NOTES

N.B.: This article was based in part on interviews with the following individuals: Phillip Martin, Harlan Majors, Robert Benn, Lester Dalme, Sam Schider, William Richardson, Choctaw reservation, Mississippi, June 1999; Dennis Hastings, Macy, Nebraska, May 1991; Vicki Hutchinson, Isabel, South Dakota, July 1999; Ivan Makl, Salt River Pima-Maricopa reservation, Arizona, November 1991; Ramon Roschilde, Rapid City, South Dakota, July 1999; Steve Aberle, Glencross, South Dakota, July 1999; John Chapela, Gallup, New Mexico, November 1991; Robin Powell and Elmer Savilla, by telephone, November 1994.

2. Interview with the author.
4. Ibid., 34, 40.
5. Interview with Bob Ferguson, tribal historian, June 1992.
6. Speech by Phillip Martin to the annual meeting of the Association on American Indian Affairs, May 12, 1986.
8. Quoted in ibid., 230.
9. Ibid., 239.
10. Mark N. Trohan and others, "Fraid in Indian Country," Arizona Republic, October 4, 1987; also, "Indian Country," Arizona Republic, January 21, 1990. Of this $1 billion in direct federal spending on Indians each year, approximately $1 billion each is spent by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. The remainder is shared among many federal agencies, with the largest amounts being appropriated by the departments of Education, Housing and Urban Development, and Agriculture. An additional $3 billion in profits from the management of properties held in trust by the federal government is also transferred to Indians each year.
13. The narrative of events is based partly on interviews with tribal councilmen Duane "Chili" Yazzie and Daniel Tso, local journalists Mark Trabant and Betty Reid, and BIA counsel Tom O'Hara, in Window Rock, Arizona, 1991, and with journalist Bill Donovan and John Chapela, a prominent Navajo lawyer, in Gallup, New Mexico, November 1991.
15. As quoted by Bill Donovan to the author.
20. Ibid.
21. Quoted in Ibid.
22. Ibid.
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. The Navajo Nation v. Peter MacDonald, April 13, 1989, also interview with Tom Tso, chief justice of the Navajo Supreme Court, November 1991.