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# Sovereignty and the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe

By Jill Doerfler

I would to start out with a brief introduction of myself. My name is Jill Doerfler. My mother, Julie (Darco) Doerfler, is enrolled at White Earth and works at the Shooting Star Casino. My father is Perry Doerfler and he works for Wild Rice Electric. I was raised in Mahnomen and I have been working on my Ph.D. in American Studies at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis for the last six years. Much of what I have been researching is the history of White Earth and how enrollment or citizenship has been regulated in our constitution since the 1930s.

I have discussed my research several times on the NDN News program with Joe LaGarde and Paul Schultz. Today, local schools are making an effort to include White Earth history but most of us were not taught much of our own history in high school. As White Earth begins to consider constitutional reform it is important for us all to be familiar with some basic principles so we can make the best decisions for our families and our nation.

American Indian tribes are sovereign nations. The sovereignty of tribes was never delegated to them by federal or state governments; it is an original and inherent power. Tribal sovereignty has several dimensions; first it has to do with a tribe's right to retain a measure of independence from outside entities. Second it relates to the power of the tribe to regulate internal affairs, including the ability to make and enforce laws, to impose and collect taxes and to create alliances and agreements with other governments.

There are also cultural, spiritual, and intellectual aspects of sovereignty. Lumbee scholar David Wilkins defines tribal sovereignty as "the intangible and dynamic cultural force inherent in a given indigenous community, empowering that body toward the sustaining and enhancement of political, economic, and cultural integrity. It under grids the way that tribal governments relate to their own citizens, to non-Indian residents, to local governments, to the state government, to the federal government, to the corporate world, and the global community."

Many people do not realize the unique political status of American Indian tribes is not racially based. In fact, American Indians are separate from "minority" groups or "people of color" because of our political status as nations. American Indians are separate nations, not minorities. The United States negotiated treaties with American Indian nations through the nineteenth century and continues to negotiate various agreements today. These treaties and political agreements are not based on the racial status of American Indians but solely on political status, creating the basis for the nation-to-nation relationship. Leading legal scholar Felix S. Cohen has written, "In dealing with Indians, the federal government is dealing with members or descendants of political entities, that is, Indian tribes, not with persons of a particular race."

Yet race or blood quantum is used by many American Indian nations to determine tribal citizenship so even though our relationship with the U.S. government is political many of our nations are based on race. One of the fundamental rights of American Indian nations is to establish and regulate tribal citizenship or enrollment. Citizenship is a critical issue for all nations because citizens form the foundation of the nation. American Indian nations establish citizenship requirements and practices within their constitutions. Nearly one-third of tribes populating the lower 48 states have rejected blood quantum and instead use a variety of requirements including lineal descent or residency.

The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe was established under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) passed by Congress in 1934. The IRA was a limited effort by Congress to promote and support and tribal art, culture, and government. The Act had provisions for tribes to organize and adopt constitutions and by-laws. MCT is an inter-reservation government comprised of the White Earth, Mille Lacs, Bois Fort (Nett Lake), Fond du Lac, Leech Lake, and Grand Portage Reservations. A constitution is a set of rules and principles that govern a nation. It establishes the structure, procedures, powers, and responsibilities of the government.

The elected leaders of the MCT spent many years during the 1940s-1950s discussing how tribal citizenship should be regulated in the constitution. They passed several resolutions that only required lineal descent; however, the Secretary of the Interior rejected these resolutions. The MCT constitution has a provision, which states the Secretary of the Interior must approve all amendments. This gives the U.S. government a lot of control over our constitution and government.

In recent years, many tribes have removed the constitutional provision that the U.S. Secretary of the Interior must approve all constitutional changes from their constitutions because, as sovereign nations, they want sole control over their own constitutions. The elected leaders of the MCT did not want to use blood quantum as a requirement for tribal citizenship because they were concerned that their children and grandchildren would be excluded under this rule. The BIA threatened to stop providing services to the MCT if they did not use one-quarter blood quantum for tribal citizenship. Under this pressure, the MCT adopted a one-quarter-blood quantum requirement in 1961. The constitution was amended to require one-quarter Minnesota Chippewa blood. Citizenship within the MCT has two levels, reservation or band and tribe. So you have your citizenship in a specific reservation, say White Earth, but you are also a citizen of the MCT.

In future articles I will discuss these issues in more detail.

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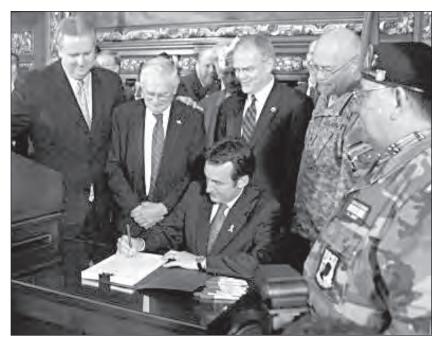
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## Chairwoman from Front Page

wild rice. DNR will determine 1. the current location and acreage of natural wild rice. 2. the potential threats to the natural wild rice, and 3. how to protect and increase the acreage of natural wild rice in the State.

The second provision will require an environmental impact statement before any planting of "wild rice" other than natural, native wild rice. The environmental impact statement will give an in depth look at any potential impact to natural, native wild rice. This is a very expensive and lengthy process for anyone to go through who will want to do genetic altering of native, natural wild rice.

I am still working on securing the \$50,000 for feasibility study for the American Indian Juvenile Treatment Facility. The funding portion for White Earth is in the Health and Human Services bill which is in conference committee. We will not know the status of the funds until the conference com-



Submitted photo

John Sullivan, right, was one of several WE veterans who witnessed the Governor signing the Agriculture and Veterans Omnibus Bill.

mittee has completed its work. We have the support of the Governor for the \$50,000 feasibility study.

Unfortunately, I was not able to be present when Governor Pawlenty signed our bills. I attended the graduation celebration for the Carpentry class at Ojibwa/Detroit Lake Technical College. Governor Pawlenty sent his best regards to us. Congratulations to the Carpentry class graduates. I am very proud of you.

# A short history of Chippewa blood quantum

By Jill Doerfler

Since 1961, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe has used a minimum of one-quarter Minnesota Chippewa blood as the single determiner for eligibility for tribal citizenship. As discussed in the last article the requirements for tribal citizenship are in our constitution. While many of us are familiar with the concept of blood quantum, people rarely know the history of it. Let's take a quick look at the what, how and why blood quantum was initiated. Blood quantum was a scientific idea developed around 1900. European Americans thought that your national or racial ancestry could be measured biologically. Blood quantum connects biology and politics together. Blood quantum presumes that all aspects of your national ancestry can be divided, will total 100 percent and the percentages will accurately reflect cultural practices, knowledge and loyalty.

Let's examine this idea more closely by comparing the blood quantum of two people.

Person 1: 25 percent Anishinaabe, 50 percent French, 25 percent Norwegian.

Person 2: 45 percent Anishinaabe, 35 percent German, 20 percent French.

What do these fractions tell us? Can we say that Person 2, who is 45 percent Anishinaabe speaks the Anishinaabe language better than a Person 1 who is only 25 percent? Does Person 1 know more about Claude Monet's paintings than Person 2? No, these fractions do not give us

answers to either of those questions. Language and cultural knowledge are determined by how we are raised and by what we choose to learn as adults. Thus, many people believe that being Anishinaabe is about much more than just blood quantum – it is about respect, culture, and the way we live our lives. This is not something that can measured out into fractions.

Assuming blood quantum is a real thing, there are two basic ways to calculate it. One way is through genealogy. If you parents know their blood quanta then you can figure out yours by dividing theirs in half and then adding them together. For example if your mother is 1/4 "Minnesota Chippewa" and your father is 1/8 then you would be 3/16. These fractions can get quite complicated and it can also be difficult to measure "blood" from newer nations. I saw a woman on television recently discussing her ancestry. She said she was half Iraqi and half American because her father was from Iraq and her mother was "100 percent American." I wondered what she meant by that and what and how "American" blood could be measured.

The second way to determine blood quantum is through physical tests. During the early 1900s many scientists and physical anthropologists thought that because blood quantum was biological it could be determined through physical tests. At that time blood quantum was a new

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idea and most Anishinaabeg did not know what theirs was -it would be similar to asking someone how much "Minnesotan" or "American" blood they have today. Or a better example might be: which haplotypes are present in your mitochondrial DNA? The scientists and physical anthropologists also thought that blood quantum directly related to physical features. For example, they thought a person with dark skin always had more Minnesota Chippewa blood than a person with lighter skin. In the 1910s anthropologists came to White Earth and examined many people to figure out their blood quantum. In addition to looking at skin color, they took measurements of people's heads and did a scratch test on their chests. Brothers and sisters who should have had the same blood quantum were frequently found to have different ones if they did not have the exact same color of skin, hair, or eyes. Though these ideas seem outrageous to us now, at that time the findings were considered scientific and legal. We know today that these tests did not prove anything but at the time the U.S. government used them to decide which allotment sales were

Today some are turning to DNA tests to try and determine their blood quantum and to "prove" they are American Indian. There are many Internet sites sell DNA home test kits. Basically you send them a DNA sample, often by swabbing the inside of your cheek, and for \$100 (or more) they will test your DNA for haplotypes that are common among American Indians but also present in

other populations. These tests do not give tribally specific blood quanta. Like the physical tests preformed in the early 1900s, DNA tests are not reliable. Many scientists now believe that race and nationality are socially constructed categories that have little or no biological basis.

Finally, blood quantum has been used by the federal government as a way to limit the number of people legally recognized as American Indian. As American Indians had children with other people and blood quantum declined, the government hoped that all American Indians would "disappear." Blood quantum racializes American Indian identity and takes the focus off of political status. American Indians are currently the most multiracially diverse group in the United States. Extraordinarily high rates of intermarriage have resulted in declining blood quantum for many American Indians and Anishinaabeg excluding them from citizenship within the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. Those eligible for tribal citizenship within the White Earth Band of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe would increase if, for example, lineal descent were used instead of one-quarter blood quantum.

If blood quantum does not directly reflect a persons cultural practices, beliefs or political loyalties then we must consider why we continue to use it as the sole determiner of tribal citizenship. In the next article will discuss the importance of citizenship and how Anishinaabeg at White Earth thought about identity prior to the introduction of the idea of blood quantum.

# 2007 Seamless Summer Food Program

The Circle of Life School announces its participation in the federally funded Seamless Summer Food Program. Under the program, nutritious meals are provided to all children 18 years and under free of charge at the following site:

- ❖ Circle of Life School, 36274 County Hwy. 21, P.O. Box 447, White Earth, MN 56591
- ❖ Breakfast: 8-9 a.m. (Monday through Friday)
- ❖ Lunch: Noon-1 p.m. (Monday through Friday)
- ❖ Meals Service Dates: June 4, 2007-June 29, 2007

Persons interested in receiving more information should contact: Circle of Life School, White Earth, MN 56591 Telephone: (218) 983-4180 or 983-3258

The Circle of Life School has participated in the Summer Food Program for 10 years and serves approximately 125 children per meal.

In accordance with Federal law and the U.S. Department of Agriculture policy, this institution is prohibited from discriminating on the basis of race, color, national origin, sex, age, or disability.

To file a complaint of discrimination, write USDA, Director, Office of Civil Rights, Room 326-W., Whitten Building, 1400 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20250-9410 or call (800) 795-3272 or (202) 720-6382 (TTY). USDA is an equal opportunity provider and employer.



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### Chairwoman - Erma J. Vizenor

Recently, the Rainy River First Nations of Canada hosted the White Earth Department of Natural Resources (DNR) and a group of White Earth tribal members on their Reserve north of Fort Francis, Ontario. The event was Fish Week at Rainy River First Nations.

I had the wonderful opportunity to spend one day at Rainy River with our White Earth DNR, spiritual elder George "Joe Bush" Fairbanks, other elders, and youth. The rest of the White Earth group spent three days at Manitou Rapids, Rainy River First Nations.

We were treated very well by Rainy River people. We toured their fish hatchery, participated in spiritual sturgeon release ceremony on the Rainy River, toured their sawmill business, and visited their ancient burial mounds. There were feasts and a pow-wow throughout our visit. Rainy River tribal leaders were also with us.

Me-qwitch, Rainy River First Nations.

The White Earth Tribe and Rainy River First Nations have a partnership on sturgeon stocking of our lakes on the White Earth Reservation. Rainy River hatches the sturgeon, and White Earth stocks our lakes with their fingerlings.

Last October along with their spiritual leaders and elders, Rainy River First Nations came to



Submitted photo

From left: Joe Hunter, Director – Sustainable Sturgeon Culture, Emo, Ontario; White Earth Chairwoman Erma J. Vizenor; Chief Jim Leonard – Rainy River First Nations, Ontario, Canada.

White Earth Reservation for the stocking of sturgeon in Round Lake and White Earth Lake.

I was present at the Feast of Fish and wild rice for our Rainy River partners held at Pine

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# Anishinaabeg Understandings of Identity in the 1910s

By Jill Doerfler

In the last article I explained how non-Indians thought about identity during the early 1900s. While blood quantum and racial understandings of identity were common among non-Indians, American Indians had very different ideas at this time. In fact, Anishinaabeg at White Earth understood identity in a variety of ways that differed from racial identities pushed by the federal government.

During the early 1900s White Earth was the center of a national scandal due to fraudulent and illegal sales of land allotments. In The White Earth Tragedy, Melissa Meyer carefully details the fraud and corruption at White Earth. Meyer identifies the two primary political and cultural fractions at White Earth during this time as "conservative" and "progressive." She found that "conservative Anishinaabe bands located at a distance from fur trade outposts maintained a more subsistence-oriented way of life" while progressives "participated more fully in the market economy." The conservative fraction would eventually be known as "full-bloods" and the progressives as "mixed-bloods." It is important to note that these labels were reflective of culturally determined values and practices, not biological or racial ancestry.

During this time the federal government needed to determine who was "mixed-blood" as legally defined by U.S. courts to decide which land sales were legal. Those who were "mixed-blood" were allowed to sell their allotments but "full-bloods" were not. U.S. courts ruled that legally a "mixed-blood" was person who had

any amount of white blood, no matter how small. So, "mixed-blood" was legally a racial and biological term that was not tied to culture. There was an investigation in the 1910s during which many Anishinaabeg were asked questions about ancestry, blood quantum, and physical characteristics so that the government could officially decide who was a "mixed-blood." Many Anishinaabeg insisted that they did not use the categories of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" to define an individual's identity or if they did use the categories they insisted the designations were cultural and not racial.

Several witnesses were confused by the investigators use of the terms "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" because racial categories based on biology did not make any sense to many of the Anishinaabe witnesses. For example, Nahwak-coming-skunk a sixty-year-old woman from Pine Point was called to testify. An investigator asked, "It is the practice or custom among Indians to talk about blood relations of other Indians and to distinguish the mixed bloods from the full bloods?" She said that she had never heard of anything like that. Jack Rabbitt who was born at Ottertail Lake but moved to White Earth around 1880 testified that it was not the practice of the tribal government to distinguish between "full-bloods" and "mixedbloods." Ah-nah-me-ay-gah-bow noted that Anishinaabeg had not paid any attention to the categories of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" until very recently. He said, ". . we were foolish, didn't pay attention to things. I have heard said

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# **Identity** from Page 2

that there was a French mixed-blood, --an English mixed-blood—just lately heard that." The testimony of these Anishinaabeg witnesses show us that the categories of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" were new and had been introduced by the U.S. government.

Investigators also asked many questions about physical features, especially skin color. Despite their attempts to make skin color a primary factor in deciding if a person was a "mixed-blood," Anishinaabe witnesses frequently noted that skin color varied and was not necessarily indicative an individual's racial ancestry. For example, Baybah-daung-ay-yaush did not correlate the darkness of one's skin with a specific degree of blood. He was asked, "Wasn't she light complected? And replied, "Yes, she was light. Some Indians are light, but she was an Indian." In this case Bay-bah-daung-ayyaush's use of the term Indian was a way of telling the investigators that the two categories of identity were Indian and non-Indian, not "mixed-blood" and "full-blood."

Investigators continued to press the witnesses about the skin color of others but the Anishinaabeg held firm that skin color alone was not a way to establish if a person was a "mixed-blood." For example, when asked if an individual was "pretty white" Mak-ahday-wub responded that he had "never taken particular notice" Refusing to answer the question was a way to show that Makah-day-wub did not think it was important or appropriate. When asked a similar question Shin-ow-waince testified, "I could not say whether he was lighter than the others because it is so long ago. I cannot recollect. I used to see him swallow bones about that long (indicating) in his incantation for eliminating sickness among other fellow men. Is this the practice of a mixed blood?" In this case not only could Shin-ow-waince not recall the "lightness" of the person in question he actually turned the question on the investigator. These testimonies establish a pattern of resistance and refusal to accept the racial and biological definitions of "full-blood" and "mixed-blood" that the investigators were pushing.

After his attempt to say he could not remember the skin color of Ke-che-o-dahnum was not accepted by the investigators Ain-due-e-geshig (Andrew Daily) took another route to avoid using the terms the investigators wanted. He was asked, "Was Ke-che-o-dah-num, the second wife of Mahno-me-ne-kay-zhe, a full-blood Indian?" He answered, "I do not know, because she was an elder person than I am, and even some of her children were older than I was; I could not tell who she was." The investigator pushed him further, "You used to see her?" Ain-due-e-geshig replied, "Yes sir, I did see her. You mean Ke-che-o-dah-num?" The investigator tried again to get him to talk about Ke-che-o-dah-num's skin color, "Yes. Judging from her appearance, what would you say she was?" Ain-due-e-geshig answered, "There are some Indians real dark and some not as the others, but she was a medium shade—she was not very dark. I do not say that she was light or dark." Ain-duee-geshig refused to use the simple categories of light and dark set forth by the investigators, instead emphasizing the diversity of skin color that existed among the Anishinaabeg.

The next article will go into more detail about how Anishinaabeg at White Earth were thinking about identity by giving more examples from the testimonies taken in the 1910s.

### Conservation from Page 28

Rey was also enthusiastic about the cellulosic ethanol project, noting that there is a proposal in the 2007 Farm Bill that includes \$2.1 billion in loan guarantees to help develop the commercialized production of ethanol from "mixed cellulosic feed stocks."

"We may someday be back here to cut the ribbon on a new ethanol plant for the tribe," he said.

White The Earth Tribal new Conservation District will have an elected governing board that includes chairwoman Dawn Kier; vice chairman William Bement; secretary/treasurer Leah Prussia, and others: Edward Snetsinger, pesticide coordinator; Curtis Bevins and Everett Goodwin III, agriculture department; Leslie Fain, Anishinaabe Center; Earl and Kathy Hoagland, Sah-Kah-Tay Indigenous Preservation Society; and Stephanie Williams, USDA Extension agent for the White Earth Tribal College.

The mission statement of the new conservation district, which was distributed at Tuesday's ceremony, states: "There are several reasons we have formed this conservation board. First is we are located within three different counties, which have existing soil and water conservation districts that may or may not be providing the necessary assistance or communication to the tribe on their set priorities."

The new tribal conservation district will not have a different set of priorities for each of the three counties: Rather, its priorities will be the same for all parts of the reservation

One of its biggest priorities, according to the mission statement, will be "to raise awareness of the natural resources we have, and how to preserve them for generations to come." - **Detroit Lakes Newspapers** 

## In Memory

In Memory of Isabell Stewart Aug. 24, 1926 to June 2, 2005

Mother, you've given so much through the years, in so many wonderful ways. You've given such kindness and comfort and cheer, such warmth and encouraging praise. You've given your time and given your love, and mother, in giving all these, you give so many bright moments to others and so many... dear memories. We miss you, mom.

Your kids,

Gary, Russell, Charles, Sonny, Susie, Linda and Nancy

Jerome Gabriel Buckanaga "Son Buck" Dec. 31, 1962- June 5, 1995

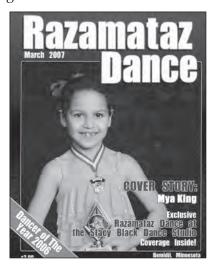
It's been 12 years since you left us behind. There hasn't been a day gone by that we haven't thought of you. Remember son-we miss your smile and you playing the blues. You will always be in our memories and forever in our hearts. You will always will be missed and loved.

Love Mom (Sandy), Sisters (Carmen, Kim, & Kris) Nieces, Nephews, & Great-nephew (Kaden)

## Congratulations

Congratulations to Mya King, an enrolled member of the White Earth Band for being selected as 2006 Razamataz

Dancer of the Year for 1st, 2nd, and 3rd grade students from the Razamataz Dance Studio in Bemidji. Mya has performed many choreographed dance routines throughout the year with her Dance team. Some of the places she performed were at Paul Bunyan Mall, Bemidji High School, and Eckles Town Hall all in Bemidji. Mya is finishing up 2nd grade at Lincoln Elementary.



Congratulations **Polly** and **Marsha** on earning your Associates of Science Degree in Early Childhood!



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# **Part IV**

# More 1910s Anishinaabeg Conceptions of Identity

By Jill Doerfler

In this article I will give more examples of the diverse ways that Anishinaabeg at White Earth thought about identity during the 1910s using the same interviews as the last article. Again, it is important to note that there was not one way to determine identity. As the testimonies show, there were a variety of systems and social regulations that Anishinaabeg used to determine who was a citizen and who was not. These systems were not perfect and there were disagreements and power struggles. However, Anishinaabeg were in control of these systems and they worked out conflicts or agreed to disagree, as was their sovereign right.

Many Anishinaabeg avoided questions about blood quantum and testified that life ways determined if someone was a "an Indian." For example, Day-dah-bah-saush, a 67 year old raised at Ottertail Lake, testified that he understood that a "full-blood" was a person with wholly Indian blood. But during further questioning when asked if Min-o-ge-shig was a "full-blood" Indian he answered, "He was an Indian. He had a breech-cloth." So even though Day-dah-bahsaush understood that the investigators had defined "full-blood" as a racial term he avoided their question by saying that Min-o-ge-shig was "an Indian" by cultural standards. Likewise, he testified that Way-sho-wush-ko-gwan-ay-be-quay was an Indian because of lifestyle choices, not racial ancestry or blood quantum. Even though Day-dah-bah-saush understood that the investigators used biological ancestry to determine if someone was a "full-blood" or a "mixed-blood" he refused to use their definitions.

Another example is the testimony of Ayshquay-gwon-ay-beak who was questioned about the identity of O-dah-yah-je-o-quaince. The investigator asked, "Your statement that she had nothing but Indian blood is based upon the fact that she looked and lived like an Indian, isn't that true?" Aysh-quay-gwon-ay-beak answered, "Yes, sir." The investigator continued, "If she had a small amount of white blood, coming from (her) grandfather or grandmother, you would not know anything about it, would you, unless it showed in her face?" Aysh-quay-gwon-ay-beak replied, "No, I would not know anything about it." The interviewer tries to discredit Aysh-quaygwon-ay-beak's assertion that O-dah-yah-je-oquaince was a full-blood based on physical characteristics. The investigator refocuses the question around physical characteristics and suggests that O-dah-yah-je-o-quaince's physical features might not reveal that she had a white ancestor(s). Ayshquay-gwon-ay-beak left little choice but to admit that if O-dah-yah-je-o-quaince's appearance did not reveal her ancestry then she would not know if O-dah-yah-je-o-quaince had any white ancestors or not.

The investigators often played both sides

See Identity Page 17

# Vizenor calls for the resignation of Gonzales

Editor's Note: This Op/Ed article was originally send out to media outlets throughout the region on May 29.

My name is Erma J. Vizenor, the Chairwoman of the White Earth Nation of Ojibwe Indians, the largest tribe in Minnesota.

I call for the immediate resignation of Attorney General Alberto Gonzales, U.S. Department of Justice.

The mishandling of justice in the firing of eight U.S. Attorneys by Alberto Gonzales has a devastating effect on public safety on the White Earth Indian Reservation. As the scandal unfolds, it becomes obvious to me that the Department of Justice under Alberto Gonzales demonstrates an anti-Native American position.

Five of the fired attorneys served on the subcommittee assigned to Native American issues in the Justice Department. Former Minnesota U.S. Attorney Tom Heffelfinger managed the subcommittee from 2002 to 2005. He was on the list for dismissal before his resignation in February 2006.

When Tom Heffelfinger resigned, the White Earth tribe lost a hard working, dedicated leader for public safety on our Reservation, a large, rural, economically depressed area in northern Minnesota. Mr. Heffelfinger was an unwavering advocate for more federal funds and better programs to combat the increasing crime rates in

Indian Country.

Apparently, Attorney General Gonzales believed Tom Heffelfinger and his subcommittee devoted too much time to public safety on Indian Reservations, an attitude that I find disgraceful, unjust, and appalling to Indian tribes.

At a May 17, 2007 hearing on law enforcement in Indian Country before the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, W. Patrick Ragsdale, Bureau of Indian Affairs, testified that more than half of Indian law enforcement operations are understaffed while providing services to a population largely with high unemployment rates and a lack of municipal infrastructure.

The shortfall in resources and enabling conditions on the Reservation add up to "extreme shortcomings of the criminal justice systems in Indian Country... For many of the 1.6 million citizens who live on or near Indian Reservations, life has become much more violent," stated Ragsdale.

Federal funds and resources are at an all time low on the White Earth Indian Reservation as a \$600 billion war rages on. We need the Tom Heffelfingers.

The real victims of injustice, most likely because of an indifferent Attorney General, and the failure of the federal trustees in fulfilling their trust responsibility, are the Native Americans.

Goodbye, Attorney General Alberto Gonzales.

Wednesday, June 20, 2007 Anishinaabeg Today 17



# White Earth Head Start offering ECFE Fun Week during summer

The White Earth Head Start ECFE program will be offering two funweeks with children who will turn age 3 before Sept. 1.

The children will be doing some fun math, science and art activities that are developmentally appropriate for their age.

The centers will be decided were there is the most applicants.

Please fill out the following form and return to White Earth Head Start Program, Attention Carolyn Williams, ECFE Coordinator **by Thursday**, **June 28**, or call (218) 983-3285 Ext. 1418. Please leave a message if no one answers.

I am interested in sending my child to: (Please circle one)

Naytahwaush	White Earth	Rice Lake	Mahnomen	Waubun
Name of child a	and birth date:_			
Parent/guardia	n:			
Phone number:				
Directions to ho	ome:			

# **Identity** from Page 2

when asked about the color of hair and skin people had to help establish if they were a "full-blood" or "mixed-blood." Sometimes they would emphasize that an individual was light skinned as a way to assert that person was a "mixed-blood" but on other occasions they would hint that a person was a "mixed-blood" even though that individual "looked" Indian. For example, Gay-bay-yah-bundung said that he did not remember how Ah-shegun-wae looked but considered him a "full-blood" regardless. Gay-bay-yah-bun-dung's refusal to remember the way Ah-she-gun-wae looked left no room for the investigators to try and assert Ah-shegun-wae was a "mixed-blood" because of physical features.

The testimony continued:

Investigator: You mean by that that he lived in this community of Indian, just like the other Indians; isn't that true?

Gay-bay-yah-bun-dung: I just considered that he didn't have no other blood but the Indian blood. That is all.

Investigator: Why did you so consider him,--simply because he was living here with the other Indians, like the rest?

Gay-bay-yah-bun-dung: Yes, that is the only way I thought of;—I never thought of anything else.

The flexible nature of lifestyle had a significant impact on Anishinaabe understandings of identity. In one case, Ke-zhe-waush was questioned about the blood quantum of her husband. She asserted, "He was a full-blood. He made himself a fullblood." The investigator asked, "You mean he made himself a full-blood by living like the Indians live?" She answered, "Yes, sir, he did not even take a paper to sign as a mixed-blood." Ke-zhe-waush's testimony is important because it clearly demonstrates that biological ancestry was not the primary factor for Anishinaabeg in determining if a person was a "full-blood" or "mixed-blood." She also directly associates being a "mixed-blood" with "signing of paper," which is a reference to land sale. From her perspective, her husband was a "full-blood" because he did not sell his land. If he had she would have thought he was a "mixedblood."

The testimonies show that the Anishinaabeg did not simply accept the definitions of "full-blood" and "mixed-blood" created by the federal government. Anishinaabeg continued to use their own definitions even though they demonstrate a clear awareness of U.S. government's racial application of these terms. In doing so, they asserted their right to define people in accordance with

their values and beliefs. The federal government ultimately refused to accept the multiple, fluid understandings of Anishinaabe identity and insisted that it was biological ancestry that determined a person's identity. As I mentioned in a previous article, they hired physical anthropologists to come to White Earth to give examinations, including head measurements and hair tests, to decide who was a "mixed-blood" and who was a "full-blood."

Anishinaabeg at White Earth in the early 20th century had complex identities tied to religion, economics, family, and lifestyle. There was no single system for determining who was a part of the community and who was not. More importantly the Anishinaabeg maintained their identity as they adapted to new ways of life at White Earth. Identity was flexible and depended on the choices of individuals. Ultimately, little was agreed upon except that rigid racial designations of "mixed-blood" and "full-blood" pushed by U.S. government investigators were unacceptable and in direct conflict with all Anishinaabeg understandings of identity.

As we consider how to regulate tribal citizenship today it is important for us to know how previous generations thought about identity.

The Anishinaabeg Today (AT), a publication of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe, is published every three weeks. Editorials and articles appearing in the AT are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion or attitude of the AT staff or the White Earth Nation. The AT reserves the right to reject any advertising or materials submitted for publication. The submission of articles, poetry, artwork and photos is encouraged, however, they are subject to editing for grammar, length, malicious and libelous content. The Editor makes the sole decision of what is published in the AT and will not assume any responsibility for unsolicited material nor will the AT guarantee publication upon submission. ATwill not guarantee publication of materials submitted past deadlines posted in the AT.

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Aug. 15	Aug. 22	
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Sept. 26	Oct. 3	
Oct. 17	Oct. 24	

# Part V

# Responsibilities and importance of tribal citizenship

By Jill Doerfler

I recently spent some time at home visiting family and friends. It was fun to catch up with everyone! I am pleased to hear that many of you are enjoying the article series. I introduced myself in the first article but want to do so again for those that might have missed it or joined the series late. Also remember that you can read back issues at www.whiteearth.com - just click on the "Anishinaabeg" tab at the top.

My name is Jill Doerfler. My mother is Julie (Darco) Doerfler. She is enrolled at White Earth and she is the Employee Relations Liaison at the Shooting Star Casino. My father is Perry Doerfler and he is employed as a lineman with Wild Rice Electric. I grew up just outside Mahnomen and graduated from Mahnomen High School in 1997. I completed my undergraduate degree in History and American Indian Studies from the University of Minnesota-Morris in 2001. I am currently a Ph.D. candidate in American Studies at the University of Minnesota and plan to complete my dissertation later this summer. My dissertation looks at Anishinaabeg ways of understanding identity and explores how tribal citizenship has been regulated. This series of articles is based on the research I have done for my dissertation. The articles are meant to give some history and introduce ideas for discussion as we consider constitutional reform including the requirements for tribal citizenship. Citizenship is an important issue and needs to be considered very carefully.

Citizens form the foundation of a nation,

without a strong citizenry there cannot be a strong nation. Citizens have both rights and responsibilities. Many people tend to focus on the rights or "benefits" of citizenship but responsibilities are equally important. The responsibility to participate in tribal government through voting is a fundamental aspect of citizenship. There is nothing more important than electing honest, capable, and competent leaders because they will make many important decisions for the nation that impact everyone. Other responsibilities include: respecting the rights of others and obeying laws enacted by the government. Constructive criticism combined with the willingness to work to create an improved government and civic life is also a significant responsibility of citizens.

Citizens carry a responsibility to work together to create a healthy and vibrant nation. The vision statement of the White Earth Tribal Council is found at www.whiteearth.com and states: "The White Earth Tribal Council will be a proactive organization that makes sound decisions promoting mino-bimahdiziwin (the good life). The White Earth Reservation will be a safe place where all people have access to quality employment, housing, education, health and human services. While we protect our inherent right to self-governance and identity, we are a community of respect where cultural, historical, and environmental assets are treasured and conserved for future generations." Tribal citizens

See Citizenship Page 18

# The poor Indians pay for the success of the rich

John F. Kennedy said that the American Indian is the least understood and the most misunderstood of all Americans. I believe that with the disparities now so apparent in Indian country, that description by JFK takes on an entirely new meaning.

Headlines in many newspapers recently announced that Indian casinos had brought in a record \$25 billion dollars last year. What they did not say is that on reservations such as the Navajo, Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Crow Creek, Blackfeet and Crow, unemployment is as high as 50 to 80 percent. That the average income is less than \$5,000 annually. That the average life span is about 55 years of age. That the infant mortality rate is three times the national average. That on some reservations the diabetes epidemic claims 50 percent of the total reservation population. That many homes are without electricity or indoor plumbing. That there is such a need for housing that some of the available homes house as many as three families.

But nowadays the average American reads about the \$25 billion raked in by the rich casino tribes last year and shrugs it off with distaste, probably with some envy and not without a little anger at all Indian tribes. In other words, the fantastic success of some gaming tribes is setting the agenda for all Indian tribes and it is making the very poor tribes the victims of the success of the rich tribes. Who would have ever thought they would see such a dichotomy in Indian country even 20 years ago?

In the Lakota language there is a word one hears quite often these days and that word is "onsika" (pronounced oon-she-ka) and it means poor, destitute or miserable, but as with many words in the Lakota language it also can mean to humble oneself to another, to act in a humble way, or to have mercy on those who have nothing. All of these definitions could describe the present conditions of the Lakota people.

We say that we are all in the same boat so although many have very little, it is still their duty to help those who have even less. That was true in all of Indian country prior to 1988 when gaming was legalized on Indian reservations, but that is not the case today. One rich tribe, the Mohegan, just purchased a golf course for \$4.5 million. Another tribe, the Seminole, just bought the Hard Rock Cafe and Resorts for a billion dollars

See Onsika Page 17



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## Citizenship from Page 2

need to consider both individually and collectively how to best participate in supporting the vision statement.

American Indians have a unique identity that is not like that of "minority" groups. American Indian identity is based on political status not on race. You must be a citizen of a tribe that is recognized by the United States or you not legally an Indian. There are many rights and laws that apply specifically to American Indians.

For example, it is illegal for Americans to have eagle feathers and there are strict fines given to anyone who is caught with an eagle feather but there is an exception for American Indians. American Indians are allowed to have eagle feathers because of their religious importance. In order for this law to apply a person must be a citizen of a tribe. Another area where legal identity is important is the sale of art or craft items. The Indian Arts and Crafts Act makes it crime for a person who is not legally an American Indian to sell their art as "Indian made." Again there are strict fines if a person who is not a tribal citizen is caught selling their art as "Indian made." This law was intended to prevent fraud and cheap imitation art made overseas from flooding the market but it also has consequences for unenrolled American Indians. These are just two examples of why the legal part of American Indian identity is so important.

Tribal citizenship is also very important local issues such as leased land and employment. White Earth practices equal opportunity employment with Indian preference. Applicants are given a certain number of points for various qualifications including education and experience. Applicants who are enrolled are given highest priority with descendants' next and then non-Indians. This policy is designed to ensure that our own people are given priority. Also lakeshore property is only leased to enrolled citizens. This important policy was meant to keep valuable and beautiful lakeshore prop-

erty from being controlled by non-Indians. However, there are cases when a parent is enrolled but their children are not and so the lease must leave the family when the parent passes away. This also impacts couples where on person is enrolled but the other is not. When the enrolled spouse passes away the lease cannot go to the unenrolled spouse.

During the 1940s and 1950s elected leaders of the White Earth and the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe had many discussions about tribal citizenship and what the requirements should be. They knew this was a very important issue and that their decision would impact future generations.

The right of the MCT to govern citizenship regulations is established in the constitution; however, there were no definite policies or procedures governing the citizenship process in the original constitution. So, in the late 1930s the Bureau of Indian Affairs asked the MCT to pass an amendment that would explain the exact requirements for tribal citizenship.

The BIA suggested that the MCT use a certain degree of blood or residency on the reservation or both as requirements for tribal citizenship. Most elected leaders did not agree with the suggestions of the BIA, they thought that if at least one of a person's parents was enrolled they should be able to enroll. Today we would call this policy lineal descent and many tribes currently use this system. Tribal leaders repeatedly noted that family was the most important consideration when decided tribal citizenship requirements. They felt that family relationships were more important than blood quantum or living on the reservation.

The next two articles will give a lot of detail about what the leaders said about the issue of tribal citizenship. William "Bill" Anywaush from White Earth was quite outspoken on the issue and I will share his ideas along with those of several others.

### Students from Front Page

components that go into making a kid successful and turning them into a productive citizen," said Boyd Bradbury, departing Waubun-Ogema-White Earth superintendent and soon-to-be MSUM professor.

The study will use demographic data, test scores, surveys and interviews.

"Ultimately what we need to find is which factors out there impact achievement negatively or positively," Bradbury said. "Too often we try quick-fix type items without taking a look to see what the actual issues are."

The group will then create a set of recommendations.

"It has the potential to be a model for other geographic areas in the state as well as in the country," said Brent Gish, Red Lake interim superintendent, and former Mahnomen superintendent and teacher. "It's going to mean an awful lot of work, but I think it's groundbreaking."

Bradbury and Gish came up with the idea in discussing ways to boost student achievement.

The study will focus on children and applicable services from birth through post-secondary education. Preliminary findings are expected in 12 months with a final report within 24 months.

Costs are estimated at \$140,000. Organizers are looking into funding options. The study should start by September. - **The Forum** 

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Nov. 7	Nov. 14	

# **Part VI**

# MCT addresses the citizenship question in the 1940s

By Jill Doerfler

Elected leaders of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe took the question of tribal citizenship regulations very seriously. They knew that their decision would impact the nation and their families. Tribal citizenship was discussed on several occasions during Tribal Executive Committee (TEC) meetings during the 1940s and the minutes from these meetings often contain an excellent level of detail. During this time there was a system of Tribal Delegates in addition to the TEC. Each reservation had a specific number of Tribal Delegates, which was in proportion to its population, because populations changed so did the number of delegates but often there was a total of about forty. Resolutions had to pass both the TEC and the Tribal Delegates, similar to the way the House and Senate system works in the U.S. government.

At a TEC meeting in May of 1940, Mr. Broker noted that the United States government had set the standard of a minimum of one-fourth Indian blood for their services. According to Broker the MCT often approved loans that were later denied by the BIA because the person did not meet the blood quantum minimum. Bill Morrell, from the Leech Lake reservation, believed that everyone with Indian blood should have the same privileges. He urged the Tribal Executive Committee to be "guided by the love of children, your little grandchildren, even they are mixedbloods." Morrell's comment is reflective of a communal focus and attention to the future of the nation. He recognizes the reality that a growing portion of the younger generations were racially "mixed-bloods" and was aware that many of them would be ineligible for tribal citizenship if a blood quantum requirement was instituted. He did not want them to be excluded from the MCT because of race. Morrell's comment implies that the MCT had a responsibility to current citizens and future generations.

Tribal citizenship remained an important issue. Mr. Rogers began the discussion on citizenship at a MCT meeting in May of 1941. He noted that the question of how citizenship should be regulated had come up for the last five years. Based on their previous discussion Rogers drafted some regulations. He explained, "These rules throw the gate wide open. Any descendents of the original members who were entitled to enrollment under the treaty or agreement of 1889 are entitled to enrollment. These rules provide that any descendent, no matter what degree of blood he possesses or where he lives, or where he is born, so long as he can prove that he is a descendent or issue of one of the original families, is entitled to enrollment under these regulations. . . We want to enroll everybody who is entitled to enrollment. We didn't consider the quantum of Indian blood, nor we didn't consider the place where they were born or where they

After the presentation the discussion continued and William "Bill" Anywaush from White Earth shared his views on the issue. He spoke in Anishinaabe but it was translated by Shingobe and recorded in English. Anywaush began, "Friends and Relatives – The reason I say 'relative' is that you are Indian and so am I." By noting that they were all both friends and relatives Anywaush was highlighting their unity and responsibility to each other. He believed they were dealing with a "very dangerous" issue because of the implications it would have on future generations. He went on to note, "There was never in the past any mention of drawing any line; relationship was the only thing that was considered in the past. Even though the child

See Citizenship Page 16

# Please use your new prescription numbers for refills

Dear Pharmacy customers: thank you for your patience during all the recent changes in the pharmacy. As you probably know, the White Earth Health Center is changing over to an electronic healthcare record. We are continuing to move forward on this project to improve your healthcare.

From this point forward only use your newest prescription numbers for requesting refills; the old ones given to you before December 2006 no longer work. We are trying to get everyone their new numbers by giving them to you during refill and new prescription pickup. If you receive more than one prescription they will look like a small booklet of receipts stapled together. Please hang onto these until you get a new one. If you do not know your new numbers we can print a medication list for you and highlight them. Your new number might have a letter after it. \*\*\*Please do not use the letter when

requesting a refill. Only use the numbers. \*\*\*

In the next step of the electronic health record your doctor will be ordering your medications directly on the computer into the pharmacy. Please be patient with your doctor as this will be a new process for him/her. In the near future this means shorter waiting times at the pharmacy because your order will arrive complete, easy-to-read, and ready to be filled. No more lost charts! Please continue to check in at the pharmacy after you see the doctor or to pickup your refills so we can register you and shorten your waiting time as much as safely possible.

Respectfully,

Commander Sam Foster, U.S. Public Health Service, Chief Pharmacist White Earth Health Center

# Attention land owners, land renters and tribal land users

The Natural Resources Conservation Service (NRCS) has technical and/or financial assistance programs available to assist with a variety of natural resource problems.

More specifically, there are numerous conservation practices and technical resources offered by NRCS that aim to solve natural resource problems, including soil erosion, impaired water quality, degraded wildlife habitat, native grass and tree plantings, grazing systems, wetland restorations, invasive species control and soils interpretations to name a few.

If you are a land owner, land renter or tribal land user who is interested in addressing or learning more about a natural resource concern, but you don't know where to go, start by contacting the NRCS.

To find out more about the NRCS please visit your local United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) Service Center, or call Dusty Jasken, NRCS – White Earth Reservation Tribal Liaison at (218) 573-3842. NRCS is an Equal Opportunity Employer and Provider.

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## Citizenship from Page 2

had very little Indian blood, in considering relationship, he was still an Indian. One thing that these old folks over there urged me to do was to have mercy on my Indian people. Don't ever, as long as you live, discriminate against your fellow Indians." Anywaush appeals to the MCT to use family as the way to determine if an individual should be able to become a tribal citizen, noting that this is what the "old folks" want. He reminds MCT members of their responsibilities both to children and to elders. In addition, he declares that they had never used blood quantum before, implying that it goes against Anishinaabe values, and using it would discriminate against their "fellow Indians."

At the July meeting Anywaush spoke in English but was equally vocal and "earnestly requested the delegates . . . to seriously, carefully and fully consider the matter before them considering its seriousness to them and their children, not be hasty in anything they did concerning it." He went on to say, "the White Earth people felt that the Indian people would be endangered unless extreme care were exercised in passing these rules." Again Anywaush emphasized that great caution must be taken on this important issue because their children would be impacted. His use of the word "endangered" is powerful because it really effectively describes the effects of a blood quantum requirement fewer and Anishinaabeg would likely be eligible for tribal citizenship under this system. The word "endangered" also implies that one

day there might not be anyone with enough "blood" and the MCT would be, so to speak, "extinct." The meeting continued and Anywaush spoke up again to repeat that "all due caution should be taken for the sake of the children who would live after the delegates." According to the minutes he also "begged the delegates to be careful that they did not tie a knot which their children and grandchildren could not Anywaush's strong conviction that future generations must be taken into consideration was unwavering. Several others noted that this was a very important decision and it was not to be taken lightly.

Finally after several years of discussions a resolution on tribal citizenship was passed on July 26, 1941. It required only lineal descent from the Act of January 14, 1889 requiring that those wishing to apply for citizenship "file a birth certificate or other supporting evidence which will make it possible for the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and the Consolidated Chippewa Agency to definitely established the fact that said issue is rightfully eligible for said enrollment." The resolution passed easily 10 to 0 among the TEC and 35 to 12 among the Tribal Delegates but was rejected by the Secretary of the Interior. The MCT was sent back to the drawing board. This was very disappointing to MCT leaders who had worked hard to create a citizenship requirement that honored past traditions and future generations.

The next article will examine the MCT's following steps and resolutions.

# Testimony from Page 3

Band would count as much as thirty times more than membership at White Earth for settlement purposes. The Nelson Act Settlement was for damages to all non-Red Lake Chippewa Indian in Minnesota. The value of that settlement should be used for all these Indian beneficiaries equally. Any other way of division would simply offend the spirit of the Settlement Act, and fundamental notions of fairness and equity.

We have documented our position exhaustively in the past. We are providing you here today with fresh copies of all of our testimony on this subject. In addition, we are providing you with a copy of our detailed rebuttal to the detailed objections the TEC forwarded to the members of the Minnesota delegation to Congress. I will not take up any more of your time rehashing each argument, as frankly, the issue has moved on to the next stage.

I would like to once again thank you for your assistance in this matter, and express my Council's regret that this issues has led to such disagreement among the Tribes gathered here today. We fully respect the sovereign rights of our relatives, and do not begrudge them their right to hold opinions at variance with ours. We support their right to express their objection on a government to government basis in any available forum. That is the nature and value of sovereignty. Most of all, we hope for healing among these Tribes and a future that focuses on our shared history, rather than our current disagreements.

Mii Gwitch

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The Anishinaabeg Today (AT), a publication of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe, is published every three weeks. Editorials and articles appearing in the AT are the responsibility of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion or attitude of the AT staff or the White Earth Nation. The AT reserves the right to reject any advertising or materials submitted for publication. The submission of articles, poetry, artwork and photos is encouraged, however, they are subject to editing for grammar, length, malicious and libelous content. The Editor makes the sole decision of what is published in the AT and will not assume any responsibility for unsolicited material nor will the AT guarantee publication upon submission. ATwill not guarantee publication of materials submitted past deadlines posted in the AT.

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To subscribe or advertise, call (218) 983-3285 Ext.  $1206 \sim \text{Email: today@whiteearth.com} \sim \text{Fax:}$  (218) 983-3641.

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Nov. 7	Nov. 14	
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# **Part VII**

# MCT holds strong against the use blood quantum

By Jill Doerfler

Despite pressure from the BIA and the rejection of several resolutions requiring lineal descent for tribal citizenship the MCT seemed to have no intention of limiting tribal citizenship based on a racial requirement. In June 1948 they stood up to the Consolidated Chippewa Agency's use of blood quantum, passing a resolution insisting that all "Chippewa Indians" be treated as such by the Consolidated Chippewa Agency. The resolution stated:

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that we insist that all Chippewa Indians entitled to enrollment under the provisions of the Act of 1889 and their issue, regardless of marital status, degree of blood or place of birth been entitled to and be given all the rights, benefits and privileges incident to and given to all regular enrolled Indians now on such rolls of the Consolidated Chippewa Agency at Cass Lake, Minnesota and that in particular this policy be applied and followed with respect to medical and hospital care under the jurisdiction of this Agency, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that all such persons referred to herein be c o n s i d e r e d Chippewa Indians and entitled to all benefits as such.

The MCT was careful to clearly include clauses that would ensure wide inclusion. Neither blood status, residency, nor marital status were to be used to exclude Anishinaabeg from tribal citizenship and the services provided by the Consolidated Chippewa Agency. While the resolution makes it clear that the individuals are "entitled to all benefits" it makes specific reference to medical care implying that health and medical care were of prominent concern. The MCT took a bold stand against the use of blood quantum to define who was and who was not

Indian when they passed this resolution. They were also asserting their right to determine tribal citizenship over that of the Consolidated Chippewa Agency and the Secretary of the Interior.

The TEC continued to find an answer to the question of tribal citizenship. On Dec. 9, 1948, TEC minutes note a "lengthy discussion of enrollment" that seems to have went on for at least a couple of hours but unfortunately, in this case, no details were recorded. The meeting continued and two days later the Tribal Executive Committee unanimously passed a new resolution relating to tribal citizenship. The resolution stated, "Indians not now enrolled as members of the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, if able to so prove shall be enrolled if he or she is a descendant of a member of the Tribe" provided both Tribal Delegates and the Secretary of the Interior approved the resolution. The tribal delegates unanimously passed the resolution on May 21, 1949. The Secretary of the Interior, William Warne, rejected the resolution on Dec. 9, 1949 because it allowed all Anishinaabeg to enroll with no blood quantum or residency restrictions. It was the job of U.S. government officials to see that the MCT created a citizenship requirement that allowed as few Anishinaabeg as possible to

Getting the MCT to pass a resolution on tribal citizenship that would be approved by the Secretary of the Interior became of increasing concern to federal officials. On Sept. 19, 1951, the Commission of Indian Affairs wrote to Don Foster, Area Director of Minneapolis, about the problem. The Commissioner noted that the resolutions passed by the MCT were "in conflict with the policy expressed by Congress and followed

See Quantum Page 17

## Chairwoman Erma J. Vizenor

### Thank You

The White Earth Tribe has 1,680 employees who work for tribal government, Shooting Star Casino, Hotel, and Event Center, housing, schools, and business enterprises.

As tribal chairwoman, I want to thank each employee for your service to our people.

Last Friday the tribal government employees had our annual picnic and activity day. When I gave my greeting and thank you at the picnic, I mentioned how much tribal government has grown during the past 40 years.

In 1968, the summer before I started college, I worked as a Head Start health records clerk for the White Earth Community Action Program in White Earth. The Community Action Program (CAP) was the tribal programs located in an old two story house-like building. There were only a few employees in the central office. I remember Charles LaDue, executive director, Germaine Reigert, Eleanor Warren, Dude Warren, Jiggs

Heisler, John LaVoy, and Evelyn Eckstein. There were also a few supervisors in the field working in Head Start, construction training, and community health care. Marvin Sargent was our tribal chairman.

Today, the White Earth Tribal Government is large and growing at a rapid pace, which is the primary reason for the new tribal headquarters scheduled for completion in September 2008. We have made great progress. Thank you.

#### **Constitutional Convention**

I have called for a Constitutional Convention on Oct. 19-20, 2007, to be held at the Shooting Star Casino Event Center. I have asked our nine community councils to select three delegates and two alternates to the Convention. I have asked the Elders Council and Youth Council to each appoint three delegates and two alternates to the Convention. In addition, I will call for 20 at-large members. Please watch for the next newspaper for information. I will facilitate the Convention.

### Quantum from Page 2

by the Department of the Interior to the effect that the application of Indian benefits should be limited to those person who are Indians by virtue of actual tribal affiliation or by virtue of possessing one-half or more Indian blood." The Commissioner said that the MCT should be urged to pass a more restrictive resolution offering ideas such as requiring that "both parents are recognized members of the tribe, or that the residence of the parents is within the reservation, or that the child is of a certain degree of Indian blood." It appears that the Commissioner was trying to get Foster to place pressure on the MCT to pass a resolution that would be approved.

The MCT continued to resist the adoption of a blood quantum requirement for tribal citizenship. In 1959 elected leaders of the MCT were again working together to fight the use of blood quantum, even going so far as to attempt to get the BIA to stop

using it. At a meeting on March 23, 1959, the TEC unanimously passed a resolution that noted the one-quarter degree policy had "created much confusion, hardship, and conflict" and requested the "\_degree policy set forth by the Bureau of Indian Affairs be eliminated." In this case the TEC went beyond their own regulations to encourage change in BIA practices. They went so far as to request that U.S. elected officials and other agencies join with them in their effort. In requesting the elimination of the onequarter degree policy the MCT reinforced their commitment to lineal descent and showed no signs of willingness to accept blood quantum as a requirement for tribal citizenship. Yet in two short years the MCT would pass an ordinance that required onequarter blood quantum for tribal citizen-

The next article will discuss this dramatic change.

### Award from Page 5

Management College, Ft. Belvoir, VA.

Bishop retired from the U.S. Army in 1995, where he led aviation, armor and infantry units as well as assignments in the acquisition corps during a 20-year career. Bishop is married to Elizabeth Fliedner Bishop and has two children.

The awards will be presented at the 29th AISES Annual National Conference on Nov. 1-3 in Phoenix. Mission: Success is the theme of this year's National Conference Each year, our conference attracts attendees from the extensive AISES membership network which includes over 3,000 active members, 15,000 alumni, 805 Sequoyah (lifetime) Fellows, 160 College Chapters, and 200 K-12

Affiliated Schools. In all, members from over 200 Native Nations are represented within AISES. This is the largest American Indian National Conference, where hundreds of corporations, federal agencies and universities meet Indian students and professionals eager to learn about career opportunities. The 3-day event includes a Career Fair and workshops for students, teachers and professionals.

AISES is a national non-profit organization whose mission is to substantially increase the representation of American Indian and Alaskan Natives in engineering, science and other related technology disciplines.

## Energy from Page 13

will double again in fewer years, Hemmingsen said.

Dentley Haugesag of the state Department of Employment and Economic Development delivered a sobering assessment of available renewable fuels in Minnesota.

He said every bit of biomass – crops, wood, etc. – would be needed to produce enough energy for the state. But if that happened, there would be no food, livestock feed, lumber or other plant-based products made in Minnesota.

On the positive side, Haugesag said, Minnesota factories already are making everything needed for wind-powered generators.

The 10 major wind-powered electric generator makers are based in other countries, and there are just a few Minnesota companies that actually provide parts for turbines. Haugesag said he is working with foreign turbine manufacturers to begin using Minnesota parts, and perhaps even make complete turbines in the state. - Bemidji Pioneer.

# Conference from Page 6

include "How Depression & Bi-Polar Disorder can Impact Youth," "Suicide Awareness and Intervention Strategies," "Learning Through Play: Parents, Teachers, and Children," and "Parenting on Purpose, A Framework for Respectful Discipline."

The conference also featured several

vendors, a comedy show, a stress-relief area, resource tables, book sales, and Native crafters.

The 8th Annual Brain Development Conference is slated for Aug. 13-14, 2008 at the Shooting Star Casino Event Center.

## In Memory

### Our Angel and Momma Anna Stevens (1928-2004)

God saw momma was getting tired and a cure was not meant to be. So He put his arms around her and whispered, "Come with me." With tearful eyes we watched her suffer and saw her fade away. Although we loved momma dearly we could not make her stay. A golden heart stopped beating, hard working hands were laid to rest. God broke our hearts to prove to us He only takes the best.

Your sons and daughters, Gloria Johnson, T-Hawk, Shirley Rantsch, Sandy Stevens and grandchildren.

### Sandra F. Kriesel Feb. 5, 1956 - July 25, 2006

Searching for your face wherever I look
Making out shapes in the clouds above
I can't stop because I'm always missing you
Listening in the wind as it blows
I think I hear your voice or was it your laugh
No one could ever take your place
Getting on with your life up there

Doing little things to make grandma laugh
Or is it Uncle "Buddy Do" terrorizing you
Wayne just got there with a joke to tell
No one knows like us Bellecourts do - you four are going to raise some hell.

**O**ver some time I still break down and cry **N**o one knows just how much you mean to us

**U** are in a better place **S**miling down on us with your beautiful face

Your loving son, Daniel Kriesel

### A letter to our mother Blanche M. (Antell) Turner July 29, 1918 - July 27, 2005

Dearest Muddy,

We still miss you - now and forever, but we realize you are in a happier place - a place where there is no pain. For this we are very thankful.

You are with daddy and all the rest of our loved ones, Shelly, Bob, Bill, your mom and dad, your grandparents, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, nieces, nephews, all our babies, grand babies, and great grand babies. You loved and nurtured us through five generations - and for this we are very thankful - kiss them all for us and keep them in your loving arms until we get there.

We are thankful to the Creator for giving you to us.

We love and miss you - now and forever, Your family

All submissions to the Anishinaabeg Today must be <u>legible</u>! Submissions that cannot be read will not be accepted.

2

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# **Part VIII**

## Blood quantum becomes the sole requirement for tribal citizenship

By Jill Doerfler

After years of attempting to get a resolution on tribal citizenship that only required lineal descent approved by the Secretary of the Interior the MCT finally bowed to federal pressure and passed an ordinance relating to tribal citizenship that required a minimum of one-quarter blood in 1961. During this time the U.S. government was engaged in "termination," a policy which ended the U.S. government's recognition of the sovereign political status of some American Indian nations. It is likely that the MCT feared if they did not go along with the blood quantum requirement for tribal citizenship the tribe might be terminated.

The TEC passed the ordinance first. It stated, "After the approval of this ordinance by the Secretary of the Interior, all children born to a parent of parents whose names appear on the basic membership roll shall be eligible for membership, provided they possess at least one-quarter ( \_ ) degree Minnesota Chippewa Indian blood, and provided further that an application for enrollment is filed with the Secretary of the Tribal Delegates within one year after date of birth." The ordinance also allowed individuals who met the citizenship requirement but were not enrolled due to error to be admitted into the MCT by adoption. Individuals who did not have at least one-quarter Minnesota Chippewa Indian blood were made citizens of the tribe provided they were born before May 12, 1961. Finally, no one who was already enrolled was taken off the

Two days after the TEC passed the ordinance a Delegates meeting was held. The members of the TEC knew it would be difficult to get the Tribal Delegates to agree to the new ordinance. They decided that John L. Pemberton would

describe the rules of the ordinance and why it was passed to all the Tribal Delegates. Pemberton explained that "it was necessary to set the \_ degree blood quantum in the ordinance in order to receive approval of the Department of the Interior which defines an Indian as being \_ or more degree Indian blood." He went on to defend the ordinance stating that "if the MCT does not set up enrollment rules, than [sic] the Department will make their own rules." Pemberton implies that the TEC had little choice in passing the ordinance because if they did not do so the Department would. Despite Pemberton's rationale for the ordinance about one third of the Tribal Delegates continued their opposition to the use of blood quantum to determine tribal citizenship and voted against it. However, the ordinance passed among the Tribal Delegates 29 for and 15 opposed. By passing the ordinance themselves rather than allowing the BIA control the issue the MCT maintained their sovereign powers. It appears that the requirement went into effect after the Secretary of the Interior approved it along with other constitutional changes in 1963.

One-quarter blood quantum continues to govern tribal citizenship; however, the issue has remained prominent. At a TEC meeting on October 1, 1965 Mr. Savage noted that Indians who were less than one-quarter blood were not eligible for scholarships through the BIA and he felt they should be included. Mr. Martin stated: "the one-quarter degree should be changed to enable any Indian to be eligible for all benefits." At a TEC meeting in 1967 there was a motion to abolish the one quarter degree requirement because many felt it was not right to deny community members citizenship because of blood

See Quantum Page 22

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Twenty (20) at-large delegates to White
Earth Constitutional Convention to be held
October 19 and 20, 2007,
Shooting Star Casino Event Center,
Mahnomen, Minn

Please submit your name, address, enrollment number, and a brief statement why you want to serve as a delegate by October 1, 2007.

Send information to:
Erma J. Vizenor, Tribal Chairwoman
P.O. Box 418
White Earth, MN 56591

### **Depot** from **Front** Page

on time. The morning and afternoon routes are to pick them up," Greene said. "There's a middle route going to start at 10 a.m. and end at 3:06 p.m., and that's the route people are going to be able to shop (or go to the casino) and run continuously back and forth."

Route 1 will include stops in Detroit Lakes, Callaway, Ogema, White Earth Clinic, White Earth M&W Store, RTC Building, Waubun, Shooting Star Casino and Riverland Apartments. Routes run Monday-Friday from 6 a.m. to 7 p.m.

Route 2 will include Rice Lake Community Center, Rice Lake Tower, Naytahwaush Fire Hall, Naytahwaush Complex, the Shooting Star Casino, Waubun, White Earth RTC, White Earth Clinic and White Earth M&W Store. They will run Monday-Friday from 6 a.m. to 7:29 p.m.

Route 3 includes Pine Point Community Center, Pine Point New Housing, Elbow Lake Community Center, White Earth RTC, White Earth M&W Store, White Earth Clinic, SS Casino, Riverland Apartments, Waubun and Ogema. They run Monday-Friday from 6 a.m. to 6:37 p.m.

The other busing system, Dial-A-Ride, is "This is basically to get people to work more flexible. The Dial-A-Ride program isn't up and running yet because all the drivers have not been hired and trained. Passengers must call 24 hours in advance and will be taken where needed. There is no established route. The cost for Dial-A-Ride is \$2 per ride.

> Dial-A-Ride will run Monday-Friday from 9 a.m. to 4 p.m., and Saturday and Sunday from 9 a.m. to 2 p.m.

> All passengers must pay in cash and have the exact amount. Punch cards are available through White Earth Public Transit and other area businesses very soon.

> "The difference is your \$1 route is an established route and there's going to be no deviation. They can just jump on that whenever," Greene explained. "A Dial-A-Ride is going to have to be made 24 hours in advance and we may not be able to service you depending on how many calls we've gotten that day before."

> For more information on schedules or routes, and for future Dial-A-Ride reservations, contact White Earth Public Transit at (218) 983-3283 or toll free at 888-845-6787.

## Quantum from Page 2

quantum. The motion passed 8 for 2 against. After having a one-quarter blood quantum requirement for only 4 years the TEC decided to abolish it. It is probable that like the resolutions in the 1940s, which did not require a specific degree of blood, the Secretary of the Interior rejected the resolution and so it was never enforced.

While the MCT did finally bow to federal pressure to use blood quantum as the determiner for tribal citizenship in 1961, they put up a long, hard fight. As the records show, time and again family was discussed as the proper method of determining citizenship. Elected leaders took the issue of tribal citizenship very seriously. They knew that their decisions would impact future generations of Anishinaabeg. They resisted the application of blood quantum by passing several resolutions on tribal citizenship that only required lineal descent, emphasizing that it was not race or blood quantum that was the primary determiner of an individual's identity it was family that was the most important. They wanted to be inclusive and worried that using blood quantum would be discrimination against their fellow Anishinaabeg and would likely mean that future members of their own families would be excluded from tribal citizenship.

Indeed, the fears of our leaders are now a reality. Many families are now divided with some being enrolled and others not. The use of blood quantum as the sole determiner for tribal citizenship has caused a divide within our families, communities and

nation. Perhaps it is time once again for us to "consider the relationship," as argued by William Anywaush over half a century ago, to consider our families and relatives as we move forward with constitutional reform and the reevaluation of tribal citizenship

Our constitution and the requirements for tribal citizenship therein should reflect Anishinaabe values and cultural practices. Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa citizen and legal scholar Mathew L.M. Fletcher has written, "Indians and Indian tribes must recognize that the space to 'make their own laws' is equivalent to the right of preserving and making their own culture." Using blood quantum for tribal citizenship is not helping us preserve or enact Anishinaabe culture. It is not creating a strong and vibrant nation that we can be proud of. Blood quantum is not a reflection of Anishinaabe values; it is a concept the U.S. government pushed the MCT to adopt. Fletcher has also argued, "Fundamental questions, such as who Indian people are in a legal sense under tribal law, must be answered in light of the modern experiences of Indian people; not the laws and traditions imposed by outsiders." There is no easy answer to how tribal citizenship should be regulated but we can draw on our traditions and values to create citizenship requirements that enact our beliefs. By working together we can create a strong nation that echoes our traditions and honors our future.

## In Memory

In Memory of Linda St. Claire-Hawpetoss Our mother, our father, and our best friend

Thank you mother- for all that you have done, You took great care, of your daughters and sons.

You loved us all from the very start, with your warm, kind, and loving heart.

Thank you mother, for being strong, While trying to teach us right from wrong.

If anytime, we had a problem, you were there to help us solve them.

You'd lift us up, when we were feeling blue. Thank you mother, for we could always count on you.

> You were such- an awesome mother, The love you showed was like no other.

Thank you mother- for your dear, sweet love, Now you'll watch over us from above.

Love your children, Feather (Robert) Badillo III, Donavon (Jessie) St.Claire, Justin Hawpetoss, RIP Robert (Bossman) Hawpetoss. Love also from your grandchild, Dominic St.Claire-Badillo, Diamante Badillo. Last but not least love from your mother, Faye St.Claire, and all the other people who knew our mother and who lives she has touched.

The family members of Linda would like to say humbly, many miigwech's for all the help that was shown and given and greatly appreciates all the time and effort that people gave to our family.

### **Memorial Feast**

Pam Quim would like to invite all family and friends to a one-year Memorial Feast and Giveaway for her son Jeremy Marth (Feb. 1, 1979 to Oct. 3, 2006) on Saturday, Oct. 6 at the American Indian Center, 1845 East Franklin Avenue South, Minneapolis. "Life is not forever - love is..."

There will be a Memorial Feast for **Douglas A.** Buckanaga (Feb. 5, 1976 to Sept. 11, 2006), and his father Kevin M. Buckanaga (Oct. 5, 1956 to Sept. 20, 1972), on Sept. 15 from 1-4:30 p.m. at the Upper Midwest American Indian Center, 1035 West Broadway, Minneapolis. "Together forever in the Spirit World."

# **Looking For Family**

My name is Frank W. Fortney and I'm looking for my uncle Clifford Littlewolf. My mom is Marge Snow and my dad is Frank T. Fortney. I know very little of my uncle other than he went blind. I was told he came to California once with my parents, but was back on the Rez long since then. Any information would be gratefully appreciated.

> Thank you, Frank W. Fortney (406) 675-4153 PO Box 333, Pablo, MT 59855

All non-paid articles submitted to the Anishinaabeg Today will be run on a space-available basis.