gather together the finest minds in all fields and give them free rein.

The result was a 4-year medical school which required a college degree and a reading knowledge of French and German to enter. Compared to other schools these demands were so revolutionary that the great pathologist, William H. Welch, who was responsible for them, had a moment of panic as he wondered if indeed there would be any students who could meet them.

The Hopkins thesis worked. The men who started the medical school—Welch, Howard Kelly, William Halstead, Sir William Osler—became legendary figures in American medicine. Although they were pacesetters in the field of medical education, their attitudes toward women reflected the prevailing assumptions of their day. They never intended to admit women to Johns Hopkins. That they were forced to was a fluke caused by the finances of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. The part of Hopkins' fortune which had been reserved for the medical school was invested in B&O stock. Just when they were

needed, the depressed B&O stopped paying dividends. It seemed the building of the medical school would have to be delayed, and other institutions began eyeing the Hopkins celebrities.

A group of women, all daughters of the trustees, formed a national committee and raised \$500,000. They refused to turn over the money, however, until the board agreed to accept women on the same terms as they did men. The ladies' demand caused a furor: the trustees refused, then negotiated, and finally capitulated. Welch, who later admitted he was wrong, said his strong opposition at the time stemmed from his feelings that he could not say indelicate things in front of women.

The stage was set. Now a yardstick existed along with millions of Carnegie dollars waiting to be spent on reforming medical education. All that was needed were facts. The Carnegie Foundation hired Abraham Flexner to evaluate existing medical schools. Flexner visited them all, probing their standards of admission, faculties, endowments, and laboratory and hospital connections.

The Flexner report, published in 1910, came down hard on all schools, since none of them met the Hopkins standard. It caused a sensation. Reported Flexner: "The medical profession and faculties of the medical schools, as well as the State boards of examiners, were absolutely flabbergasted by the pitiless exposure. We were threatened with lawsuits, and in one instance actually sued for libel. . . . I received anonymous letters warning me that I should be shot if I showed myself in Chicago."

The schools Flexner supported were those that were the best established, with better faculties and more stable endowments. They re-

ceived huge infusions of foundation money. Others closed by the droves. Women found that many of the institutions which had opened their doors to them were simply no longer there. Though they had never really been "in," women were now "out" more than ever.

The last great battle for control within the medical profession was fought between the obstetricians and the midwives. Since colonial times women had attended each other in childbirth, and as recently as 1910, 50 percent of all infants were still delivered by midwives. Immigration was high at this time and midwives serviced the growing population of European arrivals as well as blacks who were moving from the South to the cities. Only the rich could afford obstetricians.

The upper classes may have thought they were getting more for their money, but they were wrong; both midwives and obstetricians left much to be desired. Maternal mortality in the U.S. was high, due largely to puerperal sepsis—infection resulting from childbirth. Neonatal ophthalmia, an eye inflammation which causes blindness in infants, was another hazard. Both could be prevented; the first by antiseptic procedures, the second by using eyedrops.

Doctors accused midwives of being ignorant, incompetent, and filthy. But general practitioners were equally unreliable. Obstetrics was the weakest of the newly emerging specialties. The average medical student witnessed one delivery during his training. Even at the 20 best medical schools, he saw only four. Frances E. Kobrin points out that the neglect of obstetrics meant that "poor schools with poor facilities and poor professors were turning out incompetent products who lost more patients from improper practice than midwives did

from infection."

Public debate focused on two ways of dealing with the problem. The obstetricians and their supporters wanted midwives outlawed. They said midwives were robbing them of large numbers of clinically valuable cases which set back obstetrical research. This fit conveniently with a more veiled objection, that midwives controlled a practice worth \$5 million a year. Claiming they were the only ones competent to deliver babies, the doctors doubted that a midwife could ever attain an "aseptic conscience." They tried to cast the battle in terms of the need for professionalism.

But the facts were not necessarily on their side. Their opponents favored upgrading the midwives' training and instituting licensing procedures. Supporters of this public health approach noted that it had worked successfully in England and Germany, where midwives were better trained than most American doctors. Where tried, it worked in the United States as well.

For example, Newark established an educational program for midwives between 1914 and 1916. Maternal deaths were reduced from 5.3 to 1.7 per 1000 for those women who received both prenatal care and delivery by a trained midwife. In Boston, where midwives had been outlawed, the rate was 6.5. Infant mortality declined more than fourfold as a result of the Newark program. Schools for midwives in New York and Philadelphia also had good results.

These facts should have been sufficient to quiet the doctors, since they had no more science behind them than the midwives. The objection that midwives obstructed research was also unsound: doctors were still delivering 50 percent of all babies. On the other hand, mid-

wives offered a kind of care doctors could not. They took over household duties and attended mother and newborn for more than a week after delivery, all for a lower fee than doctors charged. Had the standards of midwives been raised, women would have been able to choose how they would have their babies. A similar option is offered the public today by psychologists and psychiatrists, two different kinds of professionals whose functions overlap.

Despite all this, midwives lost out completely. In State after State they were outlawed. Women were eliminated from a branch of medicine which traditionally and historically had been theirs. It was not only a matter of sex: it was clearly both an economic and class conflict. But the overriding consideration was that both sexes accepted the secondary position of women, and along with it the stereotype that male meant "better."

It can happen again today. Women are entering medicine in greater numbers, but pitfalls still exist. One is that women will not rise above the level of assistant professor. Another is the delineation of certain specialties as "female." This has begun to happen in pediatrics (which is 22 percent female), child psychiatry (25 percent), and public health (20 percent). Raised eyebrows still meet women surgeons, of whom there are only 59. And if the move toward paraprofessionalism in health care gains ground, there is always the danger that this new field will become overwhelmingly female, as has nursing.

Even as women improve their position, they must guard against unconscious attitudes which are self-limiting at the same time they fight for recognition in a male-dominated profession.

A Report From Pine Ridge

CONDITIONS ON THE OGLALA
SIOUX RESERVATION

The report which follows is printed here to provide some insight into the situation behind the headlines at Pine Ridge. It is only one view of the troubles besetting the Oglala Sioux and emphasizes the social and economic conditions underlying the political battles which continue to rage within and outside the tribe. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has produced a report on the contested Oglala Sioux election; copies are available from the Commission's Office of Information and Publications, Washington, D.C. 20425. Other accounts of the situation at Pine Ridge can be found in the Indian newspapers Wassaja, 1451 Masonic Ave., San Francisco, Calif. 94117, and Akwesasne Notes, Mohawk Nation, via Roosevelttown, N.Y. 13688. The commission mentioned in this report is the Secretarial Commission of the Department of the Interior, not the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.—Editor.

On March 17, 1975, the Secretary of the Interior, upon the recommendation of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, appointed a Secretarial Commission specifically to study and make recommendations regarding the Pine Ridge Reservation, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Briefly, the Secretary appointed the commission because of increasing reports of violence and the alleged breakdown of law and order on the Pine

Ridge Reservation, and in the belief that the immediate situation could be indicative of a broader range of current problems on the reservation.

He directed that the commission identify all current problems, determine their underlying causes, and recommend solutions to the current problems as well as approaches to resolution of any underlying causes.

The commission estimates that it met and talked with about 1,000 members of the Oglala Sioux Tribe and approximately 200 other officials and individuals during 5 weeks of field visits. The commission found the Oglala Sioux people to be very courteous, gracious, cooperative, and willing to share their concerns and problems with commission members. It is the unanimous judgment of the commission that the Oglala Sioux people are most anxious to resolve their problems and seek out solutions to improve their quality of life.

The philosophy of the commission at all times during our dialogue with the Oglala Sioux people was to be honest and straightforward. The commission members made no promises that were not within the power of the commission to keep.

One issue expressed generally by older members of the tribe, those who identify themselves as the "traditionalists," the "real Oglala Sioux people," the "real Indians," etc., of wanting to revert to their 1868 treaty form of tribal government, was an issue to which the commission consistently responded as



being beyond our administrative authority. The commission consistently advised the people that it was our judgment that this issue was within the authorities of the judiciary, and perhaps further within the legislative authorities of the Congress.

The commission found and observed several external forces of individuals in the public and private sector that were keeping the Oglala Sioux people in a constant state of confusion and chaos over this issue. It is the judgment of this commission that the state of confusion over this issue is a contributing factor in the problems the existing tribal council is facing in conducting tribal business.

Pine Ridge is both unique and typical. Remedies, to be effective, must be especially tailored and carefully implemented to consider those things that are unique about Pine Ridge. Sadly enough it will become obvious that most of the underlying causes are all too typical of too many Indian reservations. The need to evaluate the situation has been brought painfully to light by a deplorable breakdown in law and order on the Pine Ridge Reservation and other nearby areas of South Dakota. The Oglala Sioux people know that this manifestation of despair and frustration represents only the tip of the iceberg. We must listen to them.

Identifying the Problems

Law and Order. Citizen respect for the reservation law enforcement activities is at an all-time low.

Police morale is bad. Facilities and equipment are inadequate. Necessary support from the Federal courts and Justice Department has been inadequate.

Tribal Government. Tribal government lacks the necessary resources to provide responsive and responsible leadership.

Federal Program Administration. Most Federal programs could be more efficiently administered. Strong innovative leadership is needed to deliver effective services. Leaders, to be effective, must have continuing support from their superiors and set good examples for their subordinates.

Economic Underachievement. In over one-third of the Indian households on Pine Ridge, no one works. About 40 percent of those who are employed are significantly underemployed; in sharp contrast, non-Indian residents of the reservation and nearby communities enjoy reasonable standards of living. Many derive significant portions of their income from Indian resources or from activities associated with Federal programs intended to serve Indians.

It is obvious from the public meetings that large numbers of the Oglala people are uninformed in the workings of tribal and Federal government. They do not understand how the peoples' needs and desires are reflected in the program plans of the tribal government, BIA, and other agencies and how all these programs relate to each other.

It is also apparent that program administrators do not properly coordinate their delivery of services

with other program administrators. The interdependency of programs and services and their apparent lack of responsiveness is graphically illustrated by the example of the individual desiring housing on his own land. Here, the necessary coordination of housing construction, access roads construction, water supply development, and real property management arrangements are often presented as unsurmountable obstacles to the client when they could be overcome with some imagination, cooperation, and dedication of all concerned.

The Pine Ridge Reservation

The Pine Ridge Reservation is in southwest South Dakota in Bennett, Shannon, and Washabaugh Counties. It adjoins the Rosebud Reservation on the east, and the Nebraska State line is the southern boundary of the reservation. The White River cuts northeasterly across the western quarter of the reservation, then flows in an easterly direction to form the northern boundary. It adjoins the southeastern fringe of the Black Hills.

When the great Sioux Reservation was formally destroyed in 1889 to pave the way for Statehood for South Dakota, the Oglalas were temporarily provided a home of approximately 2.8 million acres of rolling grasslands with scattered stands of brush and non-commercial timber. Two-thirds of western South Dakota only temporarily satisfied the flood of settlers, and pressures were soon brought to bear to further diminish the remaining Indian lands. The Oglalas' land was less desirable to the white man than that of most other Sioux tribes. Therefore, they fared somewhat better than most in the period from 1889-1934 which saw many tribes become almost landless and numerically overwhelmed on their own reservations. The Oglalas retained slightly more than half of their reservation lands. White settlers acquired most of the better lands and through selective acquisition were able to control effective use of larger areas.

At present there are approximately 1.1 million acres of allotted lands, 430,000 acres of tribal lands, and 87,000 acres of Government lands, administered primarily for the benefit of Indians, within the original 1889 reservation boundaries.

The transportation net of the reservation is only minimally adequate for through traffic and inadequate for local needs. It is a definite handicap in the delivery of services to reservation residents. Lack of private access roads, proper maintenance, and under-design are the principle deficiencies. Communications are not available from all communities to the agency

and tribal offices at Pine Ridge.

Current population of the reservation can only be stated in approximate terms. Approximately 12,000 Indians and 3,500 non-Indians live on the reservation. Several characteristics of the two groups are markedly different.

The Indian population is considerably younger than the non-Indian. The median age for Indians is about 16 years. The median for non-Indians approaches 28 years. The non-Indian population is stable or declining slightly, while the Indian population is growing rapidly. The combination of these characteristics creates a rather atypical situation. The work force—that is, the part of the total population available for work—is about 3,000 which is much smaller than it would be for a rural, non-Indian population of the same size; yet unemployment is still approximately 40 percent. Of those employed, many are underemployed.

The entire region within which Pine Ridge is located is basically one of a rural, agricultural economy, though agriculture is not the principal source of employment for Indians. Federal and tribal government are the principal sources of employment. Construction and industry, self-employment in agriculture, and salaried employment in agriculture combined provide employment opportunities slightly less than government. There are no indications of potential for mineral development in the area except for pottery clay and local construction materials. Agriculture, tourism, and service industries are all underdeveloped on the reservation. The vast majority of employment opportunities are in the village of Pine Ridge or within a very short distance of it.

Indian participation in the economy is disproportionately small. It is particularly low in the local service industries. Average per capita and family incomes are quite low. Conversely the non-Indian population of the reservation area scores better than the national average on most accepted economic indicators.

All of the industries which directly utilize reservation resources are underdeveloped. Actual production and Indian participation in agriculture and tourism can be increased. The BIA and the tribe have reams of plans, blueprints, and studies in these areas. There is a great need for the expansion and improvement of the service industries. The outflow of dollars from the reservation represents a tremendous loss of jobs and a decrease in the quality of life. All families in the area spend disproportionate shares of their



incomes traveling great distances to secure supplies and services.

The average payroll dollar turns over less than once on the reservation. A well-rounded, fully-developed economy characteristically recycles the "original" dollar of the foundation industries from five to seven times through complete local services. The labor force represents a tremendous potential resource for a variety of industrial developments.

The current unrest is a stumbling block in the path of economic development. Poor transportation and communication facilities have been detriments for some time. The lack of services and low level of confidence in tribal and BIA administrative capabilities have also been cited as contributing factors.

Management Problems

In 1973 a private firm conducted an intensive review of the management activities and capabilities of tribal government and Federal program operations at Pine Ridge. Many useful observations were made. The commission noted a lack of significant improvement in the problem areas cited in this report. In some areas, the situation had deteriorated further. The charge of the commission requires that the current situation be defined in terms of 1) effective and efficient communications; 2) understanding and acceptance of the roles, functions, authorities, and responsibilities and

relationships; 3) development, implementation, and effectiveness of policies, programs, and services; 4) quality, efficiency, and effectiveness of Federal and tribal law enforcement programs and the judicial system.

Within the Bureau of Indian Affairs necessary communication can be divided into two areas. They are the exchange of administrative directions through the formal organization and the exchange of basic data required to formulate plans, coordinate services, and monitor programs. There is much room for improvement in both of these areas. The major thing hampering the flow of administrative direction was a personality conflict situation which was a manifestation of the general unsettled situation at Pine Ridge. Communication is guarded and restricted at most levels. The exchange of program data is hampered by outmoded administrative techniques, program jealousy, and large numbers of vacant key positions.

Within the tribe, it appears that formal communication between various factions of tribal government has been almost completely suspended.

Between the tribe and Bureau of Indian Affairs, formal communication had been seriously limited. Various bureau and tribal people attempted to maintain necessary communications links to continue their functions through informal relationships.

The continual state of change and unrest that has

prevailed over the last few years does not produce a climate that is particularly ideal for dealing with difficult situations. In general, Bureau employees at Pine Ridge appeared to be insecure—unsure of the mission of the Bureau and uncertain of their role in it. The relative functions of the agency, area, and central offices are perceived in varying ways. The most recent reorganization at the agency was not given full support or fair trial by a significant number of Bureau employees at many levels. It was prejudged before it was fully implemented.

It appears that most tribal employees and officials' understanding of their respective roles are based more on individual perceptions than leadership and information. Both the tribe and the BIA are quick to point to the others' shortcomings.

Programs and Policies

Most written policies appear to be adequate on the surface. They are subject to a great deal of distortion in implementation due to lack of clear and concise policy guidance which has resulted in, among other things, the Pine Ridge community receiving a higher ratio of services than outlying communities. Many policies reflect assumptions based on so-called "full staffing levels" and have no provisions for setting priorities when resources are limited or reduced.

One policy matter, treaty rights, continually confronted the commission. While most people understood that the commission was powerless to act on treaty matters, they mentioned it in relation to virtually every topic that was discussed. It is clear that the determinations that have been made in regard to the 1868 treaty have not been adequately communicated to the Sioux people.

Key findings with regard to the most critical or controversial programs were as follows:

Land Management. Status of trust land ownership records is inadequate and hampers the ability of the tribe to pursue an adequate land acquisition and management program. Area and agency resources are not efficiently utilized to complement each other in solving this problem.

Many landowners are not confident that the stocking rates and conservation practices established by Bureau technicians are adequate to protect the reservation resources. Many landowners expressed concern that they are not consulted in decisions regarding management of their lands. Many landowners feel that it is unnecessarily difficult for them to make use of their own lands. It appears that communication between the majority of landowners



and Bureau technicians regarding administrative and conservation management of reservation resources has been nonproductive or nonexistent.

Transportation and Communication. Lack of adequate transportation, specifically roads, was cited by all communities and all program directors as a factor in increasing cost and decreasing effectiveness of services delivered. Equipment management practices on the reservation are a source of shame and consternation to many. Inefficient equipment and program management are partly responsible for a large construction and maintenance backlog. Road construction activities produce little in the way of local training and employment. Local people resent outsiders performing tasks they feel qualified for.

Agency Organization and Administration. The commission heard many comments and complaints about the delivery of services. The argument was that all services are delivered at Pine Ridge, and very few services get out to the outlying districts. The headquarters of the reservation is Pine Ridge and approximately one-third of the reservation population resides there or nearby in the Wakapami district. Yet the strong comments and feelings expressed by the people from outlying districts regarding inequitable distribution of services would indicate that something is wrong.

Within the past year the BIA Superintendent established a district administrator system. In four of the districts the school principal had been selected as the District Administrator, and all four were still acting in their former positions, performing both jobs. In another district the criminal investigator had been selected as District Administrator, also still performing both jobs. In the other two districts there were full-time administrators. All five of the administrators with dual jobs complained they had been given no resources or staff to perform effectively in the administrator role.

The workload at Pine Ridge demands strong, effective leadership in the position of Superintendent. The volume and diversity of work are such that establishment of a Deputy Superintendent's position would be a worthwhile investment.

Tribally Controlled Programs. The commission heard many complaints about the cluster type housing sponsored by the Department of Housing and Urban Development. The life styles and culture of the Indian people simply do not allow for forced transition into such close living arrangements. Many people stated adamantly that they would not live in cluster housing, preferring to remain in their old

houses out in the country. Further, they frequently requested housing on their own places.

It is the consensus of the commission that this cluster housing may well be a heavy contributing factor to the violence on the reservation. Most adults are unemployed and problem drinking is common. Children have no playgrounds, no planned recreational program, and hence in such close living arrangements frequently become juvenile delinquents.

In addition to the great dissatisfaction with the cluster housing programs, there is general suspicion regarding the overall housing program. It is widely held that these programs are steeped in nepotism and patronage.

Domestic Water Supply. The U.S. Public Health Service has a program which provides for the development of domestic water supplies. This program has been contracted to the tribe. The tribe has increased their well drilling and well repair and renovation program during the past year. They are presently operating three well drilling crews with a capacity to drill a total of 120 wells per year. There are well over 500 well development requests backed up this year.

The people are confused about the fact that they are required to pay in advance to have a well drilled or repairs on existing water systems while PHS receives funds each year to perform these services. The people who live in the districts feel that the decision on who will get their well drilled or serviced is based on political affiliation and not on need.

Many isolated Indian families are using streams as a source of domestic water. The water used from the streams is not treated in any manner. Many dead cattle are in the streams and watershed and this would appear to be a major health hazard. Many people are turned down on their housing requests because they do not have a domestic water supply on their property.

Tribal Government Operations

Were it not for the present state of tribal government, the Bureau would surely be the focal point for much more criticism than it currently receives. Lack of meaningful support for tribal government from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and ineffectiveness in dealing with underlying causes may be as responsible for the complaints about tribal government as the tribal government itself.

The tribe accepted the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, by a narrow



margin of 75 votes in October 1934. The tribe is currently governed by a constitution and bylaws adopted in December 1935 pursuant to Section 16 of that act. The tribe did not, however, adopt a corporate charter pursuant to Section 17 of that act.

The governing body of the tribe is the tribal council. The current council was elected in January 1974 to serve a 2-year term. The council is composed of a president and a vice-president elected at large and 20 councilmen apportioned according to population among eight political subdivisions called "communities." Since each of these subdivisions has one or more towns or other settlements within it, the term "community" causes some confusion, and the communities are also referred to as districts.

Each community or district also elects a district president and such other officers as it considers necessary annually. The communities have complex historical origins and probably for that reason are expressly empowered by the constitution to consult directly with Federal representatives.

The tribe also has an executive committee composed of the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and a fifth member, the last three of whom are selected by the tribal council from among the councilmen. The Superintendent was a member of this committee until the bylaws were amended in 1969. When the council is not in session, the committee acts on its behalf. The tribal council has not, in fact, been meeting regularly for more than a year;

since April 1974, it has met approximately eight times.

In the past, the executive committee has had a practice of meeting once a week, although such meetings are not required by the constitution. Since April 1974, the committee has met about 10 times. When the council does not meet, the tribal president has relied on Resolution 72-55 adopted in November 1972 as a basis for his authority to function without either a tribal council or executive committee. The resolution was adopted in the wake of the takeover of the Washington Office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972.

After expressing their concern over the AIM movement, the council stated: "that the governing body of this Tribe, now assembled, pledges its full support to its Chairman, Dick Wilson, in any decision that he will make or in any action that he shall direct which will protect the property, interest, and dignity of the Oglala Sioux Tribe." There is no time limit on this statement of support and as a matter of law there may well be a question as to whether this resolution can properly be viewed as a delegation of any legislative authority to the tribal president.

Discussions with various tribal officials indicate to the commission that the Oglala Sioux tribe continually faces budgeting, financial accounting, and expenditure problems. The tribe prepares an annual tribal budget somewhat in excess of \$500,000 to

fund tribal programs and enterprises through numerous contracts with the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other Federal agencies. A serious problem arises because of the "lumpiness" or uneven receipt of cash. The bulk of the tribe's income is derived from rental of tribal land for grazing or agricultural use. In short, the tribe's income is received at one or two times during the year to cover salary or to fund programs. The administration of contracts with regard to advances or expenditures throughout the program is also uneven.

Tribal Membership

The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights report on the tribal election of 1974 points out a serious problem for the Oglala Sioux tribe in the area of inadequate tribal membership rolls. The unavailability of a current tribal roll stands in the way of development of many eligibility determinations. Determinations are now made on the basis of BIA-maintained census records. Without such a roll, it is practically impossible to establish eligibility for tribal programs of many kinds.

In addition to benefits and services, eligibility to vote is dependent on membership in the tribe. Irregularities in the last tribal election in January 1974 are documented in the Federal court case of *Means v. Wilson* and in the exhaustive investigation and report by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The tribe's own election board had already identified the problem immediately and made specific recommendations in the report it filed only 12 days after the election.

The report of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights recommended that an immediate effort be made to establish an accurate voting list. The report has also raised serious questions as to the propriety of the Secretary of the Interior continuing to recognize and deal with a tribal governing body when he cannot guarantee that the people with whom he is dealing properly represent the tribe.

It is a fundamental legal proposition that membership in an Indian tribe is a matter for the tribe to decide. However, the Secretary, in the discharge of his trust responsibilities, has a responsibility to assist the tribe with its membership problems. This is particularly true when questions of membership affect the right to vote, which in turn would determine with whom the Secretary deals as the duly elected representatives of the tribe.

Judicial Services

Funds for the judicial services are provided from a

variety of sources. Tribal funds are combined with BIA funds. The Federal funds are administered under a number of contract agreements. These contracts appear to be vague, somewhat uncoordinated in design and administration, and inadequately funded. One matter of concern voiced by the people was the lack of an adequate appeal procedure. This was one specific item that was called for by the judicial services contract. People also expressed concern that tribal attorneys were being utilized improperly. This all seems to point toward inadequate contract administration.

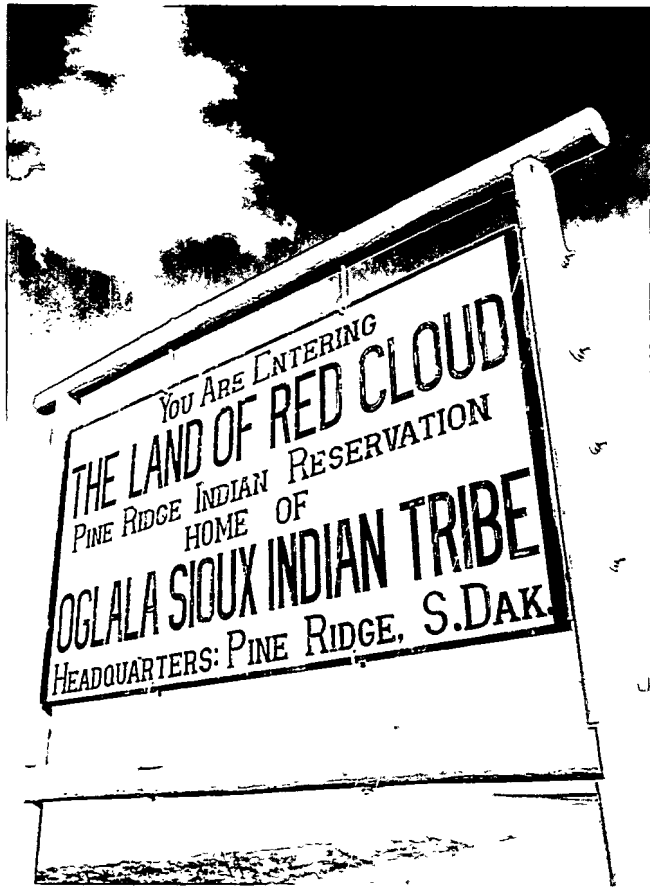
The present tribal court staff consists of a chief judge, an associate judge, an acting juvenile court judge, a lay prosecutor, two permanent clerks, and two trainee clerks.

The chief judge normally is appointed. This time, due to disagreement in the tribal government, he was chosen by referendum vote. His associates are appointed with advice and consent of the tribal council. Many people stated that all judges should be elected by the people and the Chief Judge was not qualified. They recommend that a law-trained judge be Chief Judge. Other complaints were voiced:

The present court facilities are inadequate. The lack of funds for the present system has made a jury trial impossible. Alcohol-related offenses take up most of the court's time, while more serious offenses go unpunished due to lack of funds for a jury trial. The salaries for the staff are not commensurate with responsibilities. The court records system is inadequate due to lack of proper filing procedures and space. A new staffing pattern should be developed for the reservation court system and funds are needed to implement the system as soon as possible. Additional emergency and continuing funding is required to upgrade the present system until a new system can be implemented. The court system is not centrally located on the reservation resulting in poor services to outlying communities.

The tribal court is in Pine Ridge with more than one-third of the cases coming from the most outlying districts of Wamblee, Kyle, and Allen. The people from the outlying communities feel that a satellite court at Kyle would save time and money while providing more equitable judicial services to them.

Many people feel that FBI agents working at Pine Ridge should have special training to deal with



Indian cases.

The present BIA criminal investigations staff is untrained and inadequate. The Assistant U.S. Attorney is reluctant to accept direct referral of cases from BIA criminal investigators without a thorough discussion with the investigators before making a determination to prosecute. Informal discussion sessions about key elements of major crimes have taken place between BIA investigators and the U.S. Attorney in the past, but these sessions were discontinued due to the time and distance involved for the investigators. The Assistant U.S. Attorney is not opposed to working with the BIA staff if they can overcome time and travel limitations.

The BIA criminal investigators often complete their investigations before the FBI investigators arrive on the scene. Indian people are reluctant to talk to FBI agents, thus requiring the agent to plagiarize the BIA report or backtrack the BIA investigator over the case with the same result.

The U.S. Attorney had attempted to carry on the discussions by phone, but this practice was stopped

when the U.S. Attorney had reason to believe that the Pine Ridge phones were tapped.

Many people stated that due to the large number of cases on the reservation, a full-time Federal magistrate should be stationed on the reservation to hold arraignments and preliminary hearings in felony cases to cut the time between arrest and prosecution.

Many people also expressed concern over the delays in authorizing prosecution of persons who have committed major crimes. This action is the duty of the U.S. Attorney. They stated that one man had killed three people after being arrested and released after each incident because the police couldn't hold him without proper charges from the U.S. Attorney.

The U.S. Attorney was asked about delays in authorizing prosecution and he stated that this was due in part to lack of staff, plus delays in FBI investigations which are required in all major crime cases.

The U.S. Attorney indicated that security of personnel at Pine Ridge is a fatal weakness in the suggestion that a magistrate be stationed there due to the present atmosphere of lawlessness. However, if security could be assured and a "day certain" set for hearings he would agree to having a magistrate, FBI agents, and prosecutors come to Pine Ridge.

Even if the investigations and prosecutions were authorized, the logjam of cases in Federal district court would still be a problem. The Federal district judge stated that there is a need for an additional judge in South Dakota district court in order to meet the requirement for a speedy trial. The Federal judges have a backlog of over 100 criminal cases on the calendar, plus almost an equal number of civil cases.

Many witnesses are afraid to testify and prosecution witnesses frequently change their testimony at the time of trial. Investigations have shown that they have been threatened with bodily harm, are victims of bribery, or had honestly changed their minds. Many of the witnesses live in isolated areas without police protection and could easily become victims themselves.

Many cases were not authorized for prosecution due to poor investigations, failure to secure crime scenes resulting in the destruction of evidence, and failure to protect the chain of custody of secured evidence.

The detention facilities are deteriorated and inadequate. The jail is designed to house 28 prisoners. Commission members observed well over 100 prisoners detained on numerous occasions with a daily

average of 45 prisoners. The main cell block has no fresh air or sunlight access.

The prisoners prepare food for other prisoners without receiving medical checkups or proper food. Existing facilities and sanitation standards are not met. Most of the meals observed were warmed up TV dinners or frozen pies.

One problem that contributes to the lack of police protection is that officers must transport individuals arrested in outlying districts to Pine Ridge, a distance of 40 to 110 miles.

Law Enforcement

Many people feel that law enforcement has broken down on the reservation due to political, social, and economic conditions.

The commission found some of the present police officers to be dedicated and competent; however, some are not officer material and most lack proper training and familiarization with their authorities and the laws they are supposed to enforce.

There were 19 officers who were in effect manpower trainees and lacked background investigation, basic qualifications, police training, or experience—yet these officers were assigned regular duties without supervision or assistance. Out of a police force of 46 officers, only 13 are permanent Civil Service police officers with proper background investigations and credentials.

The captain of police who supervises over 40 employees is graded at GS-7. Many of the shift supervisors are temporary GS-3s. The investigations branch handles over 300 reported felony cases per year and this function is handled by two GS-5 trainee criminal investigators.

The morale of the department is very low due to improper grade structure, lack of leadership, poor uniforms and equipment, unqualified persons assigned to leadership positions, and political pressures.

The department has very few officers who have completed the Bureau's Police Academy. None of the criminal investigators have formal training. There is no inservice training program in a formal sense. Training facilities are inadequate or nonexistent. Training has not been received by detention, juvenile, probation, or parole officers.

Selective enforcement is a major concern of the people on the reservation. This practice was admitted by many of the officers. They related the practice to family and political ties.

Many people do not bother to file charges or

complaints because of the long distance to Pine Ridge from their district communities. In the event someone was to go to Pine Ridge to file a complaint with the tribal court, they are required to make a round trip of well over 200 miles in some instances. Bad road conditions and poor transportation also contribute to the problem. They also stated that many people don't have jobs, and therefore don't have the money necessary to pay for an extended trip of this nature.

Alcohol and drug abuse is another major concern in every community. Bootleggers operate openly and freely on the reservation although possession is against the law. Alcohol and drug abuse is involved in a majority of the cases of offenders.

There is a very small prevention program operating in Pine Ridge, but it is inadequate in all respects. There are no alcohol or drug rehabilitation programs on the reservation.

The relations between the police force and the public are very negative in all respects. Great dissatisfaction with the police was expressed in all meetings. The people related experiences with selective enforcement, harassment, intimidation, drunken officers, and general nonprofessional activities and abuses.

The people stated they would rather have non-Indian officers than officers with political or family ties on the reservation or in their communities. They would like officers to live in and be a part of their communities.

The police vehicles and equipment on the reservation are in poor condition. Most vehicles are in need of repair and safety equipment. Many vehicles are legally unsafe for highway operation. The vehicles have been abused, are dirty, and are not maintained properly. Many are worn out and require replacement.

The police officers do not have proper uniforms and present a very unprofessional appearance.

The equipment is scattered and not properly inventoried, maintained, or managed. Much of the equipment has been lost or stolen. Junked and stripped police vehicles were parked in the police lot adjacent to the jail. The basement of the jail is filled with junk equipment, confiscated evidence, old records, and other outdated and useless items.

The present FY 75 budget of \$341,000 is inadequate to initiate the needed changes to upgrade the law enforcement program.

Some district people voiced concern over unclear police jurisdiction between the State, county, and

BIA. They stated that in some instances Indians are treated unfairly, while in other cases Indian offenders are not arrested because of unclear jurisdictional authorities.

The situation illustrates graphically that there is more to an effective law enforcement program than mere numbers of people designated as policemen. Proper training, organization, and leadership are as important as numbers. The present patchwork police force could be characterized as an armed, only slightly controllable faction of the community rather than a coherent stabilizing force. It is necessary that the pay and grade structure at Pine Ridge be competitive with other agencies in order to attract qualified career employees to perform under very difficult living and working conditions. A continuing effort toward improvement of grade structure, training, career ladder, and other morale factors are necessary to accomplish the goal of an efficient law enforcement program at Pine Ridge.

Underlying Causes

Little is to be learned or gained from projecting what the world of the Oglala might be like if he had never encountered the white man in conflict. We can, however, profit from briefly examining the period from 1887-1934. As many Indian tribes, the Oglala among them, were settled on reservations containing land suitable for homesteading purposes, white settlers immediately began to protest the "waste" of these large land areas. The American ideal of rugged, exploitative individualism was at its height. Indian values, particularly tribalism and communalism, were either misunderstood or denied.

The policy of allotment was touted as many things. It was applied and managed to "civilize" the Indian and make more land available for white settlement. It was widely held in the late 1800's that a brief period of being an individual landowner would remove all desire on the part of Indians to retain any tribal or even Indian identity.

The policy of allotment achieved only one of its objectives—that of making more land available for white settlement. The Indian Reorganization Act recognized the need for tribal governments in 1934 and laid the foundation for assisting in their development.

More recently an Indian Policy Review Commission was created to examine the needs for policy formulation or modification in Indian affairs. The Department of the Interior should cooperate with the efforts of the Commission and support any

resultant legislative recommendations which may relieve some of the problems identified at Pine Ridge which are also shared by other Indian reservations.

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Act provides a valuable mechanism for strengthening tribal government. The weakness of tribal government has been noted as contributing to many problems at Pine Ridge. Adequate appropriations and technical assistance under section 104 of the act would prove valuable to tribal government development efforts at Pine Ridge.

Positive definition and codification of jurisdictional issues is a must. This should not be limited to criminal matters, but include the full realm of civil and governmental issues.

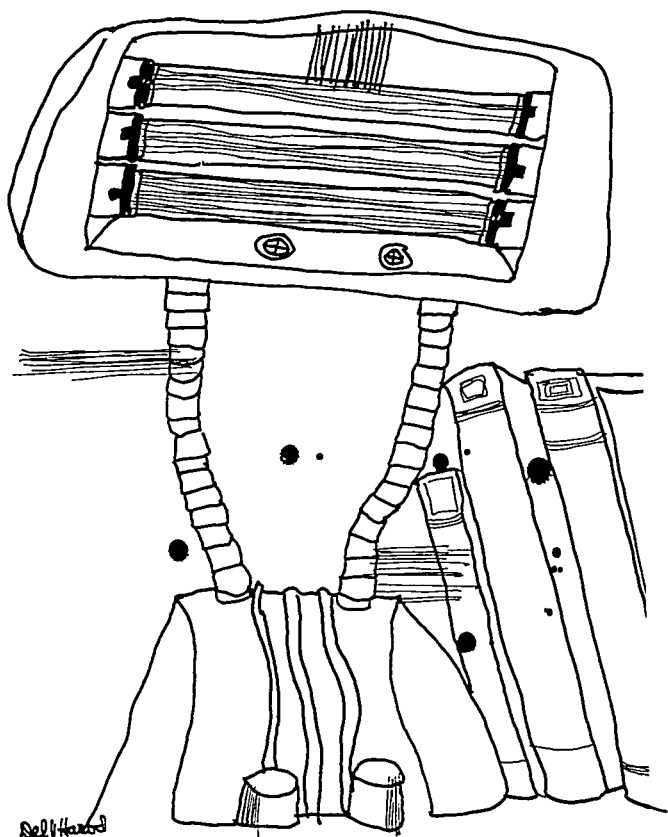
The Department and BIA have found themselves without adequate authority to compensate innocent people who suffered extensive losses of personal property at Wounded Knee, 1973, as a result of the violent confrontation between militants and Federal law enforcement personnel. This small group of people, many of them aged or infirm, have been unable to replace the essentials of existence they lost at Wounded Knee.

Millions of dollars were spent to pay for costs of operations at Wounded Knee, 1973. In effect, these poverty-stricken Wounded Knee villagers are being asked to pay a disproportionate share of the costs. The average taxpayer's contribution to the costs at Wounded Knee would be measured in terms of pennies, while those who can least afford it, nor can they flee from it, have contributed major portions of their meager resources. The Department should address this need in its legislative program.

The treaty issues must be removed from their current place as a hindrance to productive action. The findings of the special commission on the 1868 treaty must be completely and openly communicated to all concerned. Any indicated adjustments in the operation of either tribal or Federal activities should be made. It is imperative that all concerned people have a common understanding of this issue.

This report listed many causes or manifestations of causes, and briefly portrays some basic socio-economic conditions. Many of the problems noted are the result of frustrated attempts to strike back at a hostile environment. Most if not all of our recommendations are realistically attainable and would contribute greatly toward making the Oglala Sioux people feel better about the Bureau of Indian Affairs, tribal government, and ultimately themselves.

reading and viewing



BOOKS RECEIVED

The Buses Roll by Robert Coles, with photographs by Carol Baldwin and Peter T. Whitney (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc.) 1974. A photographic essay on school desegregation in Berkeley, Calif., accompanied by the observations of psychologist Robert Coles. 112 pp.

The Politics of Race and International Sport by Richard E. Lapchick (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press) 1975. An analysis of the development of apartheid in South African sports and the growth of international protest against it. 268 pp.

Racism and Inequality ed. by Harrell R. Rodgers, Jr. (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman and Co.) 1975. A book of essays exploring why certain problems of racial discrimination and inequality persist and suggesting ways of resolving them. 220 pp.

Growing Metropolis ed. by James F. Blumstein and Benjamin Walter (Nashville, Tenn.; Vanderbilt

University Press) 1975. Eleven authors investigate the impact of private and public decisions on the growth of metropolitan Nashville. 364 pp.

No Place to Hide by Alan Lemond and Ron Fry (New York: St. Martin's Press) 1975. How wire taps, listening devices, data collection, and other forms of legal and illegal information gathering invade the privacy of Americans. 278 pp.

Dictionary of Development Terminology by J. Robert Dumouchel (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.) 1975. A handbook of terms used by the housing and development industry for public officials, private developers and the like, and interested community groups. 278 pp.

From Sambo to Superspade by Daniel J. Leab (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.) 1975. An account of the role of blacks on the silver screen, from the silent movie servant to the superheroes of "Blaxploitation." 301 pp.

The Amendment that Refused to Die by Howard N. Meyer (Radnor, Pa.: Chilton Book Co.) 1973. A "biography" of the 14th amendment, from its pre-Constitutional origins through its virtual nullification, and, finally, its revival by the Warren Court. 252 pp.

Minorities in the United States by Sar A. Levitan, William B. Johnston, and Robert Taggart (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press) 1975. A summary and synthesis of basic factual information on the current status of blacks, Mexican Americans, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians. 106 pp.

Immaculate Deception by Suzanne Arms (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co.) 1975. An examination of childbirth in America which is critical of conventional medical practice and urges revision of attitudes and procedures. 318 pp.

Hard Trials on My Way by John Anthony Scott (New York: Alfred A. Knopf) 1974. An account of life in the slave South and the rise of the antislavery movement. 295 pp.

The Politics of Rights by Stuart A. Scheingold (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press) 1974. A book about the role that lawyers and litigation play in efforts to alter the course of public policy,

and the usefulness of legal tactics in redistributing power and influence. 224 pp.

Rumors, Race, and Riots by Terry Ann Knopf (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books) 1975. A systematic analysis of how a racial conflict can be ignited and intensified, often because of inadvertent blunders by police officers, public officials, and reporters. 398 pp.

Black Republicans by Hanes Walton, Jr. (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press) 1975. An analysis of the Black and Tan Republicans throughout the old confederacy, from 1854 to 1972. 217 pp.

Still A Dream by Sar A. Levitan, William B. Johnston, and Robert Taggart (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press) 1975. A comprehensive review of the changing social and economic status of blacks since 1960. 381 pp.

Where I'm Bound by Sidonie Smith (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press) 1974. A review of black autobiographies and their themes, from slave narratives to current offerings. 194 pp.

The Pulse of Freedom ed. by Alan Reitman (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.) 1975. Six essays tracing the history of civil liberties in the United States from 1920 to the present. 352 pp.

Low-Income Housing by Leonard S. Rubinowitz (Cambridge, Mass.: Ballinger Publishing Co.) 1974. A detailed analysis and evaluation of action strategies for providing low- and moderate-income housing in the suburbs. 325 pp.

Lobbying for Freedom by Kenneth P. Norwick (New York: St. Martin's Press) 1975. A handbook on how to fight censorship at the State level, with practical advice on lobbying valuable to any activist. 158 pp.

Memoirs of a Man collected by Mary Clark Diamond and edited by Norman Cousins and J. Garry Clifford (New York: W. W. Norton and Co.) 1975. Essays on the life of Grenville Clark, an advocate of civil rights and civil liberties, and especially of world peace. 319 pp.

A History of Indian Policy by A. Lyman Tyler (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs) 1973. An account of Federal policy toward Indians, with emphasis on 1930 to the present. 328 pp.



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