Indian fishing, which accounts for a very small percentage of the total harvest? Last year, he said, Indian fishers caught 21,000 walleyes, compared with 840,000 taken by non-Indians.

Blaming resource depletion on Indians, as the anti-treaty groups do, is a blatant distortion of fact, asserts Bill Frank, Jr., Chairman of the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission. In the Northwest where Indians have fished for thousands of years, there were no problems, he said, until non-Indian commercial enterprises overfished and dams, pollution, and over-allocation of water took their toll. Since the "Boldt" decision reaffirmed Indian rights to half the salmon harvest in Washington, state and tribal co-management has actually increased the numbers of fish in the yearly salmon run.

Myths and Misinformation

Indian rights activists charge that the myths and misinformation promulgated by anti-treaty groups are frequently reinforced by the media. In Wisconsin, the 1984 Ad Hoc Commission on Racism concluded that the media had "sensationalized the basic facts," using inaccurate terms like "unlimited" resource rights to describe the "Voigt" decision.

The most common misstatement is that court rulings or the treaties themselves "granted" Indians special privileges. Anti-treaty groups capitalize on the popular misconception that the government "gave" Indians land and other rights. But as the Supreme Court declared in 1905, the treaties between the US and Indian nations are "not a grant of rights to the Indians, but a grant of rights from them."

The Indians gave the US government large areas of land but retained fishing, hunting, and other property rights. Like any treaty made by the US government, the Indian treaties were solemn pacts between sovereign nations. Nothing, including the 1924 law which made Native Americans US citizens, has abrogated tribal property rights or tribal sovereignty.

Of course, treaties have been broken many times, but as Cindy Darcy, an Indian advocate with the Friends Committee for National Legislation, explains: US violations of treaty provisions don't invalidate the treaties any more than committing a crime cancels out the law that made it illegal.

More Clever Strategizing

Opinions differ about how serious a threat the latest anti-treaty organizations are. "I think it's the kind of thing that tribes and Congress have generally been able to handle," commented John Ecohawk, executive director of the Native American Rights Fund. "They threaten...I just haven't seen them get very far in Congress and that's what counts."

Sharon Metz, is a steering committee member of HONOR, a coalition of religious and community organizations formed this year in Wisconsin to support treaty rights. She suggests that the anti-treaty groups "have come full circle. They've gone to the courts head to head and the Native Americans have won, and they've gone in with a treaty abrogation bill and it was sort of laughed out of Congress, but now they've figured out you don't abrogate it, you erode it, you nick away...You get 10 or 12 bills in that make little changes and do that the next term and the next term and gradually eat it away. That, I perceive, is the new strategy."

"The thing to watch," Barreiro said, is "the alliances that are being made with the National Rifle Association and the impact [the anti-treaty network] has through the National Association of Counties, and these kinds of more clever strategizing." The National Association of Counties is already a powerful lobby against Indian land and jurisdictional claims and PARR has been pressing the NRA to join the cause.

Gerald Wilkinson, executive director of the National Indian Youth Council points out that the anti-treaty groups are turning increasingly to the the political process. Funding and fielding candidates who espouse the anti-treaty agenda is one of CERA's primary objectives.

Whatever happens at the federal level, Metz and Barreiro both expressed serious concerns about the spillover effects the anti-treaty groups have on local communities. "What they've managed to do is to intimidate the larger population," Metz said. One result is that local school boards are not using a curriculum on Indian culture and history developed by the state department of instruction.

"On the state and county level, you do see a lot of pressure," Barreiro concurred. Sheriffs, for example, who had always respected tribal jurisdiction are now more likely to enter the reservations because they are "bolstered by a local population telling them to go in and control those Indians."

The potential for violence is significant, most observers agree. Some suspect ties between the anti-treaty groups and right-wing extremists such as the Aryan Nation and The Order, which have established bases near a number of Indian reservations. No direct links have been substantiated but the Center for Democratic Renewal is researching the question.

Schools Are a Battleground

The worst effect the anti-treaty network has had, Barreiro commented, is "we're seeing a whole generation growing up with a very strong Indian-white hatred again." In Wisconsin, *The Guardian* reports, "schools have become a major battleground in the treaty conflict...Conflicts between Indian and white students have led the Peshtigo school administration to send notes home to Indian parents saying it cannot guarantee the safety of their children. In Seymour, Oneida Indian and white kids have

CTWO TRAINS THE NEW GENERATION

Claire Yoo doesn't speak Spanish and many of the janitors at Denver Tech Center don't speak English, but that didn't stop them from working together on a successful union organizing drive this summer.

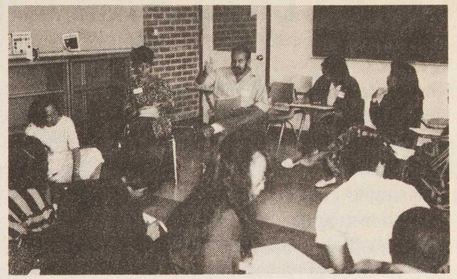
Yoo, a 24 year old Korean woman from Michigan, and Mazaina Merrit, a 20-year old Filipino woman from Seattle, worked as organizers with the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) "Justice for Janitors" campaign. Their six-week field placement was part of the Minority Activist Apprenticeship Program (MAAP).

The Center for Third World Organizing (CTWO) developed MAAP to train a new generation of minority activists to become effective organizers in communities of color. Merrit's comment is typical: before MAAP, she said, "I had the drive, but no organizational skills."

MAAP began in 1985 with four young organizers and a CTWO on-site trainer working with the Farm Labor Organizing Committee. Francis Calpotura, a trainee on the project, has directed the MAAP program for the past three years.

The program has grown steadily and produced solid results. In 1987, MAAP interns knocked on more than 4000 doors, conducted 217 housemeetings, talked to 15,000 community residents, and raised over $25,000 for their host organizations. Of the 27 graduates last year, eight have been hired as professional organizers and 10 are organizing with student groups. Six graduates from 1986 and 1987 returned this summer as site team leaders.

This year's 28 MAAP interns, chosen from 147 applicants, ranged in age from 16 to 28 and were Filipino, Chinese, Korean, Sri Lankan, Hmong, Japanese, Black, Puerto Rican, Argentinian, Chicana, and Dominican. They organized Latino immigrants in rural Washington with Comite De Defensa Legal Y Fianzas and Haitian hospital workers with Local 1199 in Dorchester, Massachusetts.



They worked with Project Vote to eliminate at-large elections in Chester, Pennsylvania; with DARE to improve city services in Southeast Asian and Latino neighborhoods in Providence, Rhode Island; and with the Southwest Organizing Project to stop toxic waste dumping in Albuquerque, New Mexico

In all, MAAP trainees were placed with 14 community and labor organizations, including the "Justice for Janitors" campaigns in Denver, San Jose, and Washington, DC. In Denver, they signed up 118 new union members, conducted 12 house meetings, and organized 13 actions. With their help, by summer's end, SEIU Local 105 had won recognition from one of the city's major cleaning contractors.

MAAP's rigorous eight-week program includes a week-long orientation and training session, six weeks in the field, and a five-day debriefing and advanced skills session. In the classroom and in the field, MAAP training combines an examination of the history of organizing in minority communities with current policy analysis and direct experience in what CTWO calls CRAFT—Contact Work, Research, Action, Fundraising, and Teamwork.

Host organizations are carefully selected and must commit to a campaign plan that emphasizes at least four of the CRAFT components. CTWO trainers also provide on-site supervision to ensure the interns both strong practical experience and continuous evaluation. This summer's analytical sessions in the field concentrated on the dynamics of race, gender, and class, and on different models of organizing.

Mark Toney has seen the program both sides. A MAPP intern in 1985, he is now the director of Direct Action for Rights and Equality (DARE), a multi-racial neighborhood-based organization in Providence which has hosted interns the last two years. "MAAP offers a rare opportunity for young minority organizers," Toney said. "No other program provides this kind of in-depth training, supervision and reflection."

Planning and recruiting for the1989 MAAP session is underway. Sonia Pena, a trainee in 1986 and site coordinator the last two years, recently took over as director of the program. For more information, contact her at CTWO, 3861 Martin Luther King, Jr. Way, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 654-9601.

TREATY RIGHTS from page 6

been segregated on each side of school bus aisles."

"People don't realize how much tremendous racism is directed at Indians," Barreiro suggested, "because there is also so much romanticism" about them. But comparing the anti-Indian organizing to the more publicized civil rights backlash of the last few years, he said, "it's much more acute...People are organized in a national coalition to oppose Indian rights. The clear attack against the Indian collective personality, against the self-esteem of the children, the validity of ancestral beliefs is so prevalent, it's a wonder that Indian culture survives at all."

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