and largely symbolic success. Native American traditionalists and activists formed the International Indian Treaty Council in 1974 at a meeting held near the grave of Sitting Bull on the Standing Rock Sioux reservation in South Dakota. Attending the meeting were representatives of nearly 100 tribes. The council decided to take the fight for sovereignty over the heads of national leaders and appeal directly to the United Nations and other international agencies. In spite of opposition by the United States, the UN granted the council official recognition as a nongovernmental organization. Council representatives attending UN-sponsored conferences in New York, Geneva, and Rotterdam spoke movingly about the struggle of Indian people "against colonialism and for human rights and sovereignty." In 1982 the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations accorded the council full observer status at its triennial meeting in Baghdad, Iraq.

Meanwhile, closer to home, Native Americans scored more meaningful victories by gaining from the federal government either the restoration or acknowledgment of their tribal status. Following the passage of the Menominee Restoration Act in 1973, additional tribes appealed to the federal government for the restoration of federal recognition and federal benefits. The Siletz tribe of western Oregon, terminated in 1954, spent twenty years petitioning federal officials for the restoration of their tribal status. Tribal members complained that their loss of recognition had left them in "a state of limbo, unrecognized as equals by members of the white community, and looked down upon by other Indian people as well." Finally, in 1977 Congress passed legislation restoring the tribal status of the Siletz and other tribes in western Oregon. Similar struggles culminated in restoration of the Modocs, Ottawas, Peorias, and Wyandots in 1978 and the Paiutes in 1980.

Native Americans won a major victory in 1978 when Congress created the Acknowledgment Project, a program directed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to evaluate the claims of Native groups never before recognized by the United States as tribes. The federal government officially recognized 283 tribes in 1981; by 1995, the number of federally recognized tribes had increased to more than 550, including 200 village groups in Alaska. Even so, the procedure for obtaining federal recognition could be—and often was—agonizingly slow. The BIA required the compilation of detailed histories of each tribe seeking recognition, a process that took years to complete. Kurt Blue Dog (Sioux), a lawyer for the Native American Rights Fund, testified before

the Senate that such delays were unconscionable. He argued that the continued existence of such groups as the Traditional Kickapoo Tribe of Texas, a band of 600 people desperately seeking federal acknowledgment and the infusion of federal aid, depended upon the streamlining of the process.

Among the tribes that successfully completed the acknowledgment process were the Cow Creek Band of the Oregon Umpquas and the Narragansetts of Rhode Island. The Cow Creek Band won federal recognition in 1982 after years of lobbying by tribal leaders and members of the Native American Rights Fund. The Narragansetts achieved a remarkable comeback from near extinction in the nineteenth century to gain federal acknowledgment in 1984 and the return of portions of their traditional land. Perhaps equally important, recent archaeological discoveries and the revival of traditional ceremonies gave the Narragansetts a renewed sense of cultural identity. Ten years later, the struggle for recognition by the Ohlone-Muwekma tribe of California was celebrated at the American Indian Music and Cultural Festival, held on former tribal lands on the San Francisco Presidio.

To safeguard the status of existing tribes, tribal leaders supported legislation in the early 1990s to abolish a newly adopted policy by the Bureau of Indian Affairs that distinguished between historic tribes and those deemed "nonhistoric" or "created." The so-called nonhistoric tribes included those that had been formed out of the remnants of tribes decimated in the nineteenth century by war and disease. Allogan Slagle (Cherokee), a lawyer who specialized in sovereignty issues, estimated that 230 tribes around the nation were at risk as nonhistoric. If a tribe were declared to be nonhistoric, it could lose its right to substantial federal aid. Congress considered legislation in 1994 to protect such tribes, prohibiting government officials and agencies from changing the privileges and powers of any federally recognized tribe.

In the midst of (and largely *because* of) these impressive victories, Native American leaders had to contend with a growing anti-Indian backlash. The strengthening of tribal governments, following the passage of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, led some European Americans to conclude that Native Americans were gaining too much power. Conflicts over hunting and fishing rights were the catalyst for what came to be called the "antisovereignty" movement among whites who lived on or near reservations. In 1978 a commercial fisherman in Washington state published a manifesto denouncing the attempt by tribal governments to regulate the

activities of non-Indian hunters and fishermen. "Uncle Sam is giving America back to the Indians," the manifesto complained. It denounced federal Indian policy as "a nationwide, sinister juggernaut, exacting from Americans sacrifices of property, money, rights, and identity."

As tribal governments broadened their authority over reservation resources, local whites complained that they now were the victims of discrimination. An outspoken leader of the antisovereignty forces was Delbert Palmer, a white resident of the Flathead reservation in Montana, arrested for hunting on his land without a permit from the tribal government. "No Indian government is going to tell me what I can do on my own land or anywhere else," he said. "I don't recognize that government's authority at all." The Citizens Equal Rights Alliance (CERA), an umbrella organization for the national antisovereignty movement, claimed to have more than 500,000 supporters. Its ranks swelled following a dramatic confrontation in 1981 on the Crow reservation in Montana. Crow tribesmen barricaded a highway bridge over the Bighorn River to prevent non-Indians from fishing the river as it flowed through the reservation. Members of CERA raised defense funds, filed lawsuits, and drafted legislation aimed at curbing the power of tribal governments. Its supporters included real estate interests, agribusinesses, and mining companies threatened by the tribes' growing control over their resources.

Native American leaders believed that racism and jealousy were the root causes of the white backlash against tribal governments. "You're going to see more of this," said Henry Stockbeson of the Native American Rights Fund. "As long as the Indians are downtrodden, racism is at a simmer point. But as soon as Indians successfully assert their rights, these people are screaming, 'Why should they have something I can't have?'" Lucille Otter, an elder of the Salish tribe, agreed. Speaking of the antisovereignty forces, she said: "They were comfortable thinking of the poor half-wit Indian. Now that we're taking control of our assets they are just in shock." And journalist Margaret L. Knox summed up the backlash succinctly: "Lots of whites are just plain jealous."

Tensions also increased as the Pacific Northwest fishing rights controversy was rekindled in the 1980s and 1990s. The decision by U.S. District Court Judge George H. Boldt in 1974 had acknowledged the right of Native Americans to half the harvestable salmon from the waters of Washington state. Tribal leaders then began to push for an

expansion of the decision to include the gathering of half the available shellfish as well. They argued that their people had been digging clams and picking oysters from the tidelands of the Northwest for centuries and that these activities were also protected by the treaties signed in the 1850s. "Historically, shellfish are equally as important as salmon," said one Native leader. The issue raised passionate opposition from property owners who feared that Indians would be permitted to gather shellfish on privately owned tidelands. "It's private property," said one outraged white property owner who lived near the Suquamish reservation in Washington state. "I don't believe anyone would want people crossing their land." After years of unsuccessful efforts to resolve the issue through negotiation, sixteen tribes sued the state of Washington in 1994 for access to half the annual harvest of shellfish.

The tribes of the Pacific Northwest were also in the forefront of renewed controversies over environmental protection. In the early 1990s the Shoalwater Bay Tribe in southwestern Washington state suffered from an unusually high rate of miscarriages, stillbirths, and infant deaths. "We're losing a whole generation of people and it's hard to take," said tribal chairman Herb Whitish. The suspected causes of the tribe's problems were herbicides dumped on surrounding forest lands and insecticides sprayed on nearby cranberry bogs that contaminated the tidelands where tribal members gathered shellfish. Tribal leaders demanded stricter controls on local polluters and pesticide users. In 1992 the Environmental Protection Agency concluded that contamination of inland and coastal waters in the Northwest exposed Indian people to greater risks of cancer because of their high levels of fish consumption. Subsequent federal legislation authorized tribal governments to regulate water quality not only on reservation land but also on upstream sources that affected it. Armed with this new authority, several Northwest tribes in 1993 sought to impose costly, tough pollution standards on major industries operating near their reservations. Meanwhile, a study of the children of the Coeur d'Alene tribe in northwestern Idaho found that one-fifth had elevated levels of lead in their blood. Tribal chairman Ernest Stensgar called upon the federal government to help clean up the local water supply poisoned by lead, zinc, and arsenic left over from decades of hardrock mining.

Another flash point of conflict between Native Americans and European Americans was the attempt by tribal governments to increase the rents of whites living on reservation land. In upstate New York, the town of Salamanca was built entirely on land belonging to the