

POLITICAL ENDEAVORS OF THE NAVAJO INDIANS

by

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NAVAJO COUNTRY

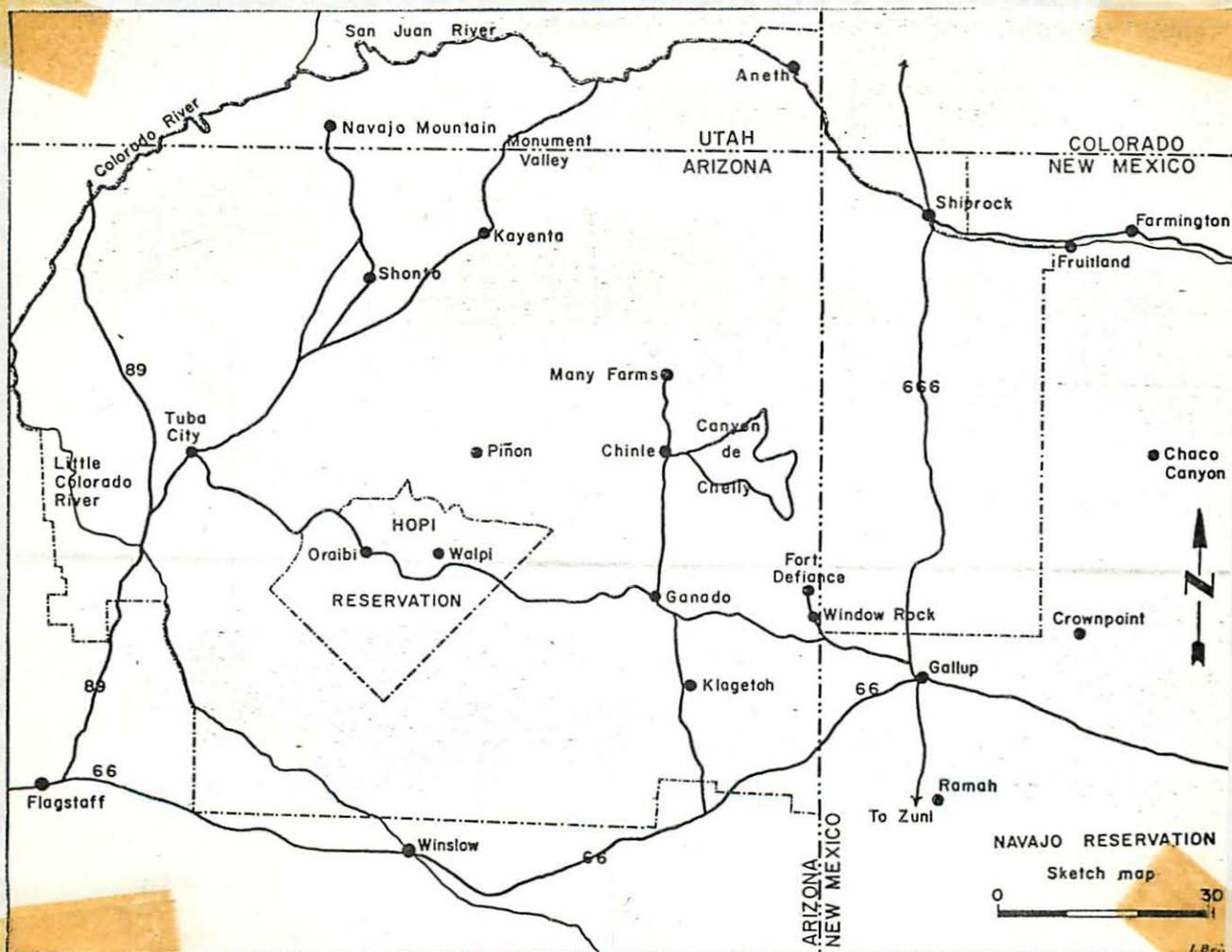


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PREFACE

The thesis which unfolds on the following pages represents a concentrated effort on the part of one individual over an extended period of time. It is relatively self-explanatory in nature and needs no additional explication.

What has not been communicated is some sense of tribute to the environmental factors which most certainly have had a profound effect on the development of this work. I am deeply grateful for the musical talents of Carlos Santana, Frank Zappa, Anton Dvorak, George Frideric Handel, and Melvin Franklin. Their inspirational chords were a source of much enthusiasm during my long and strenuous hours of toil. My thanks to P. Roscoe Binder for invaluable assistance in my endeavors with the Kalamazoo College Library. Special thanks to the makers of Alps Brau Beer as well as the Braunstein Freres.

Finally, my most profoundly sincere gratitude for the highly inspirational qualities of Mr. Charles Tuna, a character destined to become a legend in his own time.

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To speak of the present problems in the area of Navajo government now is a very different task than to have done so thirty years ago. At that time, the rather paternalistic efforts on the part of the Government, and its major symbol, the Navajo Agency, were widely misused. However, since the increase in education among the Navajo and their increasing experience with the white world, these attitudes have changed considerably; land reclamation, development of resources, raising of per capita Navajo income, health and welfare, all of these and more are major problems. Today, the Navajos are forced further and further away from that white Government by deceit and understandable mistrust - every one of the slightly over 400 Indian treaties has been broken by the United States Government - and as a result, the Navajo and the white administrator can not see the same objective fields; communication, therefore, becomes stifled. Naturally then, there is mutual irritation when the same conclusions are not reached, and what the white man refuses to realize is that all discourse proceeds from premises and that premises (being unfortunately taken for granted) are likely, in fact, to be very divergent; for the white man will unconsciously (at best) make his judgements and decisions in terms of white customs. Navajos, therefore, unless they happen to be familiar with and want to take advantage of white patterns, view the situation in the light of very different principles.

Possibly, the failures of the Government's programs can not be traced wholly to lack of understanding of the psychological and cultural factors involved. There are also the stubborn and irreducible facts of natural resources; there are legal difficulties; there have been sheer historical accidents

which no amount of psychological knowledge could have foreseen, and which might not have been controllable if they had been foreseen. This writer, however, maintains that most of the failures might have been avoided, or at least tempered, had there been available more information on typical Navajo attitudes. If the way in which the Navajo - as contrasted to the whites - react to external situations had been investigated with any meticulousness at all, the situation could have been much better; and what better means of comparison and study can be made to discover these cultural characteristics than a diagnosis and juxtaposition of the political system.

For facts never speak for themselves; they must always be cross-examined, and every different human society has its own techniques of interrogation. In many, probably in most, cases the same fact has a different connotation to a Japanese, a Frenchman, an African, an American - meaning is derived, however, only partly through the external reality. It also derives from the premises, goals, categories, in terms of which the facts are consciously or unconsciously evaluated. This is what is meant by culture; any given peoples' way of life, as distinct from the life-styles of other peoples. There are certain recurrent and inevitable human problems, and the ways in which man can meet them are to a certain degree limited by his biological equipment and by certain facts of the external world. Yet to most problems, there are a variety of possible solutions, and any culture consists of the set of habitual and traditional ways of thinking, feeling, and reacting that are characteristic of the ways in which a particular society meets its problems at a particular point in time;

in short, the crux of politics - the consensual methods used to resolve conflict.

The fundamental directive of this paper, then, is to hopefully supply the sufficient background which is needed in this country to deal with the Navajos and their problems on a humanistic level. It attempts (ideologically) to suggest partial answers to some questions which are vital in dealing with any minority group. How can knowledge of a peoples' history and politics, of their hopes and fears, of their unspoken assumptions about the nature of human life and experience, give a reasonable administrator some idea of what to expect from a particular policy and how to present that policy in a manner which evokes trust and cooperation? To keep the Navajo from being neither dehumanized nor from being forced to assimilate into the white world? For Navajos are human beings. They too have had to face all the perennial problems with which mankind must somehow deal, and this study reveals one particular process - politics - through which The People have coped with some of these problems.

NAVAJO HISTORY

Before the advent of the sixteenth century, in part of what is now New Mexico and Arizona, were the villages and farms of the Pueblo Indians - the outposts of civilization. They lived by hunting, raising corn, squash and beans, and by gathering wild fruits; they understood irrigation, and ground their corn between stones to make flour. Dogs and turkeys were domesticated and cotton was cultivated to supply material for weaving cloth. Some of the buildings were made of earth and wood, but these Indians were also proficient in building in stone, and many of their structures are still standing. Not only was pottery making highly developed, but the Pueblo Indians also had art in most things and religion in everything. Life was a complicated, changing series of ritual patterns whose order and place were dictated by tradition and by the priests. Most of the ritual was directed at bringing rain, on which life depended in the semi-arid region, but part was also directed against sickness. Their culture held in check aggression and strong emotions; they cultivated harmony and an even trend of living. *#1.

It is not known exactly how or when the Navajos came, but the evidence from linguistics, archaeology, and tradition suggests that about 1300 A.D., or possibly as much as two to three hundred years earlier, bands of the Athabascans, the woodland hunters of the North, came roving down the mountain chains and desert valleys into the land of the Pueblos. *#2. They came like the Goths and Vandals on rural Italy, moving into the unoccupied canyons. They lived by hunting, by gathering wild vegetable food, and by robbing the Pueblos. It may have been for this reason that many of the Pueblos began living

in fortified towns and high on mesas that could be easily defended, such as Oraibi and Acoma.

The contacts, however, were not all warlike; these Athabascans learned farming, weaving, and how to live in an all-pervasive, mystic religion from the Pueblos, though all three were greatly modified in terms of their own traditions and feelings. *#3. During this migration, leadership may have been in the hands of a chief or band leader, or it may have been entrusted to a council of elders, or, simply, to a council of all the adult members of the band, and the small bands themselves probably had a loose social structure based on kinship relations. Myth materials treat Navajos as a wandering band of people clad in skins and woven cedar bark with yucca fibre sandals, and Aberle believes that at this period organized, authoritarian, firmly structured kinship units must have been lacking above the family level. *#4.

From hints of myth and fact, it is possible to realize the hardy mixture comprising the Navajo Tribe - huntsmen from the north, used to privation and fighting; the civilized Pueblo farmers, trained to industry; wild warlike Utes; and wanderers from the western desert, skilled in basket making and the finding of food. Every way of life was represented among them, every physical form and every mental attitude. *#5. It is no wonder such people were open to new suggestions and had the energy to try everything. Here was no settled group of conservatives moving along the same channels for centuries. Considering this background, it is not surprising that Navajos, within the next few hundred years, remade their way of life not only once, but twice. They found new ways to support themselves and to evolve a new mythology.

The myths are significant not only for the light they throw on prehistoric Navajo culture, but also because of their active influence on modern Navajo thought. Present day Navajos turn to the myths for explanations of current customs and values; just as members of a literate society use documents to recreate the past, so Navajos cite mythological events as tribal history. Navajo myths describe the origin of the four clans. Alien groups, met during the tribes early wanderings, were incorporated as new clans, and many existing Navajo clans bear the names of localities, nicknames, or the titles of other foreign tribes (Pueblo, Ute, Sioux, etc.). *#6.

About 1540 the Spanish came pushing up from central America and conquered the Pueblos but not the Athabascans. These Indians fought both the Pueblos and the Spanish and grew rich through plunder. They took sheep, horses, and cattle from the Spanish, and obtained many new recruits to their tribe by the adoption of prisoners and refugees from other Indian groups. Consequently, there was a corresponding acquisition of cultural traits and patterns. *#7.

Most likely the name Navajo arose at this time from the people of the Jemez Pueblo who used to refer to one group of the Athabascans by a word which meant "farmer" and which the Spanish corrupted to "Navajo." But even now Navajos do not use that name when talking to each other; they say "Dineh," which means "The People". *#8.

Due to the Spanish domination, for the first time in their history, in 1860, the Pueblos revolted. For eighty years, they - at least the ones along the Rio Grande - had taken Spanish orders, worked like mill hands to supply the

caravans going to Mexico, and had been whipped and hanged for continuing the cult of their Gods who, according to the Spanish, were no more than devils. *#9. Following this revolt, many Pueblos fled into the Navajo territory where, according to archaeological evidence, Navajos and Pueblos lived in close proximity between 1723 and 1764. This must have been a period of intense acculturation and transculturation, and it was not until the end of the 1700's that probably marked the separation of the two peoples. *#10.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, after the Spanish had the Pueblos in what is now New Mexico completely subdued, they began to press the Navajo harder, but they never felt strong enough to attempt to round them up. Many Navajos retreated into the deep, winding Canyon de Chelly, where they raised their crops and from which they raided on horseback the Spanish and other Indians. *#11.

In summarizing Spanish policy toward Navajos, we can say that it had two principle aims; to pacify the Indians and to Christianize them. Efforts to win over the Navajos included the giving of gifts, the making of treaties, and the selection of Navajo "chiefs" to be dignified with the title of "General" of the Spanish army. None of these policies succeeded in arresting Navajo depredation; raids and punitive expeditions alternated with negotiated peace treaties. The Mexican Period from 1824 to 1846 saw a weakening of the authority and military strength of the New Mexican colonists, and as a result, Navajos increased their raiding and New Mexican ranchers retaliated in vigilante fashion. *#12.

In his proclamation to the inhabitants of New Mexico in August 1846, when the United States took possession of the

southwestern territories acquired from Mexico, General Kearny promised protection against the depredations of maurauding Indian tribes. In the winter of the same year came the first military expedition against the Navajos. The history of the next fifteen years is a record of numerous military operations, of the establishment of army posts within Navajo territory, of the arrival of the first civilian Agents to the Navajos, of a succession of Navajo raids and "incidents," of unsuccessful attempts to bring peace and stability by negotiation. Treaties were entered into with local headmen whom the whites believed to be tribal "chiefs." When the agreements were violated by members of other groups not under the jurisdiction of these leaders, the American Authorities, totally misunderstanding the nature of Navajo social organization, judged the tribe to be hopelessly perfidious. *#13. As more and more settlers and cattlemen came to the west, they pushed deeply into the Navajo country, and the Indians were soon fighting for their lives and living space. The Americans sent their army, organized the Mexicans and hired the Utes and other tribes, until all hands were against the Navajos. They were killed at sight, and if they escaped, their sheep and crops were destroyed, leaving them without food. *#14.

During 1862 the Navajos and Apaches took advantage of the Army's preoccupation with the Civil War to increase their raids upon Rio Grande settlements. An alarmed Government ordered Colonel Kit Carson into the Navajo country in June 1863, with specific instructions to destroy all crops and livestock. The land was systematically pillaged; fleeing bands of Navajos were either massacred or imprisoned until eventually 9,000 of a possible 14,000 to 15,000 people were

captured. *#15. On March 6, 1864, the first caravan of almost $\frac{1}{2}$,500 Navajos began the 300 mile forced march to Fort Sumner, and The People will never forget that journey to hwelte, known in their traditions as the Long Walk. Once and for all, Navajo traditional war patterns were destroyed, and the ultimate authority of the United States Government was imposed upon the Navajos. *#16.

Probably no folk has had a greater shock. Proud, they saw their properties destroyed and knew what it was to be dependent upon the largeness of strangers. Not understanding group activity and accustomed to move freely over great spaces, they knew the misery of confinement within a limited area. Taken far from the rugged and vivid landscape which they prized so highly, they lived in a flat and colorless region, eating alien foods and drinking bitter water which made them ill. Fort Sumner was a major calamity to The People; its full effects can hardly be conveyed to white readers. Even today it seems impossible for any Navajo of the older generation to talk for more than a few minutes on any subject without speaking of Fort Sumner. Those who were not there themselves have heard so many poignant tales from their parents that they speak as if they themselves had experienced all the horror of the Long Walk; the illness, the hunger, the homesickness, the death, the final return to the homeland which occurred in 1868. *#17.

As poor and naked as when they first reached the Southwest, the Navajos were to enter the land again and by work to become self-supporting. This time, the cause was different; when they had taken over agriculture from the Pueblos and shepherding from the Spanish, they had been in the position of leaders, learning because they chose to do so. Now, at the behest of a foreign power, they were to adopt new ways, with

no open choice. *#18. A reservation was set aside for the Navajos, and the administration of the Agency was centered at Fort Defiance. In this period of recovery from 1868 to 1900, the Navajos were rebuilding their shattered economy and increasing in numbers, though they were constantly subjected to pressure from whites. As a result, the Indians were exploited, tricked and robbed, and in most of the disputes between Indian and white, the Government was very slow to come to the Indian's aid. *#19.

The Navajo land problem dates from the establishment of the Reservation; to the original three-and-a-half million acres, a total of eight million acres was added by executive order in 1878, 1880, 1882, 1884, and 1886. *#20. The Homestead Act of 1875 permitted Indians to occupy public lands, but since Navajos did not understand problems of title and improvement, they lost much "homesteaded" land to the whites. In order to induce companies to build railroads, the Government had offered alternate sections of 640 acres in a forty-mile-wide strip on each side of the projected line. This took away some of the Navajos best grazing land and created the "checkerboard problem" that plagues the Navajo Tribal Council today.

Problems facing the Federal Government, the Navajo Agents, and the "administered" Navajos were numerous. The chain of command failed to work smoothly because of differences of policy and difficulties of communication. Post Civil War Congresses failed to vote the appropriations promised in the various treaties, and changes of administration brought changes of policy and too frequent shifts of personnel. Graft, especially in the business of Indian supplies, was monstrous. *#21.

Some of the rare instances of armed resistance after Fort Sumner were provoked by the Federal effort to educate Navajo children. And despite all efforts, by 1892, only seventy-five children out of a population of 16,000 were in school. Many Navajo parents believed that they should be recompensed for bringing their offspring to be educated, as was the case in previous Government policy. *#22.

The early Navajo Agents needed some form of political organization for communication with the wide-ranging Tribe, and so instituted the appointment of a headman or chief. Barboncito was the first "Head Chief;" one of his duties was to lecture to the people who had assembled for the rations distributions at Fort Defiance on the value of peace and hard work. In addition to these early "Agency Indian " chiefs, the old informal leaders, the local headmen, wealthy stock-owners, ceremonial practitioners, and the heads of large family groups constituted the de facto leadership of the localities. *#23.

The economic recovery of the Navajos may be considered complete by 1900. Although a dangerous erosion cycle had been evident since 1880, Navajos continued to build up large flocks of sheep and goats and herds of horses and cattle. *#24. Government measures to facilitate economic betterment included improving the breed of sheep, sheep dipping, and irrigation projects. During this period (1900 to present), Federal Indian policy veered from laissez-faire to pressure for the liquidation of all Indian cultures. The Dawes Severality Act of 1887 was designed to destroy the reservation system and tribal solidarity by allotting land to individual Indians. *#25. Citizenship was conferred on all Indians by an Act of Congress in 1924. The Act provided that;

"all non-Indian citizens born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States; PROVIDED, that the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property." *#26.

However, Indians were not permitted to vote in Arizona or New Mexico until 1948, when suits challenging denial of the franchise to "Indians not taxed" and "wards of the government" were won by individual Indians in both states. Between 1901 and 1908, five Navajo Agencies were established, each within jurisdiction over the nearby district; Southern Navajo, the original Agency, with headquarters at Fort Defiance; San Juan, later Shiprock, established, 1903; Western Navajo, with Agency at Tuba City, established in 1901; Leupp, an extension bought in 1901, jurisdiction established in 1908; Eastern Navajo, with Agency at Pueblo Bonito, later Crownpoint, New Mexico, established in 1907. The Hopi Agency, which had been administered by the Navajo since 1884, was separated in 1902. *#27.

The first moves towards Navajo self-government were made in this period. By 1903, a Court of Indian Offences had been established; there were three Indian judges, and the Navajo superintendant (a white) presided. In 1921, oil was discovered near Shiprock, and understandably, the local Navajos desired to retain the revenue. To obviate this, the Government sponsored the election of an all-tribal council; this group signed oil leases in the name of the Navajo Tribe, thus establishing a right to consultative voice for the tribe in the granting of leases and the disposal of royalties. Also, in the 1920's Agent John Hunter set up a formal organization, called a "Chapter," in the Leupp Superintendancy. This idea spread to the other Agencies and the beginning of local government among Navajos was at hand. *#28.

The New Deal for Indians came with the Depression, the Presidency of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and the appointment in 1933 of John Collier as Indian Commissioner (he held the post until 1945). Collier's appointment marked a major change in Federal Indian policy; it reversed the trend toward the weakening of tribal solidarity and the termination of reservations; it halted some of the cruder forms and policies of forced acculturation. John Collier said in 1943:

"I see the broad function of Indian policy and Indian administration to be the development of Indian democracy and equality within the framework of American and world democracy....The most significant clue to achieving full Indian democracy, is the continued survival, through all historical change and disaster, of the Indian tribal group, both as a real entity and a legal entity." *#29.

This philosophy was embodied in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, and although incorporation under this act was narrowly rejected by the Navajos in a plebiscite (7,608 votes in favor and 7,992 opposed), the Navajo Tribal Council was reorganized. An accelerated program of betterment, as Collier saw it, brought to the Reservation irrigation, soil conservation, the restoration of alienated Indian lands, the establishment of day schools with bilingual instruction, an impressive "Navajo Capital" at Window Rock, and a two million dollar annual payroll from public works. Unfortunately for future Navajo-Government relations, the Collier program included drastic stock reductions, and due to the Depression, Navajos were forced to dispose of their animals at very low prices.

The compulsory stock reduction program not only broke the back of the traditional economy, but also profoundly affected Navajo political attitudes. Local Chapters became centers of agitation; Tribal Councilmen who voted for compliance were turned out of office at subsequent elections, and until

1947 the Council refused to establish an Executive Committee because such a committee in the 1930's had approved the grazing program. In retaliation, the Federal Government withdrew support from the chapters and manipulated the Navajo Tribal Council so that an appearance of democratic and legal acceptance of the stock reduction program could be created. Stock reduction, more than any other issue, served to retard the institutionalization of a modern Indian government in Navajo society. *#30.

Another sudden reversal of Federal Indian policy followed the 1948 Hoover Report on Reorganization of the Executive Branch of the Government. The 1953 House Concurrent Resolution No. 108 states that:

"it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all the Indian Tribes and the individual members thereof....should be freed from federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians." *#31.

This is "termination policy" or "piecemeal withdrawal" as the Bureau of Indian Affairs rather euphemistically calls it. Whatever the ultimate wisdom or intent, a matter still angrily debated, this policy has stimulated the development of the Navajo Tribal Council, as the new organ of government is readied to take charge of tribal affairs.

From 1863 to the present, the persistent theme in Navajo history has been the struggle with the whites for land: the treaty of 1868 set aside a total of about 3,500,000 acres - much less than the area which had been occupied by The People for generations. This Reservation, half in Arizona and half in New Mexico, has been extended from time to time, until it now includes about 15,000,000 (1946) acres. Only during the last thirty years has a systematic governmental policy been

evolved. Even recent administrations have found their serious practical problems complicated by the bewilderment, cynicism, and resentment bred by three generations of treatment that was constantly vicious, almost always stupid, and undeniably based upon the attitudes towards "uncivilized peoples" prevalent in white society throughout the ages.

THE SETTING

Our understanding of some of the main problems facing the Navajo Tribal Council and the United States Government in its relations with the tribe depends in part on a knowledge of the natural setting and natural resources of the Reservation. One key question is the number of people the Reservation can be expected to support if, and when, it is developed to maximum capacity by means of irrigation, industries are established on tribal land or on the periphery, the tourist business is developed, grazing practices are better controlled, and timber and mineral resources are fully exploited. Conditions of the natural setting also bear on the problem of whether to allot tribal land to individuals or to encourage the collective development of Reservation resources.

The Navajo country, much of which is dessicated and badly eroded, comprises an area of nearly 25,000 square miles, mainly in Arizona and New Mexico, but spilling over into southeastern Utah and encompassing nearly 16,000,000 acres. The main Reservation is about the size of the state of West Virginia, but not all the Navajos live on it, since many reside on the railroad lands, on areas of public domain, and on individual Indian allotments. Three small non-Reservation colonies, all in New Mexico, are the following: Ramah, south of Gallup, near El Morro National Monument and not far from the Pueblo of Zuni; Puertocito, eighty miles southwest of Albuquerque; and at Canyoncito, forty miles southwest of Albuquerque. *#32.

The population density on the Navajo Reservation is only 2.1 persons per square mile, which sounds low, but is actually more than twice that of the adjacent rural areas

populated by whites, and in view of the unproductive nature of the land, the Reservation is actually crowded. More than 1,000,000 acres are too barren and too inaccessible even for grazing, and it has been estimated that the Reservation can support no more than 35,000 at a minimum subsistence level without the development of new ways of making a living, thus necessitating the resettlement of thousands of Navajo off the Reservation. The intense devotion of the Navajo to their scenic homeland, however, makes them extremely reluctant to leave the Reservation permanently.

In past decades, the increasingly large flocks of sheep have been persistently nibbling at the grass cover, thus exposing the topsoil to the gusty winds which sweep across the country. Much of the best topsoil on the Reservation was blown away into the Colorado River, where it was carried as silt into Lake Mead, behind Hoover Dam. The forces of erosion scarred the denuded hills and valleys with deep gullies, damaging thousands of acres irreparably and threatening the rangeland economy of the Reservation. The runoff after heavy rains, unchecked by vegetation, rushes down the unprotected slopes in torrents, cutting deep gullies. Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton have concisely described the natural setting in Navajo country:

"Set a stretch of sagebrush interspersed with groves of evergreens (pinyon and juniper trees) against a background of highly colored mesas, canyons, and buttes, volcanic necks, and igneous mountain masses clothed in deep pine green, roofed over with a brilliant blue sky, and you will have a generalized picture of the Navajo landscape." *#33.

The climate may best be characterized as arid or semi-arid, although precipitation varies from five inches annually at the lower elevations to more than twenty inches in the

mountains. The threat of drought is an omnipresent reality. Precipitation and temperatures vary greatly with the altitude, and much of the rainfall comes in torrential thunderstorms in late summer while snow sometimes falls on the higher elevation from December through March. However, the sun shines brilliantly in an azure sky approximately eighty per cent of the time. The brief growing season is not infrequently blighted by unseasonal frosts, and the sub-zero temperatures which occur in winter are not unusual while the lower elevations are exceptionally hot in the summer. In the spring of the year violent winds often blow up dust storms. *#34.

Vegetation differs with the elevation; at the lower altitudes are found such typical desert plants as grasses, cacti, yucca, and sagebrush; at elevations of between 5,500 and 6,500 feet the sagebrush combines with piñon and juniper trees; and in the mountains are splendid forests of yellow pine, as well as oak, aspen, and fir.

Wildlife is varied, though no longer abundant. Forty-seven species of birds have been reported, including hawks, eagles, magpies, bluebirds, and mourning doves. The most numerous mammals are rabbits, prairie dogs, and squirrels. Coyotes, mountain lions, bobcats, foxes, badgers, and skunks are still found on the Reservation, but the bear, muledeer, mountain sheep, beaver, and wild turkey are gone, victims not only of the hunters, but also of the overgrazing and the erosion cycle, which has affected the subsistence of the wild animals, as well as of the sheep and the Indians. *#35.

Many of the mineral resources on the Reservation (coal, oil, helium, vanadium, and copper) are leased to white operators and so provide a small amount of unearned income,

though the major contribution to Navajo economy is the wage work which these materials provide. ##36. Other minerals include gold, silver, and uranium-vandium. Carmonite, a uranium-vandium mineral, occurs in certain localities of the northwestern part of the Reservation, and bentonite, asphalt rock, building stone, gypsum, clays, lime, alum, peridot, garnet, and agatized wood are also present. There are two main coal fields, and the oil and gas have been developed in the Four Corners area. Coniferous timber is adapted to the more humid areas at about 7,500 feet elevation, where it occupies six per cent of the land, and much of the wood which is cut on the Reservation is consumed in fuel or in building, though the Navajo sawmill has become an increasingly valuable source of income for The People, not only in terms of log production but again in terms of wages, for ninety-five per cent of those employed at the sawmill are Navajos.

As of 1960, there were slightly over 500,000 Indians on tribal roles in the United States, and the largest of the tribes is that of the Navajo. There is no official Navajo Tribal role, but figures from the United States Census Bureau, the United States Public Health Service, and the annual Navajo school census indicate that the population is increasing at the rate of 2.24 to 3.3 per cent per year. The 1960 census estimated the total Navajo population at 80, 364. ##37.

Contrary to the impression of most people, the Navajos do not make a living mainly through rug weaving or silver making for sale to tourists; arts and crafts, in actuality, form only a minor source of Navajo total income (see figure 1). In the prewar years, agriculture, livestock, and wamework have played a far greater role in Navajo economy. For the year

1940, forty-four per cent of the total income of The People came from livestock, with three-fourths of this income resulting from the sales of livestock. The major part of this commercial income represented sales of lambs and sheep and of wool, the remainder coming from cattle, horses, pelts, mohair, and butchered meat (see figure 2).

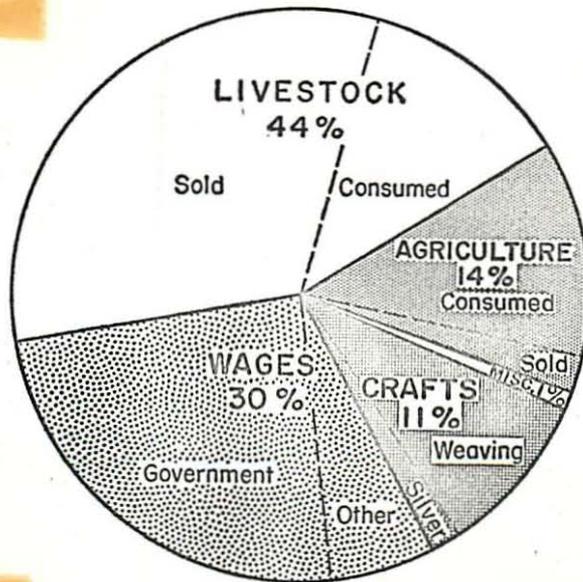


FIGURE 1.

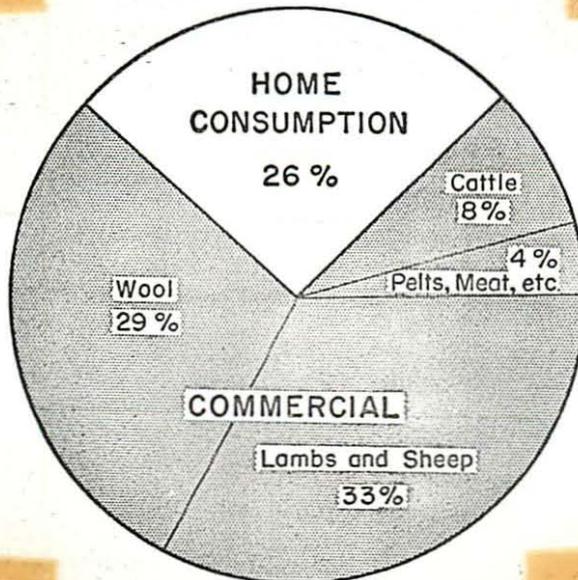


FIGURE 2.

These figures, however, tend to be misleading as a high proportion of the Tribe's total livestock income - indeed, of the total income - was concentrated in a small number of well-

off families. Since World War II, however, there has been a great change: by 1957, close to half of all Navajo families owned no livestock at all. *#38.

As has already been stated, the Navajo learned farming from the Pueblo and adopted the native crops of corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, and squash that have been developed in the New World. They were also quick to adopt European crops such as peaches, oats, wheat, and barley, though rain is infrequent and unpredictable and therefore there is never any certainty in making any crop. Furthermore, water sources are too limited and uncertain to permit the development of substantial irrigation. *#39. As of 1962, not more than 40,000 acres were devoted to agriculture, and of these only some 18,420 were in irrigated tracts with an assured supply of water, though agriculture remains the basis of the subsistence economy, as it has been for the last 300 years. In 1944, the total number of acres planted by Navajos under the jurisdiction of the Navajo Agency totaled about 38,000, and the acres harvested were as follows: *#40.

Maize	18,320
Other Cereals	1,085
Potatoes	713
Beans	1,501
Squash	942
Melons	615
Alfalfa	3,818
Other Forage	1,335
Wild Hay	418
Grapes	535
Tree Fruits	9,118
Garden	417

Of all Navajo products, rugs are perhaps the most widely known, and yet they accounted for less than one-tenth of Navajo income in 1940; in 1958 only 1.3 per cent, and this phenomenon may be accounted for by the fact that the hourly wage that a rug represents to the weaver is exceptionally low.

Baskets and beads form a minute fraction of the income from arts and crafts, but the chief item other than rugs is silver jewelry, which in 1940 accounted for about two per cent of the total income and has been diminishing since that time - by 1963 it was only 1.3 per cent. Weaving, silversmithing, etc., are luxury crafts, and Navajo smiths have suffered from competition with manufacturers who mass produce Indian-type products from cheaper materials. *#41.

Looked at historically, Navajo wage work falls into four periods:

1. Soon after the establishment of the Reservation, the railroad builders, the Government, traders, and missionaries offered limited wage work to the Navajos.
2. The Depression and the New Deal brought an annual payroll to the Reservation of two million dollars from Government work projects, P.W.A., C.C.C., and Soil Conservation Service.
3. During World War II the labor shortage created off-Reservation work in war plants and on farms in temporary jobs.
4. Since the War there has been seasonal work on the railroads and migratory labor on farms, permanent off-Reservation work secured through the State Employment Services or through the Government Relocation Services, and tribal wage work, which takes the form of salaries for elected officials, wages for permanent tribal employees, and wages from the Public Works Program. *#42.

Wage work is varied in composition; Navajos are on the Government payroll as interpreters, teachers, day-school assistants, matrons, advisors, maintenance workers at Agency plants, and road and irrigation employees. Fees for performing ceremonial rights should also be mentioned as a source of individual income, though the total does not bulk large in cash terms. Navajos have for years worked for white ranchers on a seasonal basis or during the season of heavy work. *#43.

In 1940, the total income of the Navajo was estimated at

\$4,027,530, or \$81.89 per capita. Per capita estimates for other years run from forty-five dollars to ninety-eight dollars, and during the later war years tribal income probably totaled \$10,000,000. These estimates provide a sound indication of the low Navajo standard of living, for it is instructive to set against the estimated \$82 Navajo income the per capita income for the United States as a whole in 1940 - \$579. By 1957, the national average per capita income was 4.5 that of the Navajos. Still more revealing and suggestive than per capita income figures, which are at best a very rough index, is information of family income among the Navajo. In 1942 (the only year for which such data are available) the median family income was about \$450; for the nation as a whole, it was \$1,160. In 1958, the total Navajo income was almost nine times greater than it had been in 1940, and most of this rise reflected the increasing tendency to seek wage work, on or off the Reservation. In 1957, Navajo income per family was \$2,335, though the national family average was \$6,130, and in spite of the increase, the Navajo remain among the least privileged groups in the nation.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF THE NAVAJO

In this section we shall examine the traditional patterns of Navajo social alignment, identify the active social groups and the principles on which they are organized, and describe their size, spatial distribution, function, and role structure, in order to complete the background against which the Navajo political system is developing. Many interesting and important questions concerning social organization are still unanswered; this may be due to rapid social change, faulty ethnological reporting, or confused analysis, but more likely it is explained by the extreme flexibility of Navajo social organization.

A variety of social groups have been identified among Navajos: for example, biological, nuclear, or elementary family; extended family or family group; clan; linked, affiliated or group clans; local clan element; household or hogan unit; resident group or hogan cluster, or camp; outfit; cooperating group; resident lineage, or land-use community; greater community; tribe. In some cases, as we shall see, these are merely different names for the same item. Other names emphasize different principles of organization or criteria of identification, such as kinship, locality, function, or leadership. ##45.

The nuclear, biological, or elementary unit consists of a man, his wife, and their, or more properly, her offspring. The tendency for children of dissolved marriages to remain with the mother usually means that most mature wives have children of at least two marriages in their households. This is the minimum subsistence unit, and involves co-residence, sexual privileges between husband and wife, a division of labor for economic purposes, and the socialization of the

children. Interdependence among members of the household is constant and structurally inherent, though it is difficult to make a definitive statement as to which of the partners in a marriage is "head of the house." Clearly, the role of the wife in decision making is important, but the husband appears to serve not only as the principle wage earner, but also as the representative of the nuclear unit outside the circle of immediate kinship. It must be kept in mind that emphasis on the individual in Navajo life colors the marriage relationship, and divorce is a comparatively simple procedure. *#46. The nuclear family may be synonymous with a single hogan unit or household, but frequently the household contains attached relatives who are unmarried or widowed. In fact, the household may show any combination of relatives except mother-in-law and son-in-law, who can not live together because of a taboo, the breach of which induces blindness.

A variant of the nuclear family in Navajo society is the polygynous family, consisting of a man, his wives, and their children, though polygyny has shown a marked decline in this century and there has been less polygyny among the younger Navajos today than among the older people. Presumably the nuclear family and the polygynous family each has its own division of labor and structure of authority, and Navajo society is both matrilineal and matrilocal; the line of descent is through the mother, and the married couple usually, though not invariably, builds a hogan near the dwelling of the wife's mother. Consequently, the children ordinarily grow up in close association with their matrilineal relatives, and the mother is considered the center of the family. The position of women in Navajo society is unquestionably a very strong

and influential one, and they play an important part not only in economic and social life, but also in political and religious affairs. Women control a large share of the property, which is usually inherited by the female descendents, thus keeping it in the matrilineal family line. A woman may actually have more cash than her husband, since she markets the wool from her sheep, and has a ready source of income from the weaving. The husband continues to retain ceremonial, economic, and other ties with his mother's family, and he visits frequently with his mother's hogan, where he returns in case of divorce. The father was also expected to teach his sons and to discipline his children. *#47.

Our understanding of Navajo ownership and the transmission of property is nearly as confused as in the case of social groupings. Again, this may reflect rapid change, faulty reporting, or Navajo flexibility. There are concepts of individual property and of family and communal property; individual property consisting of the products of one's labor - primarily clothing and jewelry, and at one time bows and arrows and shields. *#48. Traditionally, these articles were destroyed when the owner died or were buried with him, and even today a corpse is buried with pieces of choice jewelry. Sheep, goats, and horses are individually owned, with the qualification that the family retains a kind of right of eminent domain; that is, the owner is expected to contribute from his flocks to the everyday need of the family and to family ceremonials.

Members of a larger group of relatives, the extended family, consisting of an older woman and her husband and unmarried children, together with her married daughters and their husbands and unmarried children, usually live in the same general locality, and constitute a functioning group of relatives

which cooperates in such tasks as agriculture, house building, and animal husbandry. *#49. The "residence group," "hogan cluster," or "camp" usually consists of several nuclear families, each in its own hogan, living within shouting distance of each other, and it is this group which is the maximum subsistence unit - the basic social group in Navajo economy. The preferred rule of residence for the extended family is matrilocal, with patrilocality as an alternate form; however, the component households do not necessarily depend on each other. *#50. Property rights in the extended family probably parallel those in individual families, except for the ownership of land.

Perhaps the most important social unit among the Navajos is a kinship and residence group, locally called an outfit. Kluckhohn has described an outfit as a unit that is larger than an extended family and bound together by kinship ties and economic cooperation. The outfit is widely dispersed in a territorial sense, a community in its own right with a leader, usually the eldest male but with a matrilineal orientation. The variations in the size and composition of outfits are infinite, generally depending upon the wealth of its leader or, more exactly, of the leader and/or his wife or wives. Wealthy Navajos who control thousands of sheep are often the focal points of outfits which include a hundred or more individuals in a ramified system of dependence. Sometimes the members of an outfit live on lands that have unbroken geographical contiguity, and in this instance the outfit constitutes a "land-use community." *#51.

Groups which are determined by locality and cut across the lines of kinship are important today in the workings of Navajo society. It is probable that in the old days the Band was the significant large social grouping, and today certain

local groups - especially those isolated from the rest of the Navajos, like Ramah, Puertocito, and Canyoncito - tend still to have the character of a Band. They are referred to by other Navajos by words designating the locality, and they have, or in recent past have had, a single headman each. The extent to which The People who live in areas set apart by either topography or by tradition have developed definite rules for living and working together varies greatly. In some sections the local group simply lives in the same area, while in others there is regular cooperation in such activities as building or caring for a day school, the annual sheep-dipping, meetings, and "courts." *#52.

It has been stated that the fundamental political entity of the Navajo is the natural community. This unit is an economic one, geographically determined and distinct, since in the Navajo territory the natural resources necessary for subsistence occur at scattered locations. The local group is usually defined by natural barriers. Again, it is the flexibility in Navajo social organization which makes it as difficult, except in those sections marked by natural barriers, to identify a local community as it is to isolate kinship groups.

Like whites, the Navajos use relationship terms toward all "blood kin." However, The People do not limit their "relatives" along strictly biological lines; they also designate as "sisters," "fathers," etc., all members of their own clan and, in theory, all members of the clans linked with their own. The term used depends upon the sex and the relative age of the two speakers. Members of one's father's clan are also considered relatives, but they are grouped in a smaller number of categories. There are, or have been, sixty or more Navajo clans,

and the names are predominantly those of localities, suggesting that the clan was at one time a local group. *#53. Even today the clans, though having a wide geographical spread in individual membership, tend to be concentrated in certain sections. Navajos, being matrilineal, belong to the clan of their mother, but they are also considered to be "born for" the clan of their father. Clan exogamy prevents them from marrying into either their mother's or their father's clan, and the offending individual will be severely punished. Clan is also important in establishing the larger circle of one's relatives, and they may be thought of as threads of sentimental linkage which bind together Navajos who may indeed never see one another save once in their lifetimes.

In the past the clan was, with little doubt, an important agency of social control. All clansmen were responsible for the crimes and debts of the other members of their clan, hence it was in their own interest to prevent any such acts. Since any person, moreover, was dependent for emotional plus economic support upon the goodwill of his relatives, he was usually responsive to their pressures. Government imposition of a law-and-order organization based on white patterns has tended to destroy this aspect of the native social pattern. *#54.

Every clan is associated with from one to five or six others. It is usually stated that originally the linked clans were but a single unit, and therefore they doubtless represent in most cases a splitting up under some stimulus of geographical dispersion or intra-clan quarrels, although in some instances the association is probably imaginary or accidental or the result of the affiliation of new clans derived from other tribes, rather than the product of actual historical splitting. All of the prohibitions and obligations which

apply to clansmen apply, in strict theory, to all members of linked clans, but, today at least, these must be thought of as binding only in a very mild form. Marriages into linked clans, particularly those of the father, are not very infrequent, for example. *#55.

We come now to the group that will be our principle focus of interest; it is the tribe, which has developed as a corporate group and has taken over the leadership of the Navajo society. At times in the last century there tended to be a major headman for the northern, eastern, western and southern Navajos respectively - though such a simple schematization is misleading. "Twelve peace chiefs" or "the twelve peace chief and the twelve war chiefs" are mentioned in old descriptions of the Navajos, but it seems likely that these are ideal patterns with a strong element of retrospective falsification. Whether they ever existed or not, it has not been established that there ever was a "Navajo Tribe" in the sense of an organized, centralized political entity. *#56.

Just as there is no complete cultural or racial unity, so also The People are only beginning to have what may be accurately designated as a "tribal" or "national" consciousness. Previous to 1868, the largest unit of effective social cooperation seems to have been a Band of Indians who occupied a defined territory and acknowledged the leadership of a single headman. These local Bands acted without much reference to other such units, and interior groups, for example, habitually raided Mexican settlements, knowing full well that they themselves were protected by distance and inaccessibility. When The People were all treated as a unit by the United States Government and were assigned a common Reservation, this doubtless had the ef-

fect of promoting tribal cohesiveness. This tendency was counteracted, however, by the later division into six administrative districts, which existed until 1933. Moreover, the original separatist tendencies were reinforced by the establishment of trading posts, missions, and schools in localities which often correspond to the centers of the earlier Bands. *#57.

Whatever tribal feeling the Navajo have today rests upon the following factors: a common language; a common designation for themselves as The People as distinct from all others; a cultural heritage which is, in general, the same; a territory with a certain topographical unity, where the occupants are mostly Navajos and where many mountains and other natural features are enshrined in a common mythology; the fact that almost all the Navajos constitute a single governmental, administrative unit with a single elected council for the entire Tribe. The system of clans and linked clans also makes for unity, to the extent that they have cross-regional representation and make legion the number of individuals whom any given Navajo addresses as "my relative." To a very large degree, all of these factors point to a general tendency: The People are becoming increasingly conscious of common background, common problems; a common need to unite to protect their interests against the encroachment of whites.

A POLITICAL DEFINITION

The problem of defining political activity has become increasingly complex as anthropologists have more and more turned their attention to the decision-making activities of the simplest types of societies. Political science stands alone in its lack of agreed "elements;" there are no basic concepts, simple enough to allow of merely one meaning, therefore conveying precisely the same connotation to all and confidently manipulated by everyone. There are no simple relations, acknowledged by all to form the smallest components of complex systems, and commonly used in the building of models devised to stimulate the intricacies of real situations.

Probably one of the more useful of the definitional approaches is the type which calls for a focus on human beings who think and act and engage in cooperation and conflict on issues concerning group policy or intergroup relationships, and one such definition is offered by C.J. Friedrich:

"Modern political science is largely a critical examination of common-sense notions concerning the working of political institutions and procedures. Three axiomatic truths regarding the nature of power lie at its foundation: namely, that power ordinarily presupposes a group of human beings who can share objectives, interests, values, in other words, a community; second, therefore power presupposes objectives, interests, values, ends, which these human beings can share, fight over, or exchange; third, that all power situations contain both consent (shared objectives) and constraint (contested objectives)...Modern political science... is concerned with the instruments or techniques of political action in terms of the objectives they are supposed to serve." *#58.

David Easton, speaking of a political system rather than simply of politics, says:

"The boundary of a political system is defined by all those actions more or less directly related to that making of binding decisions for a society; every social action that does not partake of this characteristic will be excluded from the system and thereby

will automatically be viewed as an external variable in the environment." *#59.

Frederick Watkins, some years ago, came to the conclusion that:

"The proper scope of political science is not the study of the state or of any other specific institutional complex, but the investigation of all associations insofar as they can be shown to exemplify the problem of power. *#60.

Lasswell, in his early work on Politics, uses the subtitle, "Who gets what, when, and how?", and says that the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential. All of these definitions suggest a relationship between awareness of, and concern about, a more remote environment and the control of that environment. The class of acts and patterns of acts that seem to be most satisfactorily explained by the means and implications of controlling the more remote environment we call politics.

The definitions, derived from an analysis of a concrete unit, a government or a state, are inadequate for our purposes since we desire to isolate the political aspects of a society that has no specialized organ of government and that can claim no monopoly of force. Despite the absence of specialized political units and roles, the "simple societies" are self-governing; they make decisions that are binding on their membership, and they recognize no higher authority than their own resident kin groups, Bands, or tribe. It is more worthwhile for us, then, to look at that aspect of human social activity which can be analytically distinguished from the economic, religious, and familial, and called political. *#61. There is a universal social need for some political allocation, that is, a distribution of authority over, and accountable for, the actions of the members of a society. The illegitimate use of force must be restrained; there must be some control

over the immature members of society; some coordination and direction of effort is imperative for individual and group survival. And beyond these needs, there is the inescapable condition of scarcity which requires the allocation of an ultimate authority for making decisions; that is, political behavior.

In short, the fundamental elements of the political aspect of any social system are based on a consensus among the members of a society that it is desirable (or necessary) to live together and to reproduce their group and their way of life. The most crucial aspect of politics hinges upon the conflicts, particularly the ones which have the potential to wreak havoc within that society. Conflict resolution, manifested in the form of consensus, becomes the avenue to peaceful means of agreement. The political aspect of a social system, then, we shall define as the ultimate authority to make binding decisions for the direction of the affairs of a society, *#62.

In analyses of political systems, different dimensions have been considered crucial for the establishment of a meaningful typology. Among them are: the type of social structure through which political action takes place, whether a state or a stateless society (kin-based, segmentary, and state societies); the type of legitimacy claimed for the ultimate authority, whether that authority is traditional, rational-legal, or charismatic; the type of support structure, whether territorial, kin-based, or ranked by economic class; the type of role system, specialized or non-specialized, permanent or temporary, recruited by achievement or ascription; within the role system, the kind of remuneration and the area of accountability; and finally, the types of sanctions used. Rather than

attempt in advance to assess the relative importance of these factors in analyzing a political system, I shall assey them in an analysis of one specific case - the development of a modern political system among Navajo Indians. *#63.

THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITY SYSTEM OF THE NAVAJOS

The traditional authority system of the Navajos before the Conquest differed in important respects from the authority system that was established on the Reservation. In the first place, the conquest eliminated an important group, the raiding party with its power role of "war chief." Second, before the Conquest, members of the Tribe acknowledged no external, superordinate authority; afterwards they were forced to. The United States Government conferred authority on headmen or chiefs who were appointed by the Navajo Agents to serve as contact officials with members of the Tribe. The purer form of traditional authority must be reconstructed from historical documents and the reminiscences of aged informants.

The underlying assumption of this study is that any society which subsists over time must have some systematic allocation of power and authority to make final decisions and control disruptive behavior. Some person or persons must possess legitimate authority to make decisions for which he or they are accountable, decisions or commands that certain individuals or groups feel obliged to obey. It is this ingredient of mutual obligation, rights, and duties that differentiates a relationship of legitimate authority from a market or exchange relationship. *#64.

The culture of the Navajo at the time of the American entry into the territory included a settlement pattern of scattered small hogan clusters occupied by matrilineal extended families organized politically under the dual leadership of local Band headmen who represented each group in peace and war activities respectively. The peace chiefs of the Navajo local Bands were inducted into office by a ceremony, and war chiefs

attained their position via ritual knowledge and attainment. It is considered extremely doubtful that the Navajo ever achieved a centralized political authority prior to the development of the Navajo Tribal Council in 1922, yet there are ethnographic accounts of ceremonial assemblies that took up such matters as peace and war prior to the defeat of the Navajo people by Kit Carson in 1846. *#65. There are innumerable reports that are highly suggestive of pre-1864 regional political organizations (referred to as naach'id) that dealt with problems affecting groups larger than outfits, though the reports of these regional assemblies held prior to 1864 do not indicate whether or not the naach'id was a potent force in Navajo life. The patterns of behavior relating to political meetings in the accounts of the naach'id have their counterparts in contemporary political meetings of the Navajos. There are, for example, the long periods of oratory, the attempt to reach consensus, the unwillingness of some to accept the decision of the majority, and the patterns of leave-taking by those who disagree when decisions are reached.

The fragmentary evidence of the naach'id indicates a close association between the ceremonial and political life of the Navajo prior to their exile at Fort Sumner in 1864-68, and that perhaps political issues were taken up only when external situations dictated a need for a political position. The primary functions of the naach'id were to cure individuals, to bring rain, and to restore the fertility of the soil, and whatever place the naach'id had in Navajo culture prior to the exile of the majority of the Navajo people at Fort Sumner, there is no evidence that it was revived after the Navajo were released and returned to their homes. However, most curing ceremonies performed in Navajo country today include speeches by natani

or leaders - in which the "good life" is urged upon those present - in addition to the conveyance of specific information such as the date of the next Grazing Committee meeting or ceremonial. *#66.

Both the war and peace chiefs were elected; the choice of a war leader was dependent upon whether or not an individual could perform one or more War Way chants, and the position was open to women as well as men. The peace chief or natani was chosen for his exemplary character, oratorical ability, personal magnetism, proven ability in both religious and practical affairs, and ability to perform the Blessing Way ceremony. Age is not mentioned as a criterion for either position, but the qualifications indicate only elder men and women would be eligible. *#67.

The people of an area assembled to choose a local headman and, while choice was always nearly unanimous, a close vote would prompt the people to request speeches from the various candidates. In addition, both men and women were allowed to speak in favor of a candidate. The speechmaking and voting frequently took several days; a unanimous vote for one candidate was the objective, as great value was placed on community harmony and solidarity. The office of headman - either for war or peace - was not considered hereditary, though there was a tendency for a succession to headmanship by the son of a chief. Local headmen among the Navajo held the position for life; however, a headman was expected to resign before his death and name a successor. The local group was not bound to accept his recommendation.

A natani usually appointed several assistants to aid him in the overseeing of affairs for the local group. The

assistants received no compensation for their work, and neither did the natani; their reward was the respect accorded them by the members of their local group. The natani was expected to settle the domestic quarrels and family disputes and difficulties. A local headman also judged cases of witchcraft and had the right and duty to pronounce sentences of death. Such death sentences had to have the complete approval of the local group and were invoked only in the most serious of offenses, and only after long debate and deliberation. He was expected to be a generous person, and to dispense hospitality to visitors. A natani also represented his local group at large meetings and was the diplomatic representative between his group and other similar groups, tribes, and governments. *#68.

Political organization among the Navajo during the first phase of Navajo-American relationships (1846-1864) had developed to the point where local groups were organized under the dual leadership of peace and war chiefs. These headmen, as we have seen, were participants in gatherings or assemblies which attempted to set policies for regional groups of Navajos. It is doubtful, however, that the Navajo ever achieved any effective centralized system of authority even though, during the days when the naach'id was held, Navajos were not as widely diffused as they are today. The local political leaders, the natani, operated within a social control system that respected the individual, and uniform collective behavior was achieved not by authoritarian directive imposed from above, but rather by creating a favorable public opinion within the local group. Speeches, debate, and discussion were consequently the normal means used to create unanimity; the natani's status was one

of leader and overseer of all of the affairs of his local group or outfit, and he was accorded high rank and prestige. His role was that of a wise leader, and he was expected to combine mythological knowledge with wisdom in making decisions for his group. The reputation of a local headman depended upon his good judgement and his rhetorical ability to persuade members of his group to lead peaceful, useful, and harmonious lives. *#69.

The basis then for legitimacy, the validation of "imperative coordination" in pre-Conquest Navajo society, lay in the fact that the actions of the members of the society were oriented to a normative order, to accepted values and beliefs, and to the correctness of certain sanctions for inducing conformity. Navajos believed in a harmonious universe, and there was agreement on certain kinship and affinal ties, for economic subsistence, co-residence, sexual satisfaction, and the raising of children. Disputes should be settled through compromise and arbitration; force should be used only against witches and aliens. Conformity should be secured through respect, praise, and cooperation; deviance should be punished through disrespect, ridicule, and withdraw of cooperation. In brief, the Navajo authority system was traditional; obedience was voluntary; power was exercised by particular persons in particular situations; and there was no supreme leader, no hierarchical chain of command, no monopoly of force. *#70.

The role system is a synonym for social structure, the ordering of the personnel of a society into related positions or roles which are defined in terms of reciprocal expectations, rights, and duties. People in social positions do not behave in

a random manner, and their actions are influenced by their own expectations and those of others in the group or society in which they are participants. A role is a set of expectations applied to an incumbent of a social position. Role entails attributes and obligations for expected, predictable behavior in terms of society's norms. Role is the point at which individual behavior becomes social conduct; the point at which the conflicts are sharpest and the motivation for social change appears. *#71.

Before analyzing the authority roles such as those of the war and peace leaders which we have just discussed, there remains an interesting problem which merits attention. Although there were natanis, rich stock-holders, ceremonial leaders, and war chiefs, all positions which carried prestige in the society, such leaders seem to have made no attempt to form associations or to interact more frequently among themselves as status groups. For example, interaction was more frequent within the kin groups than it was between rich men from various groups, and ceremonial leaders did not gather together as such nor did they seek to put up barriers against entries into the "profession." No positions were permanently or exclusively drawn in Navajo society to any extent whatsoever.

To summarize: all the authority roles in Navajo society were achieved, except for the minor role of hand-trembler, which had a special charismatic quality. The sphere of competence was traditionally specified, and even kinship roles which were to some extent ascribed by birth, sex, age, and marriage, had their achievement component, since no kinship or affinal position automatically conferred a fixed amount of authority on the incumbent. Easy divorce, the wide ramifica-

tion of kin and affinal ties, the flexibility of residence patterns, and the negative evaluation of coercion among relatives made it necessary for a Navajo to achieve genuine authority in a family group by means of special attributes and performances within the framework of the common normative order. *#72.

This leaves us the problem of role conflicts, that is, conflict within a role, conflicts between roles played by the same person, and conflict between role definers. All roles that were fully institutionalized in traditional Navajo society were oriented to the accepted normative order. There is no evidence, before the Conquest, that Navajos ever challenged their system of beliefs and values; this was not an authoritarian belief system, but rather a series of prescriptions of what one ought to do or ought not to do in order to be healthy and happy. To act competently within this system, however, was not always easy, and a series of values clashed within each institutionalized role. The emphasis on harmony and generosity and the value of ceremonial participation contradicted in certain situations the emphasis on the value of acquiring goods, and of practical activities in agriculture and herding. The value placed on acquiring wealth conflicted with the belief in equal status, with the result that the rich man ran the risk of being accused of witchcraft. Likewise, the ceremonial practitioner who was obligated to perform his ritual ran the risk of being suspected of using his knowledge for evil purposes, and the natani was caught between the need to secure consensus of opinion and the need for decisive action.

The conflict within the role system was primarily between war and peace leaders. The right of raiders was generally recognized in Navajo society and their activity was

considered "an important practice pursuit", according to Kluckhohn and Leighton. The war leader was supposed to obtain the consent of the natani before instituting a raid, though he rarely did so, and reprisals frequently victimized groups who had not been involved in a raid, and this, certainly, must have caused friction among role players. Although there were no strong corporate groups demanding conflicting loyalties of the same person as in some of the highly structured African societies, conflicts did exist between roles. Perhaps the lack of a clear hierarchy among roles contributed to the conflicts. *#73.

FEDERAL AND LOCAL AUTHORITY SYSTEMS

The Federal authority system as it affects Indian affairs is less difficult to analyze than that of the traditional Navajo system due to its more formalized structure. It is, more or less, a rational-legal system in which obedience is owed to a legally established order. Concrete units and offices are impersonally defined and delimited, and at the level which most directly comes into contact with the Navajo systems, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, there is a total bureaucracy with regular activities distributed as official duties. Power is hierarchical and authoritarian, accepted by voluntary submission, or imposed by sanctions that are adjudicated in formal courts and enforced by an apparatus of police, prisons, and a national army. The validity of Federal claims to obedience rests on rational grounds; on normative rules defining the right of those elevated to authority to issue commands.

Felix Cohen says that the Constitution of the United States forms the basis for Federal control over Indian affairs, since the National Government derives its sovereignty from powers delegated to it by the States. Rice, as quoted by Cohen from Shepardson, details the principle sources of the authority Congress exercises over the Indians:

"In view of the express grants of the commerce power and the expenditure-for-the-general-welfare-power, of the fact that the greater Indian tribes lived on the national domain and not within any state (until the west was admitted piecemeal to statehood) and of the custom of dealing with the Indian tribes by treaty, the United States Supreme Court has never found, so far as I can learn, that any Congressional regulation of Indians has been beyond the reach of the national power. Indeed the net result is the creation of a new power, a power to regulate Indians. *#74.

The ultimate basis for the legitimacy of Federal authority over Indian treaty tribes, such as the Navajo, lies in the treaty whereby the tribe surrenders its sovereign right to make war on exchange for the protection of the United States. Whether or not Congress has the right to abrogate an Indian treaty unilaterally is still open to question, as certain areas of authority were left either, or delegated to, the Indian tribe as co-signer of the treaty. Areas of relative Indian and Federal jurisdiction have been defined and redefined, executively, legislatively, and judicially, by successive generations of Americans; the President of the United States, the Congress, the Federal Courts, the Department of the Interior, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs have made laws, rendered decisions, and promulgated the rules which regulate Indian affairs.

Congress has the principle authority to legislate on Indian matters, and this authority is usually exercised by the Committees of both Houses that consider bills affecting the Indians, such as the Senate and House Committees on Interior and Insular Affairs. A bill concerning the Indians is sent to the relevant committee, which may conduct hearings and recommend passage, report the bill unfavorably, or allow it to die in committee. The signatures of about half of the members of the House of Representatives, and unanimous approval in the Senate of a motion to discuss the bill, are necessary to force a bill onto the floor of the respective House. Appropriations are the heart of Indian affairs, and due to the trust relationship between Congress and the Indians, many obviously minor decisions require an Act of Congress. *#75.

Congress has delegated executive authority over Indians to Administrative officials: the President, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Properly promulgated according to law, the rules and regulations of an Administrative body have the force and effect of statutes. The President could at one time, with the consent of the tribe, establish a reservation, or add to the reservation by executive order. (This right was taken away by Congress in 1917). The Office of the Indian Commissioner was established in 1832 to manage Indian Affairs under regulations prescribed by the President, and in 1849, when the Department of the Interior was constituted, the office of Indian Commissioner was placed under the Secretary of the Interior. Both officials are appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate. Administrators cannot claim plenary power to regulate Indian conduct, their authority being limited to the implementation of statutory or treaty provisions. *#76.

The United States Government Organization Manual lists the main functions of the Bureau of Indian Affairs:

- "1. To act as trustee with respect to Indian lands and monies held in trust by the United States and to assist the owners in making the most effective use of their lands and other resources;
2. to provide the public services when needed - such as education and welfare aid - where these services are not available to Indians from other agencies;
3. to furnish guidance and assistance for those Indians who wish to leave Reservation areas and enter normal channels of American economic and social life; and
4. to collaborate with the Indian people (both tribally and individually) in the development of programs leading towards full-fledged Indian responsibility for the management of their own property and affairs as well as from the gradual transfer of public service responsibilities from the Bureau of Indian Affairs to the agencies

which normally provide these services to non-Indian citizens." *#77.

Navajos participate in the Federal authority system when they hold positions in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and in the United States Public Health Service, and the number of Indians so employed has steadily increased.

An important judicial authority for Indians is the Office of the Solicitor in the Department of the Interior; this office performs all legal work for the Department, including public land proceedings and Indian probate matters. Navajos, like other Indians, are subject to state criminal laws when they are off the Reservation, but when they are within the Reservation they are answerable only to Federal or tribal courts. The Federal District Court has jurisdiction in cases involving eleven major crimes as well as over offenses which are ordinarily under Federal jurisdiction throughout the country. However, all other offenses committed by Navajos on the Reservation are tried in the Tribal Court on the basis of a tribal code of law adopted in 1937, which takes Navajo customs into account. *#78. The Supreme Court of the United States rules on matters of constitutionality, and due to the great complexity of tribal-Federal-state jurisdictional problems, this Court is frequently called upon for authoritative judgements.

The basis of the normative order of the Federal Government is the assumption of Federal responsibility over the condition of the Indians, a belief in which the States and the Indians concur. Over the years, however, this responsibility has been variously defined. At first it was considered to be pacification, military conquest, gift-giving, the confinement of Indians to reservations, and wardship for Ind-

ians. Later, the responsibility was interpreted to mean the incorporation of Indians into American life by allotting Indian lands, breaking up the reservations, selling surplus Indian lands, and destroying tribal identity. *#79.

American Blacks had become recognized as a species of human being by amendments to the Constitution shortly after the Civil War. Prior to emancipation, they had been counted as three-fifths of a person in determining population for representation in the House of Representatives, and early Civil Rights bills nebulously state that other people shall have the same rights as "white people," indicating that there were "other people." Yet Civil Rights bills passed during and after the Civil War systematically excluded Indian people. For a long time an Indian was not presumed capable of initiating an action in a court of law, of owning property, or of giving testimony against whites in courts. Nor could an Indian vote or leave his reservation; Indians were America's captive people without any defined rights whatsoever. Then one day whitey discovered that the Indian tribes still owned some 135 million acres of land, and to his ghastly realization he learned that much of it was very valuable; some was good grazing land, some was farm land, some mining land, and some covered with timber. Animals could be herded together on a piece of land, but they could not sell it. Therefore it took no time at all to discover that Indians were really people and should have the right to sell their lands. Land was the means of recognizing the Indian as a human being; it was the method whereby land could be stolen legally and not blatantly.

Once the Indian was thus acknowledged, it was fairly simple to determine what his goals were. If, thinking went,

the Indian was just like the white, he must have the same outlook as the white, so the future was planned for the Indian people in public and private life, and first in order was allotting them reservations so that they could sell their lands. God's forordained plan to repopulate the continent fit exactly with the goals of the tribes as they were defined by their "white friends."

It is fortunate that Indians were never slaves; they merely gave up land in lieu of life and labor, and because the Black labored, he was considered a draft animal. Because the Indian occupied large areas of land, he was considered a wild animal; had they given up everything else, or had anything else to give up, it is certain that they would have been considered something else. Whites have had a different attitude toward the Indians and the Blacks since the Republic was founded; whites have always refused to give non-whites the respect which they have been found to legally possess. Rather, there has always been a contemptuous attitude, at best, that although the law says one thing, "we all know better!" Thus whites steadfastly refused to allow Blacks to enjoy the fruits of citizenship; they systematically closed schools, churches, stores, restaurants, and public places to Blacks or made insulting provisions for them. For one hundred years every program of public and private white America was devoted to the exclusion of the Black. The Indian, however, suffered the reverse treatment. Law after law was passed requiring him to conform to white institutions; Indian children were kidnapped and forced into boarding schools thousands of miles away from their homes to learn the white man's ways. Reservations were turned over to different Christian denominations for governing, and for a long time reservations were church operated. Every-

thing possible was done to ensure that Indians were forced into American life. The wild animal was made into a household pet whether or not he wanted to be one. *#80.

The local State systems are modeled on the Federal system and are therefore rational-legal in type. Positions are either elective or bureaucratic and are arranged in a hierarchy of fixed areas of jurisdiction. The States (Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah) have no jurisdiction over the Navajo Reservation; they have limited jurisdiction over allotted lands, and complete jurisdiction over Navajos living off the Reservation on land that is not in trust. The Navajo Reservation is surrounded by these three States, and there is a continuous jurisdictional problem.

The basic legal decision on the issue of state jurisdiction over treaty tribes was rendered in 1832 by Chief Justice John Marshall, who characterized Indian tribes as "domestic dependent nations."

"The Cherokee Nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to ented, but with the consent of the Cherokees themselves, or in conformity with treaties, and with the Acts of Congress." *#81.

In 1959, the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed the position of Chief Justice Marshall in a decision on the oft-cited case of Williams v. Lee. This case involved the application of a State's civil process against a Navajo Indian on the Reservation. It was a question of the right of a trader to seize an Indian's sheep and sell them in partial payment of a debt, and the Supreme Court reversed the decision of the Arizona Supreme Court and ruled that the State had no jurisdiction over

civil affairs on the Navajo Reservation since this would undermine the authority of the tribe to govern itself, an authority which was recognized by Congress in the Treaty of 1868: "If this power is to be taken away from them, it is for Congress to do it."

In 1952, approximately 3,000 Navajos of voting age in Arizona and New Mexico were registered to vote, and due to the Supreme Court's Williams v. Lee decision, Arizona has served notice on the Navajo Tribal Council that it can neither control nor finance general elections on the Navajo Reservation. As of 1960, the tribe was preparing eagerly to conduct the Presidential elections in that part of the Navajo Reservation which lies within the boundaries of the State of Arizona. *#82.

Generalizing on the normative order- the values and beliefs regarded as legitimate by the States - is perhaps unwarranted. We may say, however, that all of the State agree that Indians are primarily a Federal responsibility. All the States would like jurisdiction over Indians, and freedom to tax their land and resources without being forced to assume the financial burden of Indian welfare. Perhaps the real test of State attitudes will come only when the Bureau of Indian Affairs withdraws and the immediate future of the Navajo Tribal Council is at stake.

THE AUTHORITY SYSTEM OF THE NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL

The modern Navajo political system, exemplified by the Navajo Tribal Council, exercises rational-legal authority over the Navajo Tribe. It is, as we have stated previously, modeled on the American governmental system of a representative legislature elected by universal suffrage, and obedience is owed to a legally established, impersonal order. As we have seen, the legitimacy of the Navajo Tribal Council derives ultimately from the Treaty of 1868 whereby Congress recognized the sovereign right of the Navajo Tribe to sign a treaty.

So far we have discussed the type of authority exercised by all Indian treaty tribes. The specific power of the Navajo Tribal Council as presently constituted derives from Rules for the Navajo Tribal Council, which were written by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (which is like requesting the KKK to supplement Civil Rights legislation). The seventy-four Council members are elected every four years, and the Navajo Tribal Council makes the major policy decisions for the Tribe, subject to the approval or veto of the Secretary of the Interior. Until the incorporation of the local Chapters into the Council system in 1955, the Delegates bore the sole responsibility for linking their communities to the center.

The administration of the Tribal Council at Window Rock is the full-time executive branch of the organization, and the chain of command reaches from Chairman to Vice-Chairman to Executive Secretary. The Chairman has important appointive powers and he is responsible for the executive branch, and resolutions of the Navajo Tribal Council are enforced by the Navajo Court of Indian Offenses, the Navajo police, and the

Federal Government. *#83.

Until 1955, the most important local organizations, the Chapters, had no official connection with the Navajo Tribal Council. In that year, some Chapters petitioned the Council for per diem pay for Chapter offenses, and Chapters are now an integral part of the Council system. The Council certifies the Chapters, requires them to file regular reports of meetings, and pays per diem salaries to each President, Vice-President, and Secretary. These local organizations handle welfare applications to the Council, conduct the primary elections, plan and administer the Public Works Program for their area, and are the principle means of communication between Council and community. The modern Navajo authority system, like the traditional Navajo system and the Federal and local State systems, concedes that Indian welfare is a Federal responsibility. Navajos lean heavily on the Treaty of 1868 and the "failure of Washington to live up to its promises;" the right of Indian tribes to self-government is enthusiastically embraced by contemporary Navajo leaders.

The basis for political consensus among Navajos, educated and uneducated alike, is the shared belief that the Reservation and its resources should be kept intact for the Tribe as a whole. Several decades ago, all the traditionalists requested was to be left alone, and even today there is no general desire for de-tribalized assimilation into the mainstream of non-Navajo life. Navajos regard the strengthening of the Tribal Council as essential in the face of Bureau withdrawal, and the local States, they feel, are solely interested in taxing and/or in taking away Reservation land. Jobs, schools, and hospitals should be provided on the Reservation so that rel-

atives and friends can stay together, and although there are certain divergent interests (the three main types being occupational, modern-traditional, and central-local), Navajos feel that the Council belongs to them; that they can participate and influence its decisions more readily than they can influence Washington. *#84.

THE INTERACTION OF THE SYSTEMS AND THEIR ROLE RELATIONS

Four political authority systems - traditional Navajo, local States, Federal, and modern Navajo Tribal Council - interact to produce the total political system, to make the severely sanctioned choices for Navajo Indians. Each of these systems has its area of independent authority, but they also overlap, cooperate, compete, conflict, and intertwine. Each system has its own role structure; at times one man may play roles in several structures simultaneously, and role players in the different systems hold mutual expectations. Conflicting commitments and conflicting role definitions make for strain, and strain in a society influences the direction and the rate of change which is, in our case, the process of the institutionalization of a new political system.

The traditional Navajo system continues to function not as it once did, for sure, but with enough vitality and in enough areas to be readily identified. Entire sections of Navajo life have barely been touched by the outside systems; traditional family life, polygyny, clan alignments, forms of economic cooperation between extended families, matrilineal residence patterns, outfits or cooperating groups, all these persist. Old land-use patterns, traditional forms of recreation, informal discussions and informal decisions, resolve many local problems. Witchcraft accusations even as late as 1963 were being used as a means of social control, and old leaders still exert informal authority. The traditional ceremonial order still flourishes and is almost completely outside the control of other "chains of command." *#85.

On a local level, the Federal system, as embodied in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, overlaps at points with the modern

Navajo government; at times it protects and supports, at other times opposes, the older Navajo patterns. The local States do not interact so intimately with either the traditional Navajo or the modern Tribal Council system. Reservation Navajos in remote areas can largely avoid the States except so far as they are tied to the local market. On the local, as well as on the National level, Federal, State, and modern Navajo systems are jockeying for positions. The States want land, taxes, and jurisdiction; the Indian Bureau wants to unload responsibilities on the States without jeopardizing Navajo land, resources, or authority; Navajos want Federal and State aid without Federal or State control.

On a National level, the Federal authority system exerts ultimate political control over all other systems. At this level it meshes with the systems of the local States, and here the interests of all four systems meet, sometimes in accord, sometimes in discord. Three of the systems are in accordance on what they desire from the fourth, the Federal Government; namely, money, services, authority, and freedom from control. At this level there is a continuous, often unpredictable, series of alignments and realignments around each specific issue.

The modern Tribal Council system, stimulated by, and modeled upon, the Federal authority structure, at the same time grows out of the traditional Navajo society. Representing thus in some measure a fusion of two systems, it is nevertheless redefining Navajo social life. From a family-centered, locally oriented, loosely structured, non-authoritarian society, a collectivistic, Tribe-centered, authoritarian, nationalistic modern state is being created. The traditional system, as it

interacts with the modern system, reinterprets the modern political forms, and thus the Navajo Tribal Council has achieved a working consensus of both young and old Navajos, a consensus that validates the legitimacy, and leads to the institutionalization, of the new political system. *#86.

Most of the officials of the Bureau of Indian Affairs attain their positions by Civil Service examinations and enjoy tenure and retirement benefits; however, conflicts develop within and between Bureau roles. Standards of recruitment and promotion may change, and white Bureau employees play their roles principally in a single authority system. Conflicts within their roles take forms common to all hierarchical systems and to all administrative units that are not at the same time top policy-making bodies. That is, a role player may be expected to carry out directives with which he is not in sympathy. Clashes between role players arise when individuals are forced to compete for a limited number of positions. In a hierarchy, there may be conflicts between echelons, or between roles on the same level or on different levels; higher officials often find their policies distorted by lower officials. Policy failures in the Bureau of Indian Affairs are frequently blamed on lack of financial help from Congress, on mistakes of subordinates, and on the half-hearted support from the higher officials.

The Navajo employee of the Bureau has the additional problem, often dilemma, of simultaneously playing roles in two systems. By birth and by residence, he is part of the traditional society, and prevented from acting directly in the modern Navajo system, he may find himself enjoined to behave in opposition to Council policies, whereas in his

Navajo role he is expected to uphold the decisions of the organized Tribe. *#87.

Local Congressmen meet conflicting expectations at the National and State levels; at times the interests of Indians, the State, and the nation coincide; frequently they do not. Local State, county, and municipal officers can concentrate more particularly on the demands of their own territory and their own special interest groups since they regard the Indians as a Federal responsibility; that the area they administer was once Indian land they conveniently forget. Furthermore, since political office is not a dependable lifetime occupation, the politician may also be an oil man, a mining operator, etc., and the definition of his occupational role may conflict with his public role as it touches Indian affairs. *#88.

Roles in the Navajo Tribal Council system can be divided into four groups: tribal lawyer, elected officers, elected delegates, and hired personnel. The role of Chairman is the only modern political role now subject to an all-tribal popular election, and the most fundamental conflict in his role is between the expectations of his people and the limited power he wields as a titular head of a "domestic dependent nation" in a "colonial" setting. The limitations on his power either inhibit him from making election promises, or, if he is incautious, make a liar out of him. The Vice-Chairman faces similar problems, but since he is chosen by the Chairman after the nomination conventions, he need not show initial electoral strength. His is a slightly more limited sphere of action, though he must be sufficiently oriented to modern tribal development to master techniques of

parliamentary procedure.

The role of Delegate or Councilman entails the conflicts of elected office. However, a Navajo Councilman runs only in his own community, and he deals with his constituents on a vis-a-vis basis. Navajos like to vote for people they know personally, therefore the Delegate is close to the traditional system. But since he faces traditional Navajos directly and frequently, he must bear the brunt of criticism for any unpopular decision or act of the Council, of the Staff, or of the Advisory Committee. Because of the closeness of the Delegate to the traditional system at the local level, modern Navajo political leadership tends to develop first at the center rather than from the grass roots. *#89.

The role conflicts of Navajo hired personnel on the Navajo Tribal Council staff are not so great as are those of elected officers. These employees have only one standard to meet - modern efficiency. They do not face an angry electorate when they have made an unpopular decision or have failed in a task; at most, if they head departments, they must meet general criticism as it is reflected on the Council floor. Although the tangle of political relations have merely been touched upon, one can see the exceptionally complex tasks that face the tribal leaders in particular, as they strive to perfect a modern political system in a traditional society in a "colonial" setting.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AMONG NAVAJOS

The administrative units into which contemporary Navajos have been organized by the Government had their beginning with the Treaty of 1868, when a three-and-a-half million acre tract of land was set aside for the Navajo in the north central area of the New Mexico Territory. Under this treaty, the Navajo became subject to the authority of the United States and their lives were to be guided by agents of the Government, a status they still retain. Each of the administrative units has its own history of development and function within contemporary Navajo culture, though the focus of attention shall be the Navajo Tribal Council, Chapters, and the Grazing Committees. *#90.

The first concrete steps made by the Government toward allowing the Navajo a measure of self-government occurred in 1923, when the first Tribal Council was elected. Occasionally Indian Agents had called in headmen and outfit leaders for a council, and these hand-picked assemblies were expected to act on behalf of all of the Navajo. It is quite possible that the Indian Agents operation on the local levels recognized the inadequacy of these "councils," and that a more representative form of government for the Navajo was not only possible, but crucial. Yet it was not until oil was discovered, on land originally set aside by the Treaty of 1868, that the need was sufficiently compelling to overcome the inertia that had previously prevented the establishment of a representative tribal government. Article X of the Treaty of 1868 provided:

"No future treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the Reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force

against said Indians unless agreed to and executed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same...." *#91.

In 1921, the Navajos of the San Juan jurisdiction acted in accordance with this article and voted to lease a 4,800 acre tract of land to the Midwest Refining Company, and although the use of a general assembly of Navajos within a jurisdiction was a clumsy and time-consuming method for conducting business, several oil leases were negotiated by Navajos of several jurisdictions in 1921, only to meet with disapproval by the Secretary of the Interior. In these negotiations, the Navajos were exercising the rights of franchise given them by the Treaty of 1868. The departmental reason for the disapproval of the leases was that the land in question was originally set aside for all of the Navajo people, and that the revenue that might come from such land belonged to all of the Navajos, not merely those living in this or that particular jurisdiction.

In short, the policy of the Department of the Interior was that any Reservation land with its resources not held by individuals under a fee patent title belonged to all of the Navajo and that any of the revenue from any of this tribal land belonged to all of the people. To implement this Department of Interior policy, a "Business Council" was called in 1922, which Chee Dodge, Charlie Mitchell, and Daagha'chii Bikiis attended at the invitation of the superintendants of the various Navajo jurisdictions concerned with oil and mineral leases. This Business Council was defined by Department of Interior officials as constituted to act in behalf of the Navajo Tribe, and it negotiated leases for Reservation land for commercial purposes. *#92.

The Government administrators both on the local and departmental levels evidently had some misgivings about the non-elective status of the 1922 "Business Council" membership, for in the first month of 1923 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Charles H. Burke, issued a document entitled "Regulations Relating to the Navajo Tribe of Indians," which was approved on January 27 of that year. These regulations made a point of stating that the Navajo were to be considered as a tribe-at-large in such matters as the administration of economic assets as oil, gas, coal, and other mineral deposits, tribal timber, and the developments of underground water supply for stock purposes. The regulations also prescribed that there be appointed a Commissioner of the Navajo Tribe, who was to maintain a central office for management of the affairs of the Tribe, and the new Commissioner was to have general supervision over each of the several superintendencies concerned with Navajo people.

The regulations also state that a Navajo Tribal Council was to be formed, and that this Council was to work with the administrative offices of the Government on all matters concerning all of the Navajo. The Navajo Tribal Council was to be formed by the election of one delegate and one alternate delegate from each of the six superintendencies within Navajo country, thus the Tribal Council was to have representatives from the San Juan, Western Navajo, Southern Navajo, Pueblo Bonito, Leupp, and Moqui jurisdictions.

It is evident that the Secretary of the Interior, as an agent for the Government of the United States, was willing to grant the Navajo only a limited measure of self-government,

and while the powers of the Council were not specifically circumscribed, it was to act as a forum to assist the Commissioner to the Navajo Tribe in managing the affairs of the Navajo people. The Secretary of the Interior held a heavy hand of influence over the Navajo Tribal Council, for he had the right to remove any Council delegate and was able to determine when a Council was to meet by acting through his subordinate, the Commissioner. In addition, the Council was not allowed to conduct any meeting unless the Commissioner was present. Notwithstanding these limitations, the "Regulations Relating to the Navajo Tribe" stands as the first significant document leading to the development of greater self-government for the Navajo. In essence, it allowed Navajos to elect tribal leaders; leaders who were expected to express themselves on Government policies affecting the lives of The People. *#93.

The political structure proposed for the Navajo by the Government differs only slightly from that functioning in the United States generally at present. We note, by way of comparison, that the general public in the United States does not elect their President and Vice-President directly, but elect a set of electors who in turn elect persons for these high political offices, and the same pattern was suggested for Navajos, in that the delegates and alternates to the Tribal Council were to be elected by the general Navajo public, and these elected people in turn elected a Chairman and Vice-Chairman. The outstanding functional difference between the Council and the Congress is that the former was originally limited to advising and assisting the Commissioner to the Navajo Tribe in administering the needs of the Navajo people, with no powers of legislation; the primary function of the United States Con-

gress is to pass laws that govern the American people.

The first Navajo Tribal Council convened on July 7, 1923, and the only major change in the 1923 structure occurred in 1934, when the Navajo Tribal Council adopted a resolution amending the regulations to eliminate the position of alternate delegate and double the existing membership by declaring the alternates as full-fledged delegates to the Navajo Tribal Council. This action came as a result of Government pressure for the Navajo Tribal Council and the Navajo people-at-large to accept the provisions of the Indian Reorganization Act (Wheeler-Howard Act), which called for abandoning the existing Navajo Tribal Council and the formation of a government under a constitution. The Navajos voted by a slim margin of 7,002 to 7,608 to reject the Indian Reorganization Act, however, on November 24, 1936, the Navajo Tribal Council passed a resolution that established a committee to arrange a constitutional assembly for the purpose of writing and adopting a constitution for the Navajo. *#94.

This proposed Navajo constitution was rejected by the Secretary of the Interior, "as it was generally agreed in view of the prevailing discussion and conflict (over a government-sponsored livestock program) within the Tribe itself as well as between the Tribe and the Federal Government, that the time was not propitious for such a step." Instead of the constitution, a set of bylaws was issued by the Secretary of the Interior on July 26, 1938, which was sufficient only for the election and reorganization of the Navajo Tribal Council. The 1938 rules did not define the limits of authority of the new Council and its officers, for it was hoped that a future Navajo

electorate would agree to adopt a constitution by referendum. Since then, in effect, the Navajo has been represented on a tribal-wide basis by various Councils elected under the 1938 "Rules for the Navajo Tribal Council" as no constitution has been submitted to the Navajo for a vote. *#95. To date, a constitution for the Navajo has not been adopted, and the powers of the Council are nowhere defined or delimited, which means that the Navajo have never acted formally to recognize the Council as the governmental organization authorized to act on their behalf, and the Navajo Tribal Council is the creation of the Secretary of the Interior and subject to his will and direction or dissolution. It is important to point out, however, that if the Navajo Tribal Council acts as if it had the authority to act on behalf of the Navajo, it would be interpreted as an act of hostility by the Government.

The Navajo Tribal Council has gone through some modifications since it was formed in 1938, but it still remains an instrumentality of the Secretary of the Interior. In general, the Council has broadened its scope of action in recent years; however, the organizational structure of the Council remains the same as that developed under the 1938 rules, with the Delegates to the Navajo Tribal Council being elected from seventy-four precincts both on and off the Reservation; sixty-four Delegates being from within the Reservation and ten which are elected from off-Reservation areas. *#96.

In the case of the Navajo, the Federal policy was implemented by: the availability of Tribal funds with which the Navajo could operate a tribal program; the development of a Tribal legal staff which helped the Council take fuller advantage of its residual sovereign powers granted in the Treaty

of 1868; and the desire of Navajos to direct their own affairs with a minimum of interference from Federal and State governments.

A concomitant development to the above was a formation of a bureaucracy to administer the directives emanating from the Navajo Tribal Council. The titular head of the Navajo Tribe's administrative unit is the chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, but the day-to-day responsibility for the management of tribal affairs falls on the shoulders of an executive secretary appointed by the Navajo Tribal Council. The executive secretary of the Navajo Tribe directs the tribal program through three divisions: Public Services, Resources, and Administration.

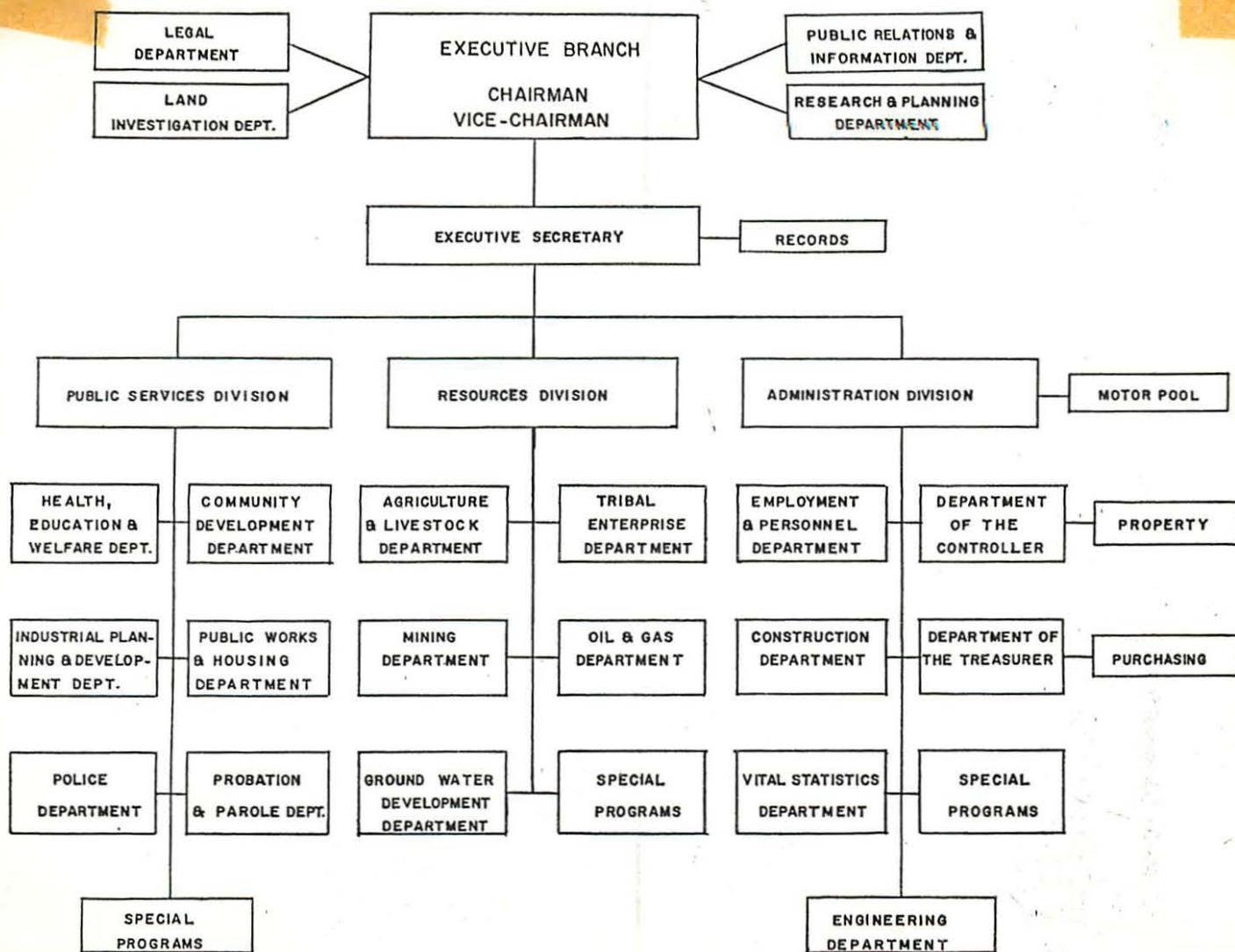


FIGURE 3—Organization of the executive branch of the Navajo Tribe, 1959. Adopted by Resolution No. 50-59 of the Navajo Tribal Council on August 6, 1959.

The administrative arm of the Navajo Tribal Council is staffed by both Navajo and white professional and non-professional personnel who are compensated by regular salary and fringe benefits equal to or higher than those received by Bureau of Indian Affairs' personnel working with the Navajo. *#97.

It is a truism that there is no other legislative body like the Council: in 1962 its membership consisted of persons from all walks of Navajo life, some of whom had been to American colleges and universities, some of whom were veterans of World Wars I and II, and some of whom were medicine men. The Navajo Tribal Council has emerged as the dominant political structure among the Navajo, yet as a political structure its area of independent political action is uncertain. The Secretary of the Interior approves or disapproves every resolution, every budget item, and every call for the Council to convene. The basic defect of the tribal-wide political structure, with the Council in the central and dominating position, is the lack of a tribal constitution. Thus the Council remains structurally and functionally dependent upon and responsive to an agency of the Government, the Department of the Interior, and not to the Navajo people, who elect its members.

GRAZING COMMITTEES

There were two major areas of activity of the Navajo Tribal Council during the first years of its existence. The first was the negotiation and signing of land leases for the exploitation of sections of the Navajo Reservation by commercial corporations seeking deposits of oil and other minerals. This task was handled relatively efficiently by the Council, inasmuch

as they delegated responsibility to the Commissioner of the Navajo Tribe, a person appointed by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The second major area of activity concerned the multifaceted problem of an expanding Navajo population dependent almost exclusively on livestock, yet occupying an area of insufficient grazing resources. ##98

This concern led to the creation of a new sociopolitical structure, the District Grazing Committee, through the joint effort of the Navajo Tribal Council and the Government. The history of this development indicates the difficulties encountered in a program of directed culture change. The Government, through several of its agencies, embarked upon a program of voluntary stock reduction and improvement in the 1930's, but later switched to a forced program when the people balked and ceased to cooperate. The Government's stock reduction program among the Navajo was no less than a major social and economic revolution which continues to the present day.

This stock reduction program touched nearly every Navajo family in Navajo country, and when the Government urged the Council at a 1934 meeting at Fort Defiance to adopt a resolution that further stock reductions were necessary, the Council refused to comply. The members of the Navajo Tribal Council were merely reflecting the attitudes of the majority of the Navajo people, who viewed the stock reduction program with alarm and suspicion, seeing in its operation a threat to their very survival.

Currently, the grazing districts or land management districts and their subdivisions are the basic political units among the Navajo population. The Government, acting in accordance with its general policy of promoting self-government among

the various Indian tribes in the United States, strongly urged the Navajo Tribal Council to accept and support the stock reduction program, though the management of the program remained in the hands of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and a virtual storm of protest broke over the heads of the Navajo Councilmen who participated in a resolution which supported the stock reduction program; many Navajos found it hard to believe that their leaders agreed to sell the means of their survival. *#99.

The intensity of the emotions aroused in Navajos as a result of the Council approving the stock reduction program can be measured by the fact that the Navajos in 1962 still remember those men in their localities who voted to approve the resolution, and the indications are that these men are considered politically untrustworthy. Navajos in general still oppose limiting the number of livestock a family may own, but the high point of resistance to the program occurred in 1943 when sheep and goats were forcibly reduced, though opposition has gradually been diminishing since that time, primarily due to economic changes brought about by the increasing number of Navajos working for wages away from home.

The central and controlling position in the Grazing Committee structure is occupied by the Advisory Committee, which calls itself the Central Grazing Committee when it deals with matters of grazing regulations. The Tribal Resources Committee of the Navajo Tribal Council acts as a subordinate body to the Central Grazing Committee, but the Resources Committee members do not have the privilege of voting on issues brought before the Central Grazing Committee. The Navajo Tribal Council can pass resolutions affecting grazing operations among Navajos

living on the Reservation, as can the Advisory Committee. Thus the central grazing committee acts as a link between these two political bodies and the district grazing committees. The Secretary of the Interior, however, has the final decision over all resolutions from either the advisory committee or the Council, and ultimate control is still in the hands of the damn Government. *#100.

The Navajos in off-Reservation areas have a second kind of grazing operation that operates informally insofar as the Navajo Tribe is concerned but that is recognized by the Bureau of Land Management of the Navajo Agency, Bureau of Indian Affairs. These unofficial grazing committees are found in thirty-four communities in off-Reservation areas, and usually they elect a Chairman, a Vice-Chairman, and a Secretary. While they do not receive any pay for their service, they advise and assist the district land boards in their duties and operation.

In substance, grazing committee members support any Governmental or Tribal program that aids them in maintaining and increasing individual holdings of sheep, goats, and horses, yet at the same time members are equally active and vocal in demanding that all restrictions be removed on the number of sheep units an individual may own. It is therefore inferred that these grazing committee members are attempting to reestablish the traditional pattern of pastoralism as a way of life for the Navajo people, and by doing so have placed themselves in direct opposition to the Government's program of directed cultural change.

COURTS

Indian tribes had almost complete jurisdiction over their

internal affairs until 1885, when Congress took from them the right to punish ten major crimes, to which an eleventh - the embezzlement of tribal funds - was added in 1957. In 1903, a Court of Indian Offenses was set up, like those on other reservations. To this court the Indian police brought domestic relations cases and Reservation squabbles. There were three native judges, appointed and paid for by the Government, though the Navajo Agent had the power to reverse their judgments. *#101.

The most frequently cited current example of regulation of tribal law and order is that of the Navajos, and the sheer size and complexity of it are indeed impressive. The Navajos budget over a million dollars a year for maintenance of their police and court systems for 85,000 people. A Navajo tribal court, staffed by seven judges, handles cases which prior to 1959 would have been tried before Courts of Indian Offenses, and, more importantly, the final authority is not the Secretary of the Interior but the Court of Appeals of the Navajo Tribe. The Indians have also taken over the complete responsibility for policing their Reservation, and these Indian police have a comparatively high percentage of modern equipment, including radio-equipped patrol cars. The Navajo courts differ considerably from the State and Federal courts in Arizona; in the absence of trained personnel - as late as 1959 only one Navajo was a lawyer - they retain much of the informality of the old Courts of Indian Offenses, and because about half the adults of the Tribe do not speak English, court proceedings more likely than not are conducted in Navajo. *#102.

The Chapter, or local organization, is nearly as old as the Navajo Tribal Council, but only in 1955 did it become an integral part of modern Navajo government. It was Agent John Hunter who, in 1925 decided that the Navajos should, at last, have more self-government. He divided the barren area of Leupp into a number of "Chapters" and asked the Navajos from each one to send representative to a council. *#103. By 1933, there were 100 Chapters on the Reservation, and they had become centers for community discussion and the organization of cooperative labor. During the stock reduction campaign, Chapters became the centers of resistance and the Government withdrew its support. The Chapter is a territorial organization, geared to the problems of the local group. Since traditional Navajo society offers no model, Navajos have institutionalized the Government-devised form in which they had acted under Bureau tutelage, for the history of Navajo economy, religion, and social structure shows that the Navajos have not hesitated to take over alien forms of behavior and of social organization once they perceived an advantage in doing so. Just as the form of the Tribal Council meets a need for centralized administration over a greatly increased population, a function which no indigenous unit could perform, so the Chapter organization meets a need for government in the communities.

The Navajo Tribal Council officially recognized and set in motion certification of Chapters by passing in 1955 the Navajo Tribal Resolution, which was approved by the Secretary of the Interior a few months later. The official sanctions bestowed upon the Chapters by the Navajo Tribal Council as a "grassroots" element in tribal government has strengthened their position as the local political government for the maj-

ority of the Navajo people. Furthermore, a modern Chapter House accomplishes the job of introducing to local groups of Navajos a vast array of cultural materials, yet allows each person to accept or reject these items according to his own personal inclinations. To many Navajos, the Chapter Houses with their modern equipment stand as symbols of tribal unity, optimism, and prosperity as these Houses are a gift to a particular community from the Navajo Tribe. *#104.

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL

The Federal Government, the Navajo Council leaders, and the Tribe's attorneys have all played important parts in the broadening of Navajo authority. For fifty years some kind of political organization has been fostered among the Navajos by the Federal Government, and the present policy of accelerating the withdrawal of the Indian Bureau has proven to operate as a spur toward the formation of a modern Navajo nation. Perhaps this is because withdrawal was coupled with rehabilitation; \$88,000,000 was appropriated for Navajos and Hopis in 1950, and since then, additional funds for roads, health services, and dam construction have been made available.

The General Counsel, Norman Littell, dates the era of growing independence from the Tribe from July 1947:

"Legal advice not only gave the Tribal Council and officers confidence as to the meaning of resolutions and knowledge of tribal authority and power over land and resources, but also expedited the work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in transacting business with the Navajo Tribe. *#105.

Most of the Indian tribes consider the right to hire their own lawyer to be of paramount importance. When Commissioner Dillon Myer proposed to control the choice, terms, and performances of contracts between Indian tribes and their lawyers, the protest was so great that the Secretary of the Interior abandoned the plan.

Navajo Council leaders, in pressing for more authority, have been willing to accept the responsibility and the burden of added costs that this entails. Council officials are acutely conscious of the value of making their own decisions, and they are perhaps overly sensitive to criticism and are ready on the spur of the moment to write angry letters to anyone who ques-

tions the wisdom of their position. In 1963, the Council had a wide range of choice of advisors, from among their own staff and the Bureau staff, as well as State officials, State Indian Commissioners, local residents, and Indian-rights associations. In addition there are still the old informal advisors - traders, missionaries, and doctors. Practically anyone in the Southwest is prepared to advise the Indians. *#106.

The Council is often accused of being overly dependent upon the tribal lawyers, both by outside groups and by Navajos. However, it must be remembered that the complex legal relations between the Tribe, Federal Government, and the States, the newness of this large-scale political development, and the complicated oil and gas leasing procedures cause many Navajo problems to present themselves as legal decisions and questions. There are charges that the lawyers influence the Council in too many areas; that they embroil the Tribe in unnecessary and unwise law suits; that they are wasting tribal money. However, if the Council's choice is towards the greatest possible development of a nearly autonomous state within a state, then the lawyers are providing consistent and concrete advice. *#107.

As the volume of tribal business grows, more authority is delegated to the Chairman and the Advisory Committee. Members of the various committees receive greater experience in modern legislative and administrative activity than do the Councilmen generally, and practically all programs and proposals are first discussed in committees before they reach the Council floor. Several members of the Advisory Committee serve on other committees or are appointed to head such special programs as grain distribution. As a result, Tribal Committee members do most of the talking at the Council meetings, though they also play an

important role in communication with the districts by attending Chapter meetings to explain programs in education, resources, or health, or as acting as trouble-shooters for the Administration. They are also the speakers on the Council radio program, and the Chairman will delegate them to represent him in off-Reservation conferences. The Chairman and Vice-Chairman, sensitive to the criticism of the electorate in the 1955 campaign, try to fulfill their election promises to meet frequently with the districts. The Council passed 2,300 resolutions between 1947 and 1957; it passed 266 resolutions from 1923 to 1947. *#108.

The Tribe now pays all its own expenses for government at the center and in the districts. The Council complies and adopts a budget, which is approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and it is, as the Navajos say, a "million-dollar operation." An examination of the annual budgets for the Tribe between 1951 and 1960 reflects the growth in activity:

Year	Budget	Year	Budget
1951	\$1,217,888	1956	\$ 3,368,333
1952	1,991,347	1957	6,626,416
1953	447,618	1958	15,039,813
1954	1,378,203	1959	20,149,531
1955	2,460,913	1960	28,000,000

A breakdown of the budget by categories for the years 1958 and 1959 follows:

Category	1958	1959
Administration	\$ 487,772	\$ 599,010
Legal and Judiciary	206,592	236,676
Community Services	1,995,045	2,288,849
Industrial and Business Operations	939,400	478,581
Minerals Management	97,795	110,953
Farm and Range Management	1,319,559	1,751,868
Land Use and Surveys	137,200	208,595
Financial Management	128,950	207,299
Capital Investments	8,727,500	11,267,700
Special Programs—Work Relief	1,000,000	3,000,000
TOTAL	\$15,039,813	\$20,149,531

Tribal business, as can be seen from a glance at the budget, covers a wide range. It may be classified into services that were previously performed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, services supplementing the current Bureau program, and new services. The principle expenditures are those relating to legislation, administration, economic improvement, education, law and order, communication, and recreation. *#109.

NAVAJO POLITICAL BEHAVIOR AND POLITICAL INCORPORATION

The apparent ease with which most contemporary Navajos use Anglo-American political principles in the operation of their self-government units can be misleading to one who accepts the terminology used in Navajo political meetings as indicative of culture content. All of the current self-government organizations among the Navajo on the community, regional, and tribal levels were introduced and sponsored by Government agencies in an attempt to modify the Navajo cultural system, and as the Navajo adjusted to the new forms of political organization derived from Indo-European cultural models, they began to incorporate such political principles as majority rule, quorum, standing vote, and parliamentary procedures such as tabling a motion. However, the meaning of each of these features has a different connotation for the Navajo than it does for the Anglo-American. *#110.

One of the outstanding differences in cultural content or the meaning a political action has for whites as opposed to Navajos is the sentiment each attaches to an active, aggressive community bloc of votes in a political meeting. Generally, the Americans view the minority group in a political meeting with satisfaction and consider its presence a measure of a vigorous and healthy state of affairs. The presence of an active minority bloc of voters in a Navajo political meeting is viewed with considerable dissatisfaction and is thought to represent an unhealthy state of political affairs. There is a long record of individuals and groups withdrawing from sociopolitical situations at crucial points of decision among the Navajos, and these instances of withdrawal indicate

a major culture pattern among the Navajos, yet they are descriptive of an extreme action which is undertaken only after efforts of compromise have failed. *#111.

There seem to be three major means of withdrawal from a gathering that causes little or no discord among the members of the groups. The first is obviously non-attendance at a meeting. This action presupposes knowledge about what will be discussed; and as agendas of Chapter, grazing, and Council meetings are made public before the date of the meeting, non-attendance because of disagreements is a very likely possibility.

Also, most meetings of a political nature are extremely slow to start, and information as to what will be discussed is available by word of mouth to those who might be interested. Thus a person can come to a meeting early and learn enough about the main topics and attitudes towards the topics before the actual meeting starts, and absent himself if his opinion is not of the majority. The third means of achieving withdrawal is directly related to political action, and it is the utilization of the motion to "table" an issue and thereby relieve the participants from public demonstration of disharmony. One result of tabling a motion is to allow the people to think, discuss, and form opinions on an issue at their own leisure, and these discussions are carried on in the trading post, in the hogans, at squaw dances and other ceremonials, as well as at schools, missions, and Bureau of Indian Affairs and tribal offices. *#112.

It is intuitively obvious that a major emphasis of all Navajo social interaction is to achieve harmony, and the well-being of individuals is coextensive with that of the group.

Harmonious interpersonal relations are thus the primary objective of action, and consensus is the direct evidence that a group has reached its goal. Consensus among the Navajos is not so much an agreement on all issues as it is the pattern of discussion, debate, negotiation, and compromise, and the respect for the attitudes of indifference among members of its groups whose primary aim is to maintain a sense of identification with each other as participants in the Navajo culture. The act of withdrawing from a social or political gathering by individuals is behavior prompted by considerable social pressure for consensus and harmony which, in turn, is exceptionally valued by The People. We must assume that the activities of a Chapter provide a means by which Navajos can realize a sense of identification on the local land-use community level, and the same assumption can be made for those people among the Navajos generally who have retained the traditional transhumant livestock pattern of subsistence as they deal with grazing and livestock matters in the operation of the district grazing committees. The Navajo Tribal Council provides a means by which all Navajos can maintain a sense of identification as Navajos whether or not they live on or off of the Reservation. *#113.

POLITICAL INCORPORATION

The development of several contemporary political structures among the Navajo has previously been discussed and can now be summarized, though to accomplish this, it will be necessary to restate the conditions under which the contact took place between Navajos and whites and to discuss the integration

of cultural elements that took place as a result of contact. In terms of the present study, the most outstanding feature of the integrative process undergone by the Navajo has been a major trend toward structural incorporation of Anglo-American principles of political organization without a corresponding strong tendency to integrate the cultural content of these principles.

The three major political structures (Council, Chapters, and Grazing Committee) introduced and promoted among the Navajo as a part of a directed culture change program of the Government have sufficiently different histories to allow us to compare and evaluate the process of social (form) integration with that of cultural (content) integration. The Navajo have been subject to a program of directed culture change since they were incarnated at Fort Sumner in 1864, and these conditions continued for the four year period they were kept there and The People had little or no choice over the form or content of their culture. *#114.

The Navajo Tribal Council was established by the Government in 1923 as part of the latter's program of directed change. The new political structure was composed of elected Navajos who were to represent the entire Navajo population. The Council was designed to promote more intensive political interaction between Navajos and Agents of the Government; replace the Government-appointed Navajo leaders of the Tribe with elected representatives; provide the Navajo with a limited degree of political self-determination (notice, "limited"); and reestablish a Navajo tribal-wide authority structure which would be responsive to the demands of the Government's program of directed culture change. *#115.

There is no question but that a number of Navajos did participate in the new political structure, yet the term "incorporate" implies the borrowed elements are fitted into place and conform to the meaningful and functional relations within the borrowing system with little or no disorganization. These conditions obtained insofar as the Navajo culture and the Council were concerned up until 1936 when severe disorganization took place which was nebulous, and it was at that time that the Government insisted that the Navajo Tribal Council exercise its tribal authority and approve for the entire Navajo population the Government's program of stock reduction. The Council attempted to exercise its tribal authority, yet the attempt ended in failure, for the Council did not enjoy any such power at that time. Authority to impose sanctions was still in the hands of the Chapters or otherwise unorganized outfits. Nevertheless, the Government Agents acted as if the Council had such authority and imposed sanctions of its very own in a very forceful directed change program. Conflict between the whites and the Navajos developed in structures that linked the two groups; the focal point of conflict concerned the Council, which was dissolved and then reorganized along broader representational lines. *#116.

The formation of a new and enlarged Tribal Council composed of seventy-four elected members did not resolve the conflict between the Navajos and the Indian Agents who were directing the program of culture change. There was serious opposition to the livestock reduction program initiated by the Government, and there was opposition in the Council itself over the function of this political structure in regard to

its exercise of authority. This is to say, there was a lack of common understanding between whites and Navajos within the political structure that linked them in a common (yet imperfectly developed) social system. Each respective ethnic group was pursuing different objectives in accordance with two different sets of value orientations.

It appears that the whites guiding the program of stock reduction among the Navajos were acting on the assumption that the resources of nature can and should be manipulated for human benefit. Under this scheme of values, land, water, grass, and livestock are to be managed so that men are continually supplied with an abundance of food. Most Navajos oppose this value orientation; they thought of men, land, water, grass, and livestock as intertwined in a system of reciprocity within which an abundance of food was but one manifestation of harmonious interdependence with the forces of nature. High status was accorded those Navajos who exhibited wealth in the form of large herds of livestock (other criteria were also used; ritual knowledge; oratorical ability; knowledge of Navajo myths; and skill in practical affairs such as jewelry making, tanning of hides, lambing, and farming). Thus, for a Navajo to suffer a loss of livestock not only reduced his food supply; it also caused a loss of prestige. It could be interpreted by members of his group that he had deviated (perhaps unwittingly) from a life of harmony and a balance with the rest of nature. *#117.

The Government Agents insisted that the Tribal Council assist them in setting quotas for various regions in Navajo country, and the Council acceded to Governmental pressure; it helped set prices for stock sold by Navajos, and helped set

the number of livestock to be culled from flocks. These actions by elected leaders of the Navajo did not have the support of the general population, for leaders of the people were not expected to make decisions for the group without first obtaining a consensus (or near consensus). Leaders, according to traditional Navajo cultural patterns, are not expected to order other members of their group to behave in a certain manner; on the contrary, leaders are expected to provide members of their group with enough time and information for them to make up their minds about an issue. In terms of traditional Navajo culture, Navajo leaders are expected to participate in ceremonies designed to sanctify major decisions rather than make decisions for the people. *#118.

In recent years, however, radical opposition has been greatly reduced, and this is due, at least in part, to accommodations and adaptations made on both sides. Accommodation among Navajos has come, to a certain extent, from a greater awareness of the function of American Government via education, exposure to American ways during military service for the Government, and as a result of contact with Americans in wage-paying jobs away from the Navajo Reservation. In like manner, Americans working with Navajos in these contact centers have learned something of how Navajos maintain social control, the importance Navajos attach to consensus, and how leaders gain and maintain their positions. The objections to a central, tribal-wide political structure with the authority to act on behalf of all Navajos has decreased in recent years. The basic issue is that Navajos object to any outside agency having the authority to impose limitations on raising and grazing live-

stock, and this issue has become general in that it is used as a rallying point in all political statements and as a prime example of the Government's clumsiness in its attempts to change the life of the Navajo. In effect, the stock reduction program of Government interference with a Navajo way of life and, as such, can not be resolved within the existing political framework. *#119.

The formation of Chapters among the Navajo is clearly in contrast to either the Tribal Council or the Grazing Committees. Hunter's idea was to allow the Navajo to utilize preexisting patterns of political selection and social control in the operation of Chapters; the content of the sets of social relations was left up to the Navajo. At first, headmen of local groups of Navajos were contacted by Indian Agents to see if they were interested in forming a "Chapter;" if the headmen showed an interest they were permitted to select the time, place, and leaders of the new organization; the Navajos were to be allowed to use their traditional way of selecting these leaders; the decisions made by a Chapter were to be enforced only by Navajos within their traditional patterns of maintaining social and political control; and the Indian Agents (and their interpreters) were present at Chapter meetings in the role of guests rather than as political supervisors. *#120.

The strength of the Chapter program is attested to by the fact that during the 1930's and 1940's, when opposition to the Government's program of direct and forceful culture change regarding livestock reached a peak, Chapters in many areas continued to function and hold meetings. Records are not available

to determine the number of Chapters that failed to continue, but by 1950 about forty units were still operating. Therefore, Chapters continued without Government support during a period of considerable conflict between Navajos and whites, and it is inferred that these political structures have been sufficiently integrated into the Navajo culture - at least to the degree that beliefs, attitudes, and behavior patterns had been mutually adjusted among whites and Navajos - to form a single system.

Officially, the Government recognized Chapters again in 1955 when the Secretary of the Interior approved the Council resolution to include this "grassroots" political organization as a part of Navajo tribal government. The resolution placed Chapters under a newly created Community Development Department of the Navajo Tribe, and under the direction of this Department, a total of ninety-six Chapters are currently operating in all parts of Navajo country (1970). The function of the Chapters today generally differs very little from that during the 1930's in that they still provide a place for discussion and dissemination of information. Also, in the places where new Chapter houses are located they provide members the opportunity to see, use, and develop associations with many new cultural elements. They also provide opportunities for Navajos to meet, to talk with, to listen to, and to observe strangers who come to the meetings as tribal officials, Bureau of Indian Affairs officers, etc.,. The modern Chapters also allow Navajos to gain additional experience in handling political principles and concepts under conditions they themselves determine and decide upon, rather than having the cultural

content determined by members of the superordinate society, which is the case for the Navajo Tribal Council and the Grazing Committees. *#121.

In summary, the Chapter organization provides a setting within which the process of incorporation of new cultural elements continues even though the Navajo are subject to a directed program of culture change, and the major function of the Chapters within the Navajo political system is that they provide a structure that permits the transfer of Anglo-American principles of government to the Navajo culture with a minimum amount of opposition and conflict, though that is not to say, by any means, that those Anglo-American principles are better; the situation is a forced one.

THE FUTURE OF THE NAVAJO TRIBAL COUNCIL

I have sought to analyze the four authority systems operating in the Navajo political situation and to present the data which validates the hypothesis that the Navajo Tribal Council is fully institutionalized in Navajo life and in the life of the surrounding States. If the Navajo Tribal Council were to be dissolved now, it would induce a major structural and cultural reorganization of Navajo society. A question naturally arises as to the direction which this insitutionalization is taking and the continuation of the Navajo Tribal Council after the withdrawl of the Bureau of Indian Affairs will depend, first, on agreement among Navajos on the value of preserving their own government; second, on what provisions the Federal Government may have made for safeguards in State and Federal legislation to protect the new Indian Council as an antity; and finally, on the type of economic base that has been developed to sustain an expensive governmental organization. The question as to whether or not Navajos, with a modicum of assistance, can manage their own political and economic affairs has, I believe, already been answered in the affirmative. *#122.

The present Federal policy (1960) , which aims toward the withdrawl of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Indian situation, was specifically foreshadowed by the Hoover Commission Report on Social Security - Education - Indian Affairs in March 1949. The Report called for adequate education, an adequate standard of living, and a reduction of mortality and morbidity rates among Indians. It further stated:

"a program for the Indian peoples must include progressive measures for their complete integration into the mass of the population as full, tax-paying

citizens. The Commission has recommended that this be the firm and continuing policy of the Federal Government. The Commission recommends that, pending achievement of complete integration, the administration of social programs for the Indians should be progressively transferred to State governments....Transfer of tribal property to Indian-owned corporations. Participation of Indian people in political and civic life of the States. Termination of tax exemptions for Indian lands...Young employable Indians and the bettered cultured families should be encouraged and assisted to leave the reservations and set themselves up on the land or in business." *#123.

Reading this, one is instantly reminded of Vine Deloria's words:

"The wild animal was made into a household pet whether or not he wanted to be one." The responsibilities that the Tribe have taken over from the Bureau of Indian Affairs have already been discussed; the major ones are as follows: maintenance of law and order, the conduct of tribal elections, some welfare services, responsibility for grazing regulations and small-scale irrigation projects, and water control.

Attitudes toward the future of the Tribal Council after the withdrawal of the Indian Bureau fall into two principle categories. According to one position, tribal identity, political as well as economic, should be guaranteed by State legislation. According to the other, Indians should become regular citizens, pay taxes, and own their own land in order to develop initiative and a sense of responsibility; the collectivistic experiments should be brought to an end. Whichever of these views prevails today, the result is the same: the bodies of living Indians are not destroyed, merely their communities, their hopes, and their very souls. Navajos, like other Indian peoples, have been dehumanized by the country of America. Navajo emphasis is on the political and economic development of the Reservation as a quasi-autonomous state rather than on the integration of Navajos into off-Reservation

life. #124.

CONCLUSION

We have followed a case study of the development of a modern political system in a stateless tribal society within a "colonial" setting. The purpose of these final words is to summarize the factors involved in this development, those which have promoted the institutionalization of the new political system, and those which have retarded it. The second aim is to draw some general conclusions regarding the necessary conditions for the institutionalization of a modern political system in a stateless, tradition-oriented society. *#125.

A new political system may be considered "fully institutionalized" when it has developed to the point that it could not conceivably be withdrawn from a society without effecting a fundamental change in that society's way of life. The first requisite for achieving this process is "felt need," an old concept which has fallen into some disrepute. Perhaps in a political context and in reference to a whole society, the nearest equivalent is "consensus." That is, enough people in a society must perceive the value of the new political system to accept it, to adjust and readjust old patterns of value and behavior, to learn the new process of decision making. A second requisite is an external situation that favors the development of a new political system, and it must, in addition, provide freedom for the development of the new authority patterns. Freedom from without is necessary; so is freedom from within. Even in a stateless society, corporate groups of kinship or inherited rank may have preemptive power and property. In this type of structure, the control of the vested interests must be displaced. A final requisite is the acquisition of the

means for supporting a centralized government, its organs, and its personnel. This demands a broad economic base and a surplus of wealth. These are the general necessities for such a development in any society; let us now see how these conditions relate to Navajo society. *#126.

The Navajo Tribal Council, a whole new political system comprising a normative order, recognized functions, accepted processes of behavior, concrete units with delimited areas of authority and responsibility, and a component role system. Although the Navajo Tribe is not yet economically self-sufficient, it is rapidly approaching the stage where it could function as a politically autonomous state.

This has been made possible, to begin with, by achieving the first requisite; consensus, and despite fundamental differences in beliefs, values, and experience, both traditional and modern Navajos are in partial agreement. They want to preserve something of the old way of life, the right to practice Navajo religion, the Navajo land, old ways for the old people, use rights to land, and tribal ownership of resources. Neither group wants the Government, their buffer against the States, to expose them to the mercy of the States. It is on this basic consensus that the Navajo Tribal Council has become institutionalized in Navajo life. *#127.

The second requisite, freedom to develop a new political system, is relatively present. The Federal Government in this semi-colonial situation has increasingly fostered Indian self-government - not fast enough, true, but freedom from within the society is inherent in the flexibility of the traditional Navajo social structure and authority patterns. The financial requisites for operating a complex political structure suddenly

appeared with the discovery of gas and oil on the Reservation; millions of dollars in the tribal treasury have provided the Council with the means of furnishing the services that are the true function of government in the eyes of the traditional Navajos. *#128.

The Navajo Tribal Council is not simply copying a political model which it has seen; for centuries Navajos lived in the Southwest beside the Spaniards and the highly organized theocratic city-states of the Pueblos, without borrowing their political patterns. The system they are now displacing with their own form is one with which they have been forced to interact for over a hundred years. What they are creating is neither a reproduction of Navajo tribal society nor a copy of American free enterprise; it is their own form of a tribe-centered, collectivistic state. *#129.

FOOTNOTES

1. Leighton and Leighton; The Navajo Door. Page 5.
2. Ibid. Page 5.
3. Ibid. Page 5.
4. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 7.
5. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 23.
6. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 7.
7. Leighton and Leighton; The Navajo Door. Page 6.
8. Ibid. Page 9.
9. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 41.
10. Ibid. Page 56.
11. Leighton and Leighton; The Navajo Door. Page 6.
12. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 10.
13. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 40.
14. Leighton and Leighton; The Navajo Door. Page 6.
15. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 40.
16. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 124.
17. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 41.
18. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 144.
19. Leighton and Leighton; The Navajo Door. Page 8.
20. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 13.
21. Ibid. Page 13.
22. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 211.
23. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 14.
24. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 231.
25. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 14.
26. Ibid. Page 15.
27. Underhill; The Navajos. Page 220-221.
28. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 15.

29. Ibid. Page 16.
30. Ibid. Page 16.
31. Ibid. Page 17.
32. Spencer and Jennings; The Native Americans. Page 319.
33. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 45.
34. Spencer and Jennings; The Native Americans. Page 321.
35. Ibid. Page 321.
36. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 47.
37. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 20.
38. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 54.
39. Downs; The Navajo. Page 91.
40. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 57.
41. Ibid. Page 59.
42. Shepardson; Navajo Ways in Government. Page 24.
43. Kluckhohn and Leighton; The Navajo. Page 61.
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